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THE

BIBLE EDUCATOR.

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THE

BIBLE EDUCATOR.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE TWO BOOKS OF KINGS.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

INTERNAL and external evidence alike show that our "Two Books of Kings" formed originally a single continuous work. St. Jerome[1] tells us that in all the Hebrew manuscripts existing in his day they still constituted a single book, entitled the *Sêpher m'lakim*, or "Book of Kings." The notion of dividing the work into two portions seems to have originated with the Alexandrian Jews, who adopted from their Greek fellow-citizens the idea of parcelling out the continuous works of ancient authors into portions,[2] and giving to each portion a separate name.[3] *Two* Books of Kings are first found in the Septuagint version; but as this first translation naturally became a model for others, the division introduced at Alexandria in the third century B.C. has come now to be generally adopted, even the Jews themselves conforming to the arrangement. The arrangement is, however, purely artificial, no natural line of separation dividing the two Books one from the other.[4]

The Book of Kings is probably the work of the prophet Jeremiah. This is the tradition of the Jews;[5] and so many little coincidences are found between the acknowledged works of Jeremiah and this composition,[6] that it is almost impossible to doubt that they proceeded from the same author. The tone of the work, too, is exactly the same with that of Jeremiah's prophecies, being a tone of despondency and gloom, such as was natural to one who wrote during the early years of the Captivity. Jeremiah's authorship is indeed *especially* apparent in the later chapters, but as those chapters are the natural sequence of the earlier ones, and harmonise with them very remarkably in style and general character, the entire work must be ascribed to the same hand that wrote its last section.

This unity of authorship must, however, be understood *with a difference*. The Book of Kings, like most histories which cover a considerable space of time, is in the main a compilation. Divine inspiration did not, in the case of the writers of Holy Scripture, supersede the use of the ordinary methods of obtaining knowledge. The author of Kings constantly refers his readers to authorities from whom they may obtain fuller particulars concerning the personages mentioned in his narrative than he himself places before them; and it can scarcely be doubted that he drew his knowledge of the past principally, if not wholly, from these authorities.[7] He cites a "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kings xi. 41), a "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (1 Kings xiv. 29, &c.), and a "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (1 Kings xiv. 19, &c.) —works which must clearly have covered exactly the ground that he traverses; works which he evidently regards as authentic, and which he can, therefore, scarcely have failed to follow.

If this be allowed, it becomes a matter of much interest to consider the character of these works, and the probable method of their composition. Now, it appears from the Books of Chronicles that it was among the regular duties of the prophets and seers, who succeeded one another without interruption from the commencement of the Jewish kingdom under Saul to the Captivity of Zedekiah, to compose histories of the kings with whom they were contemporary on a scale much larger than that in which their histories are delivered to us in the Old Testament. Samuel began, Nathan continued, and Gad finished, a "Book of the Chronicles of King David" (1 Chron. xxvii. 24; xxix. 29); Nathan, Abijah, and Iddo wrote accounts of the reign of Solomon

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1 *Præfat. in librum Regum* (*Op.*, vol. iii., fol. 6, M).

2 The "Books" of the Iliad and the Odyssey, of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, are inventions of the Alexandrian grammarians, who thus broke into portions what was originally continuous.

3 As the names Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, &c., to the "Books" of Herodotus. The word "Pentateuch," and the *Greek* names "Genesis," "Exodus," &c., indicate that the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria were the first to divide up "the Book of the Law of Moses."

4 The actual division made between the two "Books" is most awkward; and it is difficult to assign any reason for it. The reign of Ahaziah, commenced 1 Kings xxii. 51, and terminated 2 Kings i. 18, is cut in two by the artificial separation.

5 *Baba-Bathra*, fol. 15, 1. "Jeremiah wrote his Book" (*i.e.*, that which goes by his name), "and the Book of Kings, and Lamentations."

6 See the "Introduction to Kings" in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. ii., pp. 470—1, note 5; and compare Hävernick (*Einleitung*, vol. ii., pp. 171 *et seq.*).

7 This is generally allowed by the critics. (See De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 184; Ewald, *Geschichte*, § 211; Hävernick, *Einleitung*, § 150; Keil, *Commentar.*, § 3; Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen über d. bibl. Chronik*, p. 185; &c.)

(2 Chron. ix. 29); Shemaiah and Iddo related the history of the reign of Rehoboam (*ib.*, xii. 15); Iddo recorded the history of Abijah, Rehoboam's son (*ib.*, xiii. 22); Jehu, the son of Hanani, that of Jehoshaphat (*ib.*, xx. 34); Isaiah, that of Uzziah (*ib.*, xxvi. 22) and Hezekiah (*ib.*, xxxii. 32); Hosai, that of Manasseh (*ib.*, xxxiii. 19, marginal rendering). Other portions of the history were probably composed by Azariah, the son of Oded (*ib.*, xv. 1); Hanani, the father of Jehu (*ib.*, xvi. 7); Eliezer, the son of Dodavah (*ib.*, xx. 37); Elijah, the Tishbite (*ib.*, xxi. 12); Elisha; Jonah, the son of Amittai (2 Kings xiv. 25); and Jeremiah. The works, as first composed, were on a tolerably large scale, resembling, perhaps, the "Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia" (Esther ii. 23; vi. 1; ix. 32; x. 2), or the *acta diurna* of the early Roman emperors.[1] After a time, it was found convenient to form a digest of the materials accumulated, and two books were compiled—a "Book of the Kings of Judah,"[2] and a "Book of the Kings of Israel"[3]—from the accounts of the several reigns composed by contemporary prophets. In forming this digest, sometimes it was found convenient to adopt one of the special works bodily into the general history;[4] but more often some abbreviation was thought to be desirable, and lengthy narratives were greatly curtailed, or were cut down to a few paragraphs. Some idea of the difference between the full accounts of the history as written originally by the several prophets, and the shorter narrative of the digest, may be obtained by comparing the history of Hezekiah as contained in four chapters of the Prophecy of Isaiah (chaps. xxxvi. to xxxix.), with the same history as delivered to us in three chapters (really less than two and a half) of the Second Book of Kings (chaps. xviii. 13 to xx. 19); or, again, from comparing the concluding section of Kings (2 Kings, chaps. xxiv. and xxv.) with the historical portions of Jeremiah (chaps. xxxviii. to xliii. and lii.), which cover the same ground, and proceed probably from the same author.

The writer of Kings appears to have drawn his account of events preceding his own time mainly, if not solely, from the digest in question. He quotes no work of any special prophet, but only (as has been already mentioned) a "Book of the Acts of Solomon," a "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and a "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." From these works it is probable that he for the most part *transcribes* his history. The history of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 13 to xx. 19) is *transcribed almost word for word*, but with one remarkable omission (Isa. xxxviii. 9—20), from our Book of Isaiah, or rather, perhaps, from a parallel passage contributed by Isaiah to the "Book of the Kings."[5] Other passages indicate by little turns of expression that they are similarly transferred, the expressions used being sometimes unsuitable to the age of the writer of Kings.[6] But literal transcription was not always the course pursued. Besides exercising the right of abbreviation whenever he pleased, the author sometimes took the liberty of modifying phrases, of using synonyms, of expanding and explaining. He also, in a certain sense, recast the history, introducing a certain set phraseology for the commencement and close of each monarch's reign,[7] which it is scarcely probable that he found in the "Books of the Kings." Finally, he regarded himself as entitled, if he pleased, to introduce his own reflections, to comment upon the facts recorded, and draw a moral from them; though this right he has exercised but rarely, and only once at any length.[8]

The result is, that we have, in the greater part of Kings, a compilation made by the prophet Jeremiah from certain previously existing works, in which he mainly uses the language of his authorities, only occasionally introducing a change, or making a remark of his own; while in the concluding section (2 Kings xxii.—xxv.) we have a substantive work of the prophet himself, who was the national historian for his own time, and wrote the closing section of the "Book of the Kings," to which former prophets had, each in his turn, contributed. In the earlier section (1 Kings i.—2 Kings xxi.) there is, however, one long passage wholly from Jeremiah's pen—viz., 2 Kings xvii. 7—41, which, together with the final section, forms the bulk of his contribution to the history. The above conclusions may be thus tabulated:—

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[1] See Tacit., *Ann.*, iii. 3; xiii. 31.

[2] 1 Kings xiv. 29; xv. 7, 23; 2 Kings viii. 23, &c.

[3] 1 Kings xiv. 19; xv. 31; xvi. 5, 14, 20, 27, &c.

[4] See 2 Chron. xx. 34, where our version has, "the book of Jehu, the son of Hanani, *who is mentioned* in the book of the Kings of Israel," but where the true rendering is, "the book of Jehu, &c., which was made to ascend" (*i.e.*, "which was transferred") "into the book of the Kings."

[5] The passage in Kings contains some facts not mentioned by Isaiah, and not deducible from his narrative, as those of chap xviii. 14—16, and the statement in chap. xix. 35, that Sennacherib's host was destroyed on the very night of the day on which Isaiah prophesied its destruction.

[6] *E.g.*, the expression used of the staves of the ark, as arranged in the Temple by Solomon, "There they are to this day" (1 Kings viii. 8); the declaration (chap. ix. 21) that the bondage of the Amorites, Hittites, &c., to Israel continued; the assertion that Israel was still in rebellion against Judah (chap. xii. 19); and the statement that Selah (Petra) still kept the name of Joktheel, which Amaziah gave it.

[7] The formula for the commencement of a reign is, during the existence of the two kingdoms: "In the *x*th year of ——, King of Israel (or Judah), began ——, King of Judah (or Israel), to reign over Israel (or Judah); *x* years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned *x* years in Samaria (or Jerusalem)." It is sometimes shortened by the omission of the clause giving the age of the king at his accession. This formula occurs, either in full or abbreviated, twenty-seven times. After the fall of the kingdom of Israel, the formula runs: "—— was *x* years old when he began to reign, and he reigned *x* years in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was ——, the daughter of ——." Then follows a statement: "He did that which was evil (or right) in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done;" and, in the case of the Kings of Israel, it is said, with scarcely an exception, "He departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin, but walked therein."

At the close of a reign there is another almost unvarying formula: "And the rest of the acts of —— and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah (or Israel)? And —— slept with his fathers, and was buried (with his fathers) in the city of David (or in Samaria); and ——, his son, reigned in his stead."

[8] See 2 Kings xvii. 7—41. Shorter comments on the history, originating with the compiler, are 2 Kings xiii. 23; xiv. 26, 27; xv. 12; xviii. 12.

1 Kings, chaps. i.—xi. Drawn by Jeremiah from the Book of the Acts of Solomon.
1 Kings, chaps. xii.—xxii. Drawn by Jeremiah from the Books of the Kings of Israel and Judah.
2 Kings, chaps. i.—xvii. 6. Drawn by Jeremiah from the Books of the Kings of Israel and Judah.
2 Kings, chap. xvii. 7—41. *Written by Jeremiah himself.*
2 Kings, chaps. xviii.—xxii. Drawn by Jeremiah from the Book of the Kings of Judah.
2 Kings, chaps. xxiii.—xxv. *Written by Jeremiah himself.*

The object proposed to himself by the author of Kings was the carrying on of the Israelitish history from the point to which he found it brought at the close of the Second Book of Samuel to his own time, in a compendious form, and in the spirit of the earlier sacred writers. He commences his work with the copulative conjunction "and," thereby indicating that it has the character of a continuation.[1] He then devotes his first section (1 Kings i.—ii. 1—11) to the closing years of David, less, however, with the object of completing David's history, which he perhaps found completed in Samuel,[2] than with that of introducing to us the person and history of Solomon, which was what he especially proposed to set before his readers in the first great division of his narrative. That narrative really consists of three main portions—(1) A history of Solomon from his association by David to his death (1 Kings i.—xi.). (2) A history of the parallel kingdoms of Israel and Judah, down to the extinction of the former (1 Kings xii.—2 Kings xvii.); and (3) a history of the kingdom of Judah from the time of the downfall of the sister state to the final destruction of the Davidic monarchy by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon (2 Kings xviii.—xxv.).

(1) The history of Solomon is divided into two portions—(*a*) his history from his association in the kingdom to his father's death (1 Kings i.—ii. 1—11); and (*b*) his subsequent history as sole monarch (1 Kings ii. 15 to end of chap. xi.). The first chapter gives an account of his association, and of the circumstances which brought it about; the second, to verse 9, gives the dying charge which David left him. Then, in two verses (10 and 11), David's death and the length of his reign are briefly mentioned. With verse 12 of chapter ii. commences the second portion of the history of Solomon's actual reign. This is carried on to the end of chapter xi., when Solomon's death is recorded in the usual terms, and the name of his successor is given.

The account of Solomon's reign thus occupies nearly ten chapters, or more than a fifth of the whole work. The author notes the piety and good promise of his youth, the glory of his manhood, and his miserable falling away in his old age. He sets before us the first in two chapters (ii.—iii.), the second in seven (iv.—x.), and the third in one (xi.). He thus dwells mainly upon the glorious period, and especially upon the crowning glory of Solomon's reign, the building and dedication of the Temple, to which he devotes somewhat more than four chapters (v.—ix. 9). But he does not disguise from us the fact[3] that even at this most brilliant period, when "all the earth sought to Solomon to hear his wisdom," there was a canker of corruption in the state, which promised ill for the future. Fornication (iii. 16), idolatry (xi. 33), and rebellion (xi. 26) already showed themselves; plain precepts of the law were disregarded (x. 14—25, 27—29; xi. 2); idol-temples polluted the land (xi. 7); and rites were instituted of an impure and inhuman character. The warning voice of Solomon (viii. 46)—nay, of God Himself (ix. 6—9)—was raised to declare the dreadful punishment which the nation would bring upon itself by its apostacy, unless it returned and repented. The first judgment, the disruption of the kingdom of David, was plainly announced (xi. 13, 31, &c.). Altogether, we are prepared, even in the section treating of the glories of Israel, the time when the kingdom extended from the river of Egypt to the banks of the Euphrates, for the coming desolation, when Jerusalem "sat solitary as a widow, and wept sore, and had none to comfort her" (Lam. i. 1, 2).

(2) The history of the double monarchy, or the two parallel kingdoms of Israel and Judah, which forms the subject of the second main section of Kings, is treated by the author with much skill and ability. An ordinary writer would have narrated the two histories separately, completing the one before he entered upon the other. The writer of Kings—no ordinary author—combines the two histories in an artistic and highly elaborate way, making each reflect light on the other, treating of each in its turn, but never dwelling so long upon the one as to cause the other to be forgotten, and particularly bringing into prominence the points in which the two histories were connected. The unwise severity of Rehoboam leads to the revolt of the Ten Tribes, to the establishment of Jeroboam as "King of Israel," and the setting up of an unauthorised worship at Dan and Bethel to rival the authorised ritual of Jerusalem (chap. xii.). The open rivalry naturally leads to war (xii. 21—24; xiv. 30; xv. 6—7, 16); and war leads to the calling in of foreign allies on the one side or the other (xiv. 25; xv. 18—20), whereby each kingdom is in turn weakened. At length, after three generations of strife, the rival kingdoms, under the pressure of foreign aggression, come to terms; amity and alliance take the place of constant jealous hostility; Jehoshaphat, the fourth King of Judah, marries the daughter of Ahab, the seventh King of Israel; and the two powers are, for the space of three reigns, close allies and friends, undertaking conjoint enterprises (1 Kings xxii. 48, 49), going out to battle together (1 Kings xxii. 2—32; 2 Kings iii. 7—27), and exchanging visits of congratulation, condolence, or ceremony (1 Kings xxii. 2; 2 Kings viii. 29; x. 13). But this cordial intercourse is in its effects worse than the precedent hostility. A foreign

[1] Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Samuel, which are continuations of the previous history, are similarly commenced. Chronicles, which is not a continuation, but a re-writing for a particular purpose of the whole history, commences differently.

[2] It is a reasonable conjecture that Samuel, as originally written, contained an account of the death of David, which was omitted subsequently on account of the more minute details accompanying the account given in Kings.

[3] In Chronicles all mention of Solomon's sins is avoided.

idolatry, a more gross and open defection from Jehovah than the anterior "calf-worship," has been introduced into Israel by Ahab; and the affinity contracted by Jehoshaphat with this king, and the connection thereby established, naturally lead on to the adoption of this fearful abomination by Judah also, and so to the corruption and ruin of both kingdoms. The evil is indeed stayed in both cases—in Israel by the establishment on the throne, through prophetical agency, of a dynasty hostile to the house of Ahab, which continues in power for above a century; in Judah by a priestly revolution, issuing in the execution of the princess who has brought the corruption in, and the placing upon the throne of an infant prince, during whose minority the high priest is regent, and the worship of Jehovah is restored. The taint, however, had penetrated too deep to be eradicated. In Israel the house of Jehu, though staunch against the Baal-worship, maintained the idolatry of Jeroboam (2 Kings x. 31; xiii. 2, 11; xiv. 24; xv. 9); and the later kings permitted the introduction of strange cults and rites from all the surrounding nations. The author of Kings, in his history of the double monarchy, treats more especially of Israel, to whose affairs he devotes eighteen whole chapters out of twenty-eight, and more than the half of seven others. He traces especially the sins and the warnings of this portion of the promised people; and then, having completed his narrative by relating their conquest by the Assyrians, he appends a remarkable passage, consisting of reflections upon the history, justifying the ways of God thus far, and showing that the nation brought upon itself its own destruction.

(3) Having concluded his account of the double monarchy, the writer of Kings (in 2 Kings xviii.) enters upon the third great division of his work, and proceeds to trace the remaining history of the kingdom of Judah through eight reigns,[1] from the accession of Hezekiah, six years before the extinction of the kingdom of Israel, to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. He dwells especially upon the histories of Hezekiah and Josiah, the two best kings of this period, the latter of whom he had probably known personally (Jer. i. 2). He delivers the history of Hezekiah, almost in the exact words of Isaiah (Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix.), in three chapters (2 Kings xviii.—xx.); that of Manasseh and his son, Amon, in one (chap. xxi.); that of Josiah in two (xxii. and xxiii.); and that of his successors, also in two (xxiv. and xxv.). In this section, as in the preceding one, he notes especially the sins of the chosen people—the popular worship of the brazen serpent (xviii. 4), the ostentatious exhibition of his wealth by Hezekiah (xx. 13), the cruelties and manifold idolatries of Manasseh (xxi. 2—17), the similar iniquity of Amon (xxi. 20—22), the persistent opposition to Jehovah of Jehoahaz (xxiii. 32), Jehoiakim (*ib.*, verse 37), Jehoiachin (xxiv. 9), and Zedekiah (*ib.*, verse 19). Having thus prepared his readers for the final catastrophe, which could not but follow upon such obstinacy in evil, he in his last chapter (2 Kings xxv.) narrates with extreme brevity the closing scene—the capture and destruction of Jerusalem, the captivity of the people, the fate of Zedekiah and his sons, the burning of the Temple, the carrying off of its treasures, the massacre of the chief prisoners at Riblah, the establishment of Gedaliah as governor over the "remnant left in the land," his murder, and the retreat of the "remnant" into Egypt. Here his narrative might seem naturally to come to an end. All was over. Sin had worked out its natural result of suffering. A complete apostacy had provoked an entire destruction. But the writer will not leave his readers in the dreary darkness to which he has conducted them, without cheering them with a gleam of light. God had promised that, at the worst, he would never wholly fail David. David's throne and kingdom, if in abeyance for a time, should be re-established, and should in some true sense continue for ever (2 Sam. vii. 16). Bearing this in mind, the writer ends his work with a section which seems to say that the worst is past, the deepest darkness gone by, the day-dawn approaching. He notes how, after a weary captivity of thirty-seven years, the last scion of the house of David, ere his death, passed from a prison to a palace, from a dungeon to a "throne," exchanged his wretched life in the confinement of a Babylonian gaol for a seat with other kings at the banquet-table of the Great Monarch, who "spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon; and changed his prison garments," and gave him bread to "eat continually before him all the days of his life" (2 Kings xxv. 28, 29). Thus the cloud lifts ere the scene closes upon us; a promise of better things to come appears; the nation which has been told so plainly—even sternly—the truth, that its own sins have brought it to ruin, is encouraged to hope in the long-suffering mercy of God, and to look forward to a time when it too, like Jehoiachin, may find its captivity terminated and itself restored to a position of honour.

Such is the general outline of the history contained in Kings. The peculiarities of the writer are not many. Like the other sacred historians, he occupies what has been called "the religious stand-point"—that is, he views the events of history in their religious and moral, not in their mere civil, aspect. He "regards the Jews, not as an ordinary nation, but as God's people. He does not aim at exhibiting the political progress of the kingdoms about which he writes, but intends to describe to us God's treatment of the race with which He had entered into covenant. Where he records the events of the civil history, he does not record them for their own sake, but simply as illustrative of the nation's moral condition, or of God's dealings with it."[2] Hence it follows that he often omits altogether (or treats with the utmost brevity) events which the ordinary historian would have considered as of primary importance. Thus he takes no notice at all of the expedition of Zerah the Ethiopian,

[1] The reigns of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah.

[2] *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. ii., p. 477.

the great event of Asa's reign (2 Chron. xiv. 9—15; xvi. 8); he omits wholly the war of Jehoshaphat with Moab, Ammon, and Edom (2 Chron. xx. 1—25); that of Uzziah against the Philistines (*ib.*, xxvi. 6—8), and that which ended with Manasseh's capture by the Assyrians (*ib.*, xxxiii. 11—13). He describes with extreme brevity the conquest of Jerusalem by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), the war between Abijam and Jeroboam (*ib.*, xv. 7), that of Amaziah with Edom (2 Kings xiv. 7), and that of Josiah with Pharaoh-nechoh (*ib.*, xxiii. 29). As a general rule, he passes lightly over the military history of the two kingdoms, contenting himself with referring his readers to the "Books of the Kings of Israel" or "Judah" for the events to which an ordinary secular historian would have given the greatest prominence.

It has been regarded as "characteristic" of him, that he makes the activity of the prophets in the state, and the narrative of their miracles, leading topics in his history; and undoubtedly it is true that the prophets, their words and acts, do occupy a considerable space in his narrative, and attract to themselves much of the attention of the reader. The doings and sayings of Elijah the Tishbite occupy four entire chapters (1 Kings xvii.—xix.; 2 Kings i.) and a considerable portion of two others (1 Kings xxi. 17—29; 2 Kings ii. 1—11). Those of Elisha, the son of Shaphat, are related even at greater length, occupying four chapters completely (2 Kings iv.—vii.) and portions of six others (1 Kings xix. 19—21; 2 Kings ii. 12—25; iii. 11—25; viii. 1—15; ix. 1—10; and xiii. 14—21). Two chapters (2 Kings xix. and xx.) are almost wholly concerned with Isaiah. Besides nameless prophets, whose doings occupy most of two chapters (1 Kings xiii. and xx.), we have mention in the history of Ahijah the Shilonite, Shemaiah, Jehu the son of Hanani, Micaiah the son of Imlah, Jonah the son of Amittai, and Huldah the prophetess. Altogether, nearly a third of the entire work is concerned with the activity of the prophets, with their miracles, and the part which they played in the history of the two kingdoms. It does not appear, however, that the prominence of the prophets is due to any particular bias of the writer's mind, or to any determination on his part to assign them an undue place in his narrative. It is simply due to the fact that the time was one of remarkable prophetic activity, and that during it the religious history of the Israelitish nation was largely affected by the exertions and influence of the prophets. We know that of the four greater prophets, three, and of the twelve minor ones, nine, lived during the period; and we hear in Chronicles of seven other persons as prophesying under the kings, who are not included in either of these lists, or mentioned by our author. Thus an honest history of the time, and of its religious phenomena, necessarily included frequent reference to the prophets, to their teaching, their influence, and their miracles, which were so largely instrumental in giving them their influence.

A more special characteristic of the Book of Kings, as it has come down to us, is its elaborate and apparently exact chronology. In no other part of Scripture has anything like the same degree of attention been paid to the chronological element which underlies the history; nor is it common to find even in profane writers of this same early age, such constant and particular notes of time as occur in this composition. In Judges and Samuel the estimates of time are palpably incomplete; and the numbers, which are most commonly round ones, have an appearance of inexactness. In Kings round numbers do not occur with any frequency; no intervals of time are unestimated; and in the main section of the work, the central one (1 Kings xii.—2 Kings xvii.), a system of double notation of a complicated character prevails, an attempt being made to synchronise exactly the parallel histories of Israel and Judah. It may be doubted, however, whether this peculiarity is, at any rate in its present pronounced form, an original feature of the work, or whether it has not rather been superadded on some revision. Strong reasons have been alleged for regarding the first date which occurs ("It came to pass, *in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt* . . . that Solomon began to build the house of the Lord"—1 Kings vi. 1) as an interpolation;[1] and it may be suspected that a similar character attaches to the entire series of synchronisms between the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. These synchronisms are always parenthetic; and in many cases the sense would be cleared, and the grammar improved, were they omitted. "So Tibni died, and Omri reigned; in the thirty and first year of Asa, King of Judah, began Omri to reign over Israel twelve years" (1 Kings xvi. 22, 23), is scarcely a satisfactory sentence. Nor are the following any better:—"In the nine and thirtieth year of Azariah, King of Judah, began Menahem, the son of Gadi, to reign over Israel ten years in Samaria" (2 Kings xv. 17); "In the fiftieth year of Azariah, King of Judah, Pekahiah, the son of Menahem, began to reign over Israel in Samaria two years" (*ib.*, 23), where our translators interpolate the words "and reigned" before "ten years" and "two years," because otherwise the sentences are incongruous and have no clear sense. It may be added that the chronology is thrown into inextricable confusion by the synchronisms, which cannot be reconciled one with another, excepting by a long series of violent and most improbable suppositions,[2] as that the initial year of a king is reckoned differently in different passages, and that long interregna occurred of which the historian says nothing.

The authenticity of the general narrative of Kings is scarcely questioned by any writer, ancient or modern. No one doubts that from the time of David the Jews were familiar with writing, and adopted the practice of keeping state records; nor is it questioned that, in the main, the writer of Kings honestly drew from this source. Certain exceptions to the general rule are, however,

[1] See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. ii., p. 515.

[2] Some of these are given in the margin of many of our Bibles. Others will be found in Clinton (*F. H.*, vol. i., pp. 315—329) and in the *Comment on Kings* by Keil.

made by some critics; and on these it seems right to say a few words before this article is concluded. (1) The prayer of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 22—53) is thought by some not to be a genuine utterance of that king, but to be the composition of Jeremiah, or some other writer of the Captivity period, a *vaticinium ex eventu* or "prophecy after the event," based perhaps on some tradition of Solomon's having made a solemn prayer at the Dedication of the Temple, but really first written some centuries afterwards.[1] When such a view is put forward, when an integral portion of a work—found in all the MSS.—is separated off from the rest and assigned to a period several centuries later, it is natural to ask, in the first place, on what is this opinion based? what grounds are alleged for it? In the present instance, the grounds appear to be two only—first, the captivity of the Jews is plainly declared in the prayer, and therefore, *real prophecy not being regarded as possible*, the document, it is supposed, *must* have been written after the Captivity had commenced; and, secondly, *the late composition of Deuteronomy being assumed as a fact*, and the references to Deuteronomy in the prayer being numerous and unmistakable, it follows that the prayer must be of a late date, Deuteronomy being so. These are, it is believed, the sole grounds taken. It is not pretended that the language of the prayer is critically distinguishable from that of the chapters preceding or following it. Nor is it alleged that the thoughts are unsuitable to the time of Solomon. Thus the view maintained rests upon two assumptions—(*a*) that prophecy is impossible; and (*b*) that Deuteronomy was not written till long after the time of Solomon. Now, with regard to the first of these two assumptions, it is enough to say, that it is simply a denial of the supernatural, and scarcely consistent even with deism; to combat it, in a work addressed to Christians, would be out of place; and we therefore pass it by. With respect to the other ground, we think it enough to refer the reader to the "Introduction to Deuteronomy" already published in this work,[2] where they will find the late composition of the book refuted, and its Mosaic authorship shown to be in the highest degree probable. There are thus absolutely no solid reasons for suspecting the prayer; it breathes a spirit closely akin to the Davidical Psalms, with which its language is also in harmony; it is a document of a kind that would be likely to be inserted in the state records;[3] and it has a double sanction, being given as Solomon's, not only by the writer of Kings, but also by the compiler of Chronicles, an independent authority, and one who in this matter evidently did not draw from Kings, but from some larger source,[4] probably the state records themselves, which must have still existed in his day, since he refers his readers to them continually.[5]

(2) Objection is taken to those portions of Kings which treat of the histories of Elijah and Elisha. These portions, it is said, are not drawn from the state records but from an entirely different source. They come from some collection of traditions respecting those persons made many years after their deaths, either by the writer of Kings, or by some other person, from the mouths of the common people.[6] They may, therefore, safely be set aside as unhistorical. Here again, if we examine into the ground of the assertions made, we shall find that in the objectors' minds the only real reason for separating off these narratives from the rest of the work is, that they contain accounts of miracles, and the critics in question have laid it down as an axiom, that *miracles are impossible*. Not the shadow of a philological, or critical reason has been shown for separating off any part of the account of Elijah, or more than two passages of the account of Elisha, from the rest of Kings and attributing them to a peculiar source, or to a special author. The actions of Elijah are mainly of a public character, and would as naturally form part of the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," as the actions of Isaiah did of the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (see 2 Kings xix.—xx.). And the actions of Elisha are largely of this character. The foretold destruction of Moab (2 Kings iii. 14—25), the cure of Naaman the Syrian (*ib.*, v. 1—19), the revelation of the King of Syria's designs (*ib.*, vi. 8—12), the capture of one of his armies (*ib.*, 13—23), the foretold deliverance of Samaria (*ib.*, vii. 1—20), the journey of Elisha to Damascus (*ib.*, viii. 7—14), the anointing of Jehu (*ib.*, ix. 1—10), the interview between Elisha and Joash (*ib.*, xiii. 14—19), were public matters, and were such as the Israelite historians—members, let it be borne in mind, of the prophetical order—would be almost certain to have entered in the state archives. To a small portion only of what is told us of Elisha does a private character attach. The miracles related in 2 Kings iv., vi. 1—7, and viii. 1—6, were in a certain sense private; they would originally be known to few, and would scarcely find a place in the state records. It is not unlikely that these portions of his narrative were taken by the author of Kings from a biography of Elisha, written in a familiar style, and in language containing provincialisms.[7] But they need not on that account be any the less authentic. It is a gratuitous and improbable supposition that the miracles of the great Israelitish prophets were collected "long after their deaths." The natural thing would be that at the close of a great prophet's career, his special successor, if he had one, or otherwise some favourite disciple, should collect his miracles and other remarkable deeds and commit them to writing. Elisha may probably have done this for

[1] See Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, vol. iii., p. 404.

[2] See Bible Educator, Vol. I., pp. 273—276.

[3] The prayer of Solomon on this solemn occasion would as naturally be entered in the state records as the psalm of David when he brought the ark into Jerusalem (see 1 Chron. xvi. 7—36).

[4] A comparison of 1 Kings viii. 50—53 with 2 Chron. vi. 40—42 shows this.

[5] 1 Chron. xxvii. 24; xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22, &c.

[6] De Wette, *Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.*, p. 185.

[7] Some peculiar forms of speech, which seem to be provincial, occur in 2 Kings iv. 1—37, and viii. 1—6.

Elijah, and the most magnificent section of Kings (1 Kings xvii.—xix.), and again, 2 Kings i.—ii., may be mainly from his hand. Jonah (2 Kings xiv. 25), or some "son of the prophets" who had known him, may have collected the miracles and other doings of Elisha. The whole result is, that unless we consider miracles incredible, there is no reason why we should regard the accounts which the author of Kings gives of Elijah and Elisha as any less authentic than the rest of his narrative.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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DOVE, PIGEON.

THE *Columbidæ*, pigeon and dove family, is represented in Palestine by the following species:—the *Columba palumbus*, or common wood-pigeon of this country, the *C. livia*, the rock-pigeon, also occurring in our own country near the sea-coast, the *C. schimperi*, or rock-pigeon of Egypt, to be seen in countless myriads in the Wady Hamam (*i.e.*, "ravine of pigeons," from the Arabic *hamâmat*, "a wild pigeon"), leading from the Plain of Gennesaret, in the ravine of the Kelt near Jericho, in the recesses of cliffs which shut in the rivers Arnon and Zerka in the land of Moab; and the stock dove (*C. œnas*), which visits Palestine in the summer. Of turtle-doves (*Turtur*) the following are inhabitants of the Holy Land: *T. auritus*, or common turtle-dove of England, which visits us in the summer (it is tolerably abundant in Shropshire, where it is called the Wrekin dove); the collared turtle (*T. risorius*), the largest species of the group; and the palm turtle (*T. Senegalensis*), pretty numerous in the plains of Jericho, and Shittim, and round the Dead Sea.

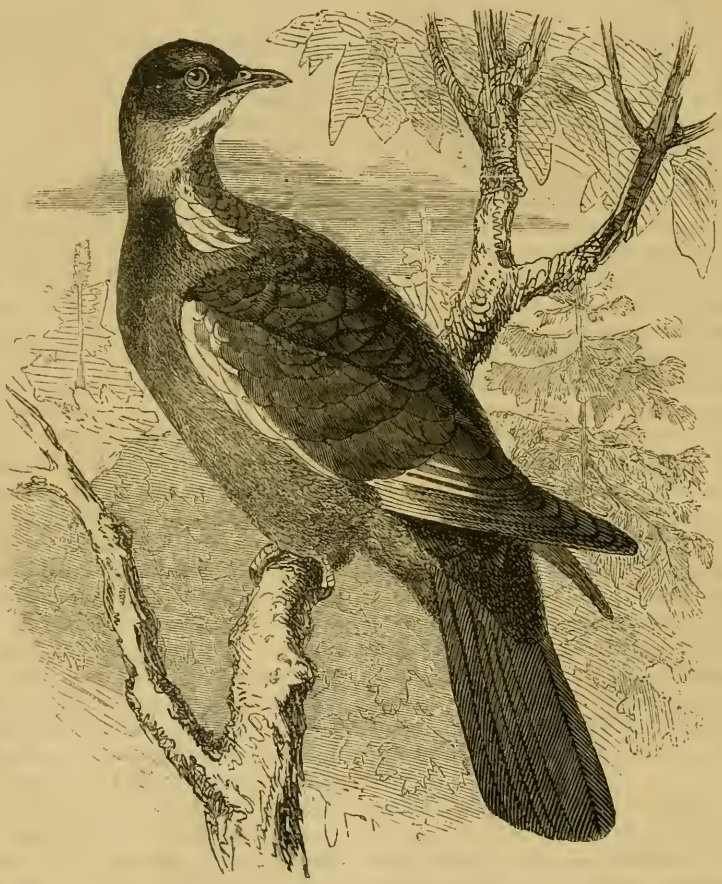
There are many allusions to pigeons and turtle-doves in the Bible. Two Hebrew words express either a pigeon or a turtle-dove, viz., *tôr*, always translated "turtle-dove" or "turtle," and *yônâh*, "pigeon" or "dove" (A. V.). Another word, *gôzâh*, occurs in Gen. xv. 9, as the name of "a young pigeon," from a root, meaning "to chirp."

The first mention of a dove occurs in the Biblical account of the Deluge (Gen. viii. 8), where we read that Noah sent forth from the ark one of these birds three times. On the first occasion it soon returned; on the second it came back with an olive-leaf in its mouth; on the third time it came back no more. A pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons was by the Levitical law allowed as a substitute in some of the offerings for a lamb or a kid in the case of poor persons (see Lev. i. 14; v. 7; xii. 6, 8; Luke ii. 24). A Nazarite, in the case of accidental defilement from a dead body, was ordered to bring to the priest on the eighth day two turtles or young pigeons to be sacrificed, one for a burnt-offering, the other for a sin-offering, as an atonement (Numb. vi. 10). With a view to facilitate the purchase of these birds for offerings, the Jews in our Lord's time established a kind of market within the court of the Temple, a proceeding emphatically condemned by Christ (Matt. xxi. 12; John ii. 14—16). The rapidity of a pigeon's flight is alluded to in Ps. lv. 6: "Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest." Also in Hos. xi. 11: "They shall hasten trembling [A. V., "tremble"] as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria." The plaintive voice of the dove is alluded to by Hezekiah in his sickness (Isa. xxxviii. 14): "I did mourn as a dove." See also lix. 11, and Nah. ii. 7, in which latter passage the maids of the city of Nineveh, personified as a queen, are represented mourning the fate of their mistress as with the voice of doves.[1] The beautiful metallic lustre seen in certain angles of the light on the necks of some pigeons, notably on that of the stock dove, *Columba œnas* (whence indeed its specific name *œneus*, "of bronze"), is referred to by the Psalmist, though the passage has been variously translated: "Though ye have lien (p. p. of verb *to lie*, A. S. *licgan*, p. p. *legen*, common in the sixteenth century) among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold" (Ps. lxviii. 13). A better rendering of the Hebrew words would be, "If ye lie among the sheepfolds, it is as the wings of the dove," &c. The glittering of the dove's feathers in the sun is an emblem of peace and prosperity. If God gives His people peace, it is well, and all is joyous as the play of colours on a stock dove's neck; if God causes war and scatters Israel's enemies, it is as when he illumines dark Salmon with glistening snow (ver. 14), another emblem of joy. This is Hengstenberg's explanation, which seems to us simple and natural. Some commentators refer the scattering of the kings in their glittering armour to the white patches of snow lying in broken masses on the dark forest boughs; others think the whiteness refers to the bleached bones of the slain, comparing the "campi ossibus albent" and "humanis ossibus albet humus" of Virgil (*Æn.*, xii. 36) and Ovid (*Fasti*, i. 558). See Maurer, Delitzsch, and Perowne, on this subject. Nevertheless, the passage is obscure; the literal rendering of the words is so uncertain, that the import of the whole passage can only be, to a great extent, a matter of conjecture.[2] The gentleness

[1] The text here is obscure. "And Huzzab shall be led away, she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts." The following more correctly represents the original: "It has been determined (הָצַב, *hoph.* of יָצַב), she (Nineveh) is laid bare, carried into captivity, and her maids groan like the cry of doves, smiting on their breasts."

[2] See *Speaker's Commentary*, iv., p. 321.

of the dove is alluded to by our Lord: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (Matt. x. 16). Doves' eyes were considered very beautiful (Cant. i. 15; iv. 1; v. 12). The wild rock-pigeon builds its nest in lofty cliffs and in deep gorges. This is referred to in Cant. ii. 14: "O my dove, thou art in clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the cliffs" ("stairs," A. V.); "O ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities, and dwell in the rock, and be like the dove that maketh her nest in the sides of the hole's mouth" (Jer. xlviii. 28).



RING-DOVE (*Palumbus torquatus*).

The migration of the turtle-dove, whose return to Palestine in the spring is, as Dr. Tristram says, one of the most marked epochs in the ornithological calendar, is definitely mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah: "The turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming" (viii. 7); and by the author of the Canticles: "For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land" (Cant. ii. 11, 12). The dove here especially alluded to is the *Turtus auritus*. "Search the glades and valleys even by sultry Jordan at the end of March, and not a turtle-dove is to be seen. Return in the second week in April, and clouds of doves are feeding on the clovers of the plains. They stock every tree and thicket. At every step they flutter up from the herbage in front; they perch on every tree and bush; they overspread the whole face of the land. So universal, so simultaneous, so conspicuous their migration, that the prophet might well place the turtle-dove at the head of those birds which 'observe the time of their coming'" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 219). The collared turtle (*T. risorius*) occurs in great numbers near the springs and streams on the shores of the Dead Sea where trees grow; and here it resides throughout the year. In the summer it spreads northwards up the Jordan valley, and may be seen in the woods of Mount Tabor and Gilead. This bird is a larger variety, and darker in plumage than the dove so frequently kept in cages and aviaries in England, so familiar to all. Dr. Tristram says that Palestine appears to be almost the western limit of this bird. It is very common in India, but is not found in a wild state in Europe.

The palm turtle (*T. Senegalensis*), like the preceding species, is non-migratory, being a permanent resident

in those places it frequents, such as the plains of Jericho and Shittim, round the Dead Sea, and other spots where palm-trees flourish. But at Jericho, when the palm is no longer found, this turtle frequents the thorny jujube-trees (*Zizyphus spina-christi*). It is a small bird of a ruddy chestnut colour, with no collar on the neck, which is clothed with dark feathers having a slight metallic lustre.

TURTLE-DOVES (*Turtur auritus*).

The domestication of the pigeon dates from very early times. The prophet Isaiah probably refers to tame birds when he says, "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?" (Isa. lx. 8); but Professor Lepsius informed Mr. Darwin that, as early as the fifth Egyptian dynasty, or 3000 B.C., pigeons were domesticated; and Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, says that the pigeon appears in a bill of fare in the previous dynasty. In Palestine at the present day the pigeon is "the invariable companion of man wherever he has a settled habitation. The village sheikh marks his wealth by the possession of a large separate dove-cot built of mud or brick, and roofed over, filled with earthen pots with a wide mouth, each of which is the home of a pair of pigeons. The poorer people rear them in their houses, and in the villages about Carmel there is a row of small square pigeon-holes formed in the wall just under the roof, opposite the door, each of which has a pair of tenants, who fly in and out over the heads of the family through the common door." The pigeon tribe is exceedingly abundant in Palestine. This is accounted for by the botanical character of the country, which is extremely rich in various kinds of clover, trefoil, and other leguminous plants, on which the birds delight to feed. Our word pigeon is from the Latin *pipio* (a young pigeon), that from *pipire*, "to chirp as a young bird." Dove is from the Anglo-Saxon *duva*, that from *dûfan*, "to dive" or "to duck the head," in allusion to the well-known habits of the family.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

HEBREW MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

THE actual content of the measures of capacity mentioned in the Bible is, up to the present time, a moot point. One reason of the obscurity which has been allowed to rest on the subject is this. Josephus makes repeated reference to Hebrew measures, and explains them to his readers by the use of Greek terms, that only approximately coincide. Thus in one place (*Ant.*, viii. 2, 9) he says that the *bath* contains 72 *xestæ*; that is to say, that it is equal to the Greek *metretes*, or a little over ten gallons. In another passage (*Ant.*, xv. 9, 2) he says that the *kor* is equal to ten Attic *medimni*; which gives a *bath* of a little over eight gallons. In a third place (*Ant.*, iii. 15, 3) he makes seventy *kori* equal to forty-one Attic *medimni*. And his references, in two other passages, to the *cotyle* and the *choa* are no less inconsistent with one another, and with the foregoing comparisons. It is thus evident that no accurate determination of these ancient measures is to be obtained from Josephus. If we say, in round numbers, that the *hin* is the Jewish gallon, and the *kor* the Jewish quarter, we shall be nearer the mark than if we attempt to work out elaborate equivalents on the plan hitherto pursued.

Maimonides, in his commentary on the tract of the Talmud, *De Angulo* (c. viii. m. 5), gives us a measurement of the *log*, a small measure of capacity, in digits. But the question of the size of this digit is left open. If we take the Hebrew digit of two barley corns, we obtain too small a result. If we consider the *pollex* of Maimonides to equal an English inch, we have too large a result. It is useless to attempt to base a metrical system on so vague a foundation.

The Oral Law, however, has referred the Hebrew measures of capacity to the natural standard of the contents of an egg. The *log*, one of the smallest dimensions in the scale, is equal to the contents of six eggs. These are said by the Ghemarists to be middle-sized birds' eggs; which they take to be represented by the largest eggs of the domestic hen. Although a question may arise, how far such a standard can be considered as permanent, our first step must be to ascertain what the cubic contents of a large hen's egg actually are.

A considerable range of difference, in the size of the eggs of the hen, actually exists. But from a series of measurements of full-sized eggs, as they are laid in this country, we arrive at an average of four cubic inches of contents. It is extremely rare to find an egg exceed this capacity by more than five per cent. There is an obvious advantage in making use of so simple a unit. Not only are all calculations thus rendered extremely simple; but further, as afterwards will appear, the Hebrew measures of capacity are thus brought into direct mathematical accordance with those of length. It may be said that the *log* of twenty-four cubic inches is only an approximately determined measure. Let it be so considered. At the same time, the metrical results of this approximation are so simple, and so precise, that there is good reason for supposing that they are actually in accordance with the principles of the ancient system.

We have a positive check as to this determination, by weight. Twenty-four cubic inches, or ·6752 of an English pint, contain 6,060 grains of water at 62° Fahrenheit. Maimonides states that the weight of water which an *anphak*, or quarter *log*, will contain, is equal to twenty-six Egyptian *drachmæ*. He does not state the temperature employed; and further, there is a doubt as to the exact weight of the *drachma*. The Attic *drachma* (about B.C. 25) weighed 61·3 troy grains, and it subsequently fell to 57 grains, or lower.[1] Rabbi David[2], who was the sixth from Maimonides, estimated the weight of the *anphak* of water at twenty-five *drachmæ*. If we consider the apothecaries' drachm of sixty troy grains to be the unit employed, the determination of Rabbi David would make a *log* of water weigh 6,000 grains. The heavier *drachma* would give 6,240 grains; the lighter, 5,928 grains. It is thus clear that our own result of 6,060 grains is not far from the precise truth.

The difficulty experienced, in modern times, in establishing a geometrically accurate standard of measurements, at an arbitrarily fixed temperature of 62° Fahrenheit, was not fully overcome until Sir Joseph Whitworth supplied to mechanical science a method which may be considered practically perfect. The attempt made by the French men of science to base a new metrical system, by means of astronomical observations, on the polar diameter of the earth, is now known to be inexact in its results. The *kilogramme*[3] was intended to be the weight of a cubic *décimètre* of pure water, at its maximum density; but it is, in fact, somewhat greater.[4] The imperial gallon is stated in an Act of Parliament to contain 277·274 cubic inches; but its actual contents, according to the standard volume of 10lb. avoirdupois of pure water at the temperature of 62° Fahrenheit, under the pressure of thirty inches of mercury, is stated by Professor Rankine to be actually 277·123 cubic inches.

The Roman *modius*, the Hebrew *sea* or *satum*, and the English peck, are so nearly identical in their cubic contents, that it is difficult to oppose the idea

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1 *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 234.
2 Tract *De Angulo*, iii. 6, commentary of Guisius.
3 *Useful Rules and Tables*. By W. J. M. Rankine, p. 97.
4 Rankine's *Useful Rules and Tables*, p. 99.

that they were once, historically regarded, the same measure.

The Hebrew *œpha*, according to the determination we have above stated, contains exactly a cubic English foot, or the cube of three-quarters of a Hebrew cubit. An exact relation of this nature, between measures of length and measures of capacity, is at once more simple and more satisfactory, than any determination obtained by the intermediate use of the scale beam; and appears to preclude the idea that it owes its origin to mere casual coincidence.

A difficulty of a different order besets the student of Hebrew measures, who seeks for information from the Authorised Version of the Bible. It is one which arises from the uncertain transliteration of Hebrew words; that is to say, from their spelling in English letters. The transformation, which gradually occurs in all languages, had proceeded to a considerable extent in Hebrew, before it was arrested by the introduction of the points by the Rabbis of Tiberias. That invention crystallised the speech of the age; and has preserved to us the pronunciation, the masoretic interpretation, and the grammar, of the fourth century A.D. These not unfrequently differ from those of the third century B.C., which again are, to some extent, preserved in the LXX. With the original language, there is good reason to believe, the discrepancy is often more serious. The current Arabic of the present day preserves, in some words, an unpointed Hebrew pronunciation, which is entirely lost in the rabbinical Hebrew. Thus the name of Ayoub, "the haunted man," is familiar in Palestine; where the Job of the English Bible, and the ΙΩΒ of the LXX., would be entirely unrecognised.

The bearing of this change in the pronunciation of the Hebrew language upon our present subject, is this: We find, in the Bible, references to a Jewish measure called the *omer*;[1] and again, in other places,[2] to the *homer*. It is very natural to confuse these two similar words; and the LXX. translators have actually done so, by the translation of each of them by the word *gomor* in some places, although in others they use the Persian word *artaba*[3] for what our translators call the *homer*. This measure, which in unpointed Hebrew is spelt *hmr*, contains one hundred of the measures which are, in the same way, spelt both *omr* and *oimr*. The former word originally meant a heap, the latter is used in the Pentateuch and in the Book of Ruth to denote the handful of the gleaner.

That the measures of capacity among the Jews were occasionally tampered with for dishonest purposes may be inferred from the rebuke of the prophet Amos,[4] "making the ephah small, and the shekel great," or, in other words, selling short measure to the poor, at full or exaggerated price.

[1] Exod. xvi. 36.
[2] Isa. v. 10; Ezek. xlv. 14.; Hos. iii. 2.
[3] Isa. v. 10. *Omer* is not to be found in the thirtieth edition of Professor Eadie's Cruden's *Concordance*.
[4] Amos viii. 5.

In the tables of Hebrew measures of capacity subjoined, there will be found a representation of the actual contents of the several denominations (together with their mutual relations), expressed in definite English equivalents. These equivalents are not only as close to the truth as the information which exists on the subject will allow a writer to calculate; but are as close as the ancient measures could, in all probability, be made by the artisans of the time. And even further than this, their geometric exactitude, as compared with the linear measures, is so perfect, that there is every reason to believe that we have recovered the positive and exact standard. From what follows on the subject of weight, there seems reason to apprehend that this standard was that of the Chaldeans. Our troy weight exactly, our feet and inches exactly, and our gallon and quarter very closely, represent Hebrew measures; our ounce avoirdupois, on the other hand, is the Roman *uncia*. The Hebrew *lebineh*, or half cubit, bears precisely the same relation to the English foot, that the first Hebrew shekel bears to the troy ounce. Coincidences so exact can only be explained by a common origin, and that origin may be traced to Chaldea, by means of the Chaldean weights now in the British Museum. The slight differences that exist between the principal English and Hebrew measures of capacity are dependent on the fact, that the size of the former has been lately determined by the weight that a given measure would contain, while the size of the latter is a true measure of bulk, expressed in terms of the linear measures. We shall see, before we conclude, that the accordance between weight and capacity in the Hebrew measures is quite as close as is that between different determinations of the value of the same nominal measures in England.

The measures contained in the table are the principal metrical terms that occur in Hebrew literature. It will be seen that they form only a portion of the elements of a comprehensive and organised system.

In the New Testament, the first three Gospels are characterised by an exact use of the Jewish metrical terms, which is obscured by the English translation. Thus in the parable of the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 6) we read of one hundred *baths* of oil, and one hundred *cori* of wheat; being the same measures, liquid and dry, that are named in the Book of Kings (1 Kings v. 11; 1 Chron. ii. 10) in the time of Solomon. The general term, measure, which is appropriately used in many places (as in Matt. vii. 2) has been occasionally substituted for the names of specific dimensions. In the parable as to leaven, three *sata* of meal (that is to say, an *epha*), are mentioned both by Matthew and by Luke. The only foreign word of this nature that is employed by these evangelists is the *modius*, which in our version is translated bushel. The Roman *modius* held within a small fraction of the contents of the *satum*, and the word was therefore naturally employed during the time of the Roman procurators. It would be more properly translated by the word peck, than by bushel. The *chœnix*, mentioned in the Apocalypse, is a Greek measure, which has no Hebrew equivalent. It held 1·454 English

pints. For this measure of wheat to be sold for a *denarius*, indicates a famine price approaching thirty shillings a bushel.

HEBREW MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

Dry Measure.

	Q.	C.	ŒM.	S.	ŒP.	C.	CUB. IN.	English Measure.
Quadrans	1	—	—	—	—	—	24	·6752 pint
Cabus .	4	1	—	—	—	—	96	·6752 quart
Œmer .	—	—	1	—	—	—	172·8	2·494 ,,
Satum .	24	6	—	1	—	—	576	2·0385 gallons
Œpha .	72	18	10	3	1	—	1728	6·2355 ,,
Corus or Homer	720	180	100	30	10	1	17,280	·993 quarter

Liquid Measure.

	A.	L.	H.	S.	B.	CUB.IN.	English Measure.
Anphak .	1	—	—	—	—	6	·6752 gill
Log . .	4	1	—	—	—	24	·6752 pint
Hin . .	48	12	1	—	—	268	1·0128 gallon
Satum .	96	24	2	1	—	576	2·0385 ,,
Bath .	288	72	6	3	1	1728	6·2355 ,,

Lavacrum, or bath, of Ezra, contained ...	40 sata.
Golden Pitcher, used for pouring water at Feast of Tabernacle	3 logs.
Quantity of water necessary to be poured over the hands before eating	1 anphak.
Letek	5 baths.
Tarcab	2 cabi.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED SEASONS (*continued*).

WE turn in this paper to the most interesting and important of all the sacred seasons of Israel, that which more than any other was bound up with the people's covenant life, which especially distinguished them from the heathen nations of the world, and which played by far the most abiding and effective part in their religious history—the weekly Sabbath. The commandment to keep it is the fourth of the Ten Commandments given amidst so many circumstances of solemnity at Sinai (Exod. xx. 8—11). Its observance is again and again enjoined in language of even more than ordinary earnestness (Exod. xxxi. 13—16; xxxv. 2, 3; Deut. v. 12). It is enforced under the threatening of death for its violation (Exod. xxxv. 2). It is spoken of as the sign of God's covenant with Israel (Exod. xxxi. 17). It is placed at the head of all other feasts (Lev. xxiii. 3), and is the standard by which they are measured (Exod. xxiii. 11, 24). The neglect of it is represented as the source of the severest Divine judgments, and its sanctification as the spring of the richest Divine mercies (Jer. xvii. 21, 22; Ezek. xx. 13, 16; Isa. lvi. 26; lviii. 13, 14). Its restoration, after disuse, was the great means of religious reform (Neh. xiii. 15—19). And, finally, we cannot forget that it was our Lord's alleged violation of this sacred day that, more almost than anything else, roused the opposition of "the Jews," and was made the plea on which they awakened the popular indignation against him (John v. 16). An institution such as this, marked out for honour by God himself, lying at the root of the highest solemnities of the faith of Israel, and intimately associated with its deepest religious feelings, can hardly fail both to be interesting in itself, and to have some fulfilment in the higher and better dispensation prefigured in all the parts of God's ancient economy.

The first question that meets us in connection with the Sabbath, one closely related, as we shall hereafter see, to the inquiry with which we are more immediately concerned, is the date of its institution. In examining into this point, we must distinguish between the conception of the day as a part of the Divine purpose, as an expression of the Divine mind, and its formal setting apart from other days as an ordinance to be positively observed by Israel. When we look at it in the latter light, we find no distinct commandment upon the point previous to that given in the Decalogue. The language of Gen. ii. 2, 3—"And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God had created and made"—undoubtedly points to a distinction drawn in the very infancy of creation between six days of the week and the seventh; while the traces of a hebdomadal division of time contained in the lives of the patriarchs favour the idea that, in one way or another, seven days were held to have in them a completeness and perfection that no other number would have possessed (Gen. viii. 10, 12; xxix. 27, 28). A commandment, however, is something much more precise and definite than this, and at least throughout the Book of Genesis we meet with none upon the point before us.

It might seem that it is otherwise in the earlier part of the Book of Exodus. We are told there that among the instructions given for the gathering of the manna was the following: "And it shall come to pass, that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily" (Exod. xvi. 5). This instruction was obeyed by the people, "and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses" (ver. 22). It is not said why they told him; but whether it was in complaint, or to report the faithful obedience given to the Divine command, the reply received by them was, "To-morrow is a rest, a Sabbath holy to the Lord," followed on the next morning by the injunction, "Six

days shall ye gather it; but on the seventh day, which is a Sabbath, in it there shall be none. . . . See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day" (vs. 23, 25, 29). Yet it is only in appearance that these words reveal the existence of a Sabbath as an institution previously enforced by the direct commandment of God. They speak of it rather as now for the first time enforced, as having had a place indeed in the Divine conception, but as not hitherto made formally binding upon man; and, in so far as now made binding, made so only in reference to the particular labour specially referred to. Even this passage, therefore, neither contains nor implies any formal institution of the Sabbath previous to the arrival of Israel at Sinai. For such institution we must look to the legislation there.

All the passages, however, to which we have referred have a bearing on the question with which we are now dealing. They show that, if not yet formally appointed for man, the Sabbath, whatever be its meaning, had an existence in the mind of God. Its idea was a part of the eternal verity of His nature. In it, not less than in the work of creation (Gen. ii. 2, 3), He gave utterance to what He was. He awakened the echo of it in the hearts of those who walked with Him, and were saved (Gen. viii. 10, 12); and, when He stepped in to provide miraculously for His people's wants, He did so in such a manner as to give by means of it, not a partial only, but a complete revelation of Himself (Exod. xvi. 5). It will be well to take these considerations along with us for future use. In the meantime, we remark only that the institution of the Sabbath, as a positive ordinance of God's ancient economy, is to be sought for only in the Fourth Commandment.

Our second question has relation to the manner in which the Sabbath was to be observed. Three things first meet us here. The usual morning and evening offerings were doubled, two lambs with their appropriate meat and drink offerings being used that day in addition to "the continual burnt offering and his drink offering" (Numb. xxviii. 9, 10). The twelve new-baked shew-bread loaves were set out upon the table in the holy place appointed for the purpose (Lev. xxiv. 8). There was a "holy convocation" of the people (Lev. xxiii. 2, 3). All these things were evidently designed to stamp the day with a character of sacredness, and not merely with an importance higher than the other days of the week. While this, however, was the case, it can hardly be said that sacred exercises were the special object for which the day was given. That object was rest from labour, the intermission for a time of all the ordinary toils of life: "In it thou shalt not do any work;" "Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest;" "To-morrow is a rest, a Sabbath holy to the Lord, six days may work be done, but in the seventh is a Sabbath of rest holy to the Lord" (Exod. xx. 10; xxiii. 12; xxxiv. 21; xvi. 23; xxxi. 15). Passages such as these are very numerous in the Law, and they point to rest as the distinguishing characteristic of the day. The "rest" was indeed to be "holy;" it was to be used, at least to some degree, for purposes of instruction and edification in Divine things, but it was itself the leading idea of the time. It had been so connected with the thought of God's own rest at the first (Gen. ii. 2, 3), and that reference is taken up again in the Fourth Commandment, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it" (Exod. xx. 11). The same thing appears also in the fact, that in later times that spirit of ceremonial punctiliousness which destroyed the true spirit of the institution, took its degenerate course in this direction rather than any other. We learn from many statements of the New Testament, as well as from the Rabbins, that it found expression not so much in excessive and minute demands for religious observances on the part of the people, as in accumulated and paltry precepts in regard to abstinence from work.

We shall err, however, it appears to us, if we confine this idea of rest to that of a rest to be *taken* by every toiling Israelite. It was not less a rest to be *given* to those under their care by all possessed of authority over others, "In it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates;" "On the seventh day thou shalt rest that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed;" "That thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou" (Exod. xx. 10; xxiii. 12; Deut. v. 14). Here was the introduction of an entirely new, and in some respects a higher, idea in connection with the observance of the Sabbath than that of merely resting oneself from labour. It implied consideration for others, and the exercise of benevolent feelings towards them, as a part of the duties of the day. Not in thankful refreshment from one's own toils only was it to be sanctified, but in remembering that all, whether man or beast, who toil for us are entitled to rest at our hand. The same privilege extended by God to each head of a house or of a family in Israel, that head was again to extend to such as were under his control. The rest of the Sabbath, in short, was not merely a personal enjoyment to be passively received; it was to be an active entering into the mind of God. What had been bestowed on him, each Israelite was to distribute in the same spirit of love and thoughtful care as that in which he had himself been dealt with.

These remarks may prepare us for the next point that meets us—What was the true idea and meaning of the Sabbath institute? This idea is first of all to be sought in the view already taken by us, that the Sabbath had a relation to God himself, and that it is not to be considered merely as an arrangement for the good of Israel. It may, sometimes, no doubt, be well to point out the physical and moral benefits which it was calculated to bestow upon the people; but, in judging of the institu-

tion as a whole, the thought of these must always be kept entirely subordinate to the higher conceptions which it embodied. We may be confident enough that every Divine idea will result in blessings to man, and may rejoice that it will do so, but we must be careful to assign to the Divine idea itself the prominent place in our consideration. We must descend from it to the temporal benefits, not ascend from them to it. That there is such an idea thus involved in the institution of the Sabbath is clear from what we have seen, that long before it was actually introduced and made binding on Israel, it existed in relation to God himself. He had blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which He had created and made (Gen. ii. 2, 3). In giving the manna to Israel He had again brought forward this thought of His own being, and the reference of the Sabbath to what He was (Exod. xvi.). Nay, even in assigning to the institution a place in the Law, the relation thus connected with it in earlier times is taken up and confirmed—"for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day" (Exod. xx. 11). What then is this idea? Before attempting to answer the question, we must turn to two passages of the New Testament, the first of which at least is not often enough brought into connection with this matter, or, when brought, is frequently misinterpreted. The passages are John v. 17 and Heb. iv. 3, 4.

In John v. 17 we have the answer given by our Lord to "the Jews," when they complained of His violating the Sabbath day by first healing the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, and then bidding him take up his bed and walk. "My Father," says the Saviour, "worketh hitherto," or until now, "and I work." It seems impossible to attach any but one meaning to this answer. Our Lord had done what in the eyes of "the Jews" was a piece of work upon the Sabbath day, and He had commanded the impotent man to do the same. In His defence against their murmurings He draws no distinction between different kinds of work, as if He would have defended Himself in the same way as on other occasions, by showing that on the Sabbath it was at all events lawful to do good (Matt. xii. 12; Mark iii. 4). No distinction of this kind indeed would have been a defence against what appears from the tenth verse of the chapter to have mainly offended the Jews, the man's carrying his bed. It could not be pleaded that that act was one either of necessity or mercy. It was not demanded by the circumstances of the case, and it had no analogy to the rescuing of a sheep which had fallen into a pit upon the Sabbath day. Nor only so. There is not a word in the narrative to lead to the thought of such a distinction. It is the whole Divine working that the Saviour has in view, a working indeed that is never for anything but good; and He says of it all, "My Father worketh until now, and I work"—that is, My Father's working and mine go on continually; we are not and cannot be interrupted by the Sabbath day; our work admits no break to it. If this be a correct interpretation of the passage, it shows that there is a sense in which the idea of *constant* working may be predicated of God.

The second passage of which we spoke was Heb. iv. 3—5: "For we which have believed do enter into rest, as he said, As I have sworn in my wrath, If they shall enter into my rest: although the works were finished from the foundation of the world. For he spake in a certain place of the seventh day on this wise, And God did rest the seventh day from all his works. And in this place again, If they shall enter into my rest." The sacred writer is engaged in exhorting the Hebrew Christians to take warning by the example of their forefathers who through unbelief fell in the wilderness, and did not enter into God's rest. He has to show, therefore, that there is such a rest still in existence, a rest for those who now receive the Gospel message in faith. He does this by bringing into close relation with each other the words of Genesis ii. 2, 3, and of Psalm xcv. 11; and, in so far as concerns our present purpose, he argues thus:—The latter text was spoken long after the former, yet it tells of a rest of God, a rest that has not come to an end, although the works were finished from the foundation of the world. In other words, although God is said in Genesis to have rested on the seventh day, that rest must continue, otherwise David could not have described it in his time as a present thing. Here, therefore, the whole period that had passed away from the date of creation is set before us, under a point of view exactly the converse of that from which it was looked at by our Lord in the Gospel of St. John. In the latter it is all a period of working: in the former it is all a period of rest. How are we to reconcile the two?

We answer, Both ideas are to be predicated of God, and the meaning of the Sabbath in its relation to Him is that it expresses one of them. Had the Book of Genesis or the fourth commandment contained only the one statement that God made all things in six days, we should have associated with Him merely the thought of work. No more than one part of what He is would have been revealed to us. But the rest of the seventh day comes in, and immediately we see that in God there is not only the idea of work, but of rest. Not that He works at one time and rests at another. That is only the human mode of conceiving and representing the complex truth. Both things are in Him combined. In one sense He is always working: in another sense He is always resting. His work is the work of rest: His rest is the rest of work. The work is not the work of toil, but is performed in the calm majesty of repose: the rest is not the rest of idleness, but is enjoyed in the constant activity of doing good.

Hence also, we imagine, the particular determination of the *seventh* day for rest. It is possible—we are far from contesting the truth of the supposition—that in the harmonies of nature, in the physiological or social condition of man, there may be some deep reason why a seventh day's rest should be preferable to one occurring at an interval of six or eight or ten days. At present, however, we are dealing with the thought of the Sabbath of God, as well as man. and we must seek

the ground of the selection of a seventh day rather than of any other in something else. Nor is it easy to see in what else it can be sought than in this, that seven is the number of God in His relation to His people. It enfolds that idea in its completeness. Therefore, when six days express the idea of God's work, there remains only one number, the seventh, to express the idea of His rest. It is fitting, too, that the six should be chosen for work, the seventh for rest, rather than that the numbers should be reversed. Man is to imitate the Divine, and it is only imperfectly that he can do so. He must separate into parts what in God is one, and it would be fatal to all the arrangements needed for the welfare of humanity were one day only given to work and six days to rest.

Such, then, being the idea of the Sabbath in its relation to God, we see also what it was to Israel. Israel was God's covenant people, His son. It was to take home to it, therefore, in the Sabbath, the idea of the Divine rest. It was to learn that a life moulded upon the idea of the life of God was not to be all toil. Life was to have also its repose, and that a repose in which God was to be imitated not only by resting, but by resting in the spirit of beneficence, when each head of its households gave rest to his sons and his daughters, his manservants and his maidservants, and his cattle.

Hence also we see how naturally it happened that the Sabbath could be associated with other considerations than the rest of creation. It could be spoken of as "a sign" between God and Israel throughout all their generations (Exod. xxxi. 13), for to no other people had God so fully unfolded His character and ways, and these were largely expressed in the institution. It could be connected with the blessing of deliverance from Egypt —"and remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day"—for that deliverance was the most signal manifestation of God's covenant love to Israel, the most palpable proof that He was their God, and they His people. It was thus also that the punishment of death could be annexed to the violation of the Sabbath law, for in breaking that law the covenant with God was broken. And, finally, it is thus that we can well believe, what indeed we know from different passages of Scripture to have been the fact (Hosea ii. 11; Luke xiv. 1), that Israel's Sabbath, though enforced with such a tremendous penalty, was not a day of austerity and gloom, but of hilarity and joyfulness, of all that joyfulness which neither secularises nor wearies as much as, often more than, work.

The considerations now adduced throw light also upon another point often felt to be attended with considerable difficulty, that the idea of the Sabbath was in existence before the Fall. It seems at first sight as if no Sabbath could be needed by man while the ground had not yet been cursed for his sake, and labour had not yet become toil. Nor would it be easy to escape this conclusion were we to think of the institution only in reference to him. But, if it reveal a part of what God is, the difficulty disappears. Even in his state of innocence man had to work (Gen. ii. 15), and thus he learned to know God as One who worked and who required work of His creatures. That, however, was only a part of His ways. He not only worked, but rested; and if, therefore, He was to be fully known, some revelation of Him must be given in this light also. The Fall then has no necessary connection with the Sabbath's rest. That rest is a part of God's own manifestation of Himself, and it is desirable that man, whether in his estate of innocence or of sin, should know Him as He is.

Such then being the idea of the Sabbath in reference to God—an idea in existence from the first, and probably in some way or another revealed, though not embodied in a commandment—it may perhaps be asked, Why should not this always have been enough? Why, at a later date, should it have been necessary to impose the Sabbath upon Israel by positive law? The answer is, Because thus only could the idea be preserved. It was indeed the peculiar function of Israel to preserve by means of positive laws ideas which would otherwise have perished. The effect of this was certainly to limit the ideas for the time, but we are not to consider the limited form as their true and adequate expression. The limitation rather points to the illimitable, the partial conception to the complete. Had it not been for such a commandment as the fourth, the idea of God's rest and of man's rest in Him would have been lost. Human sinfulness, together with the hard pressure of life, would have made our earthly existence a round of uninterrupted endless toil. The whole course of each succeeding week would have been laid hold of for the world, and God would have been forgotten. Here, therefore, the commandment mercifully interposed, and, by demanding one day in seven for rest because God had rested, became a witness for the higher and better order of things that had once had place. It did not, however, *confine* the views of the people to the sanctification of the one day of which it spoke. They were even called upon, by the very ground assigned in it for keeping the one day holy, to rise to the thought of God, and in Him who knows no succession of time, to the thought of sanctification of all days. It was thus a testimony to something higher than its words expressed. It contained within it not a dead letter but a living germ, waiting for the favourable opportunity to burst its covering and to spring up, "after its kind," in primeval beauty.

Thus, then, we are brought to the fulfilment under the Christian dispensation of Israel's Sabbath law. In what is that fulfilment to be found? Certainly not, we answer, in the Lord's Day of the Christian Church. We have seen that all the sacred seasons of Israel which have passed under our notice pointed onwards not to institutions but ideas, that not one of them is fulfilled in any supposed corresponding ordinance of New Testament times. It is thus also in the case before us; and analogy alone might justify the conclusion, that we are not to find the fulfilment of the Jewish Sabbath in the Christian Sunday. But we are not left to analogy. We

have the direct teaching of Scripture on the point; and that teaching is, that the Sabbath is fulfilled in Christ himself and in His Church.

As to Christ himself, it is in this very light that He comes before us in the fifth chapter of the Gospel of St. John. We fail to reach the meaning of that miracle at the pool of Bethesda recorded there, if we think of it only as a manifestation on the part of Jesus of His Divine power and grace. Looked at in all its accompanying circumstances, and in the light of the whole structure of the Gospel which contains it, it teaches a far deeper lesson. Its true language is that Christ is the reality of which the Sabbath of Israel was the type, the substance of which it was the shadow. What Christ does is the accomplishment of the Divine idea of work. The calmness, the rest, the oneness with the Father, in which He does it, is the accomplishment of the Divine idea of rest.

But what is fulfilled in Christ is fulfilled also in His people, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has again distinctly shown us how we are to find in circumstances connected with the general position of Christians in Christ their Head the fulfilment of the Sabbath law. In the fourth chapter of his Epistle, from which we have already quoted, he exclaims as he draws his argument to a close, "There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God" (Heb. iv. 9). The word here translated a rest is literally a Sabbatism or a keeping of a Sabbath; and the words would be more truly rendered, "There remaineth therefore a Sabbath-keeping for the people of God." That this Sabbath-keeping is conceived of in the light of an enlarging and extending of the original seventh day's rest, is clear from the previous portion of the chapter; and the meaning of the sacred writer is, that God permits His people to look forward to a Sabbath-keeping upon whose fulness they have not yet entered, to a Sabbatic rest similar to His own, when they shall cease from their works as He did from His. The eternal rest set before us at the close of our present pilgrimage and warfare is, therefore, the true fulfilment of Israel's Sabbath. Then the work here given us to do, in so far at least as it is work of toil, and mingled with weariness and disappointment and sorrow, shall at length come to an end. We shall rest not from working, but from all that makes working a burden and a pain. "To you who are troubled," says St. Paul, "rest with us" (2 Thess. i. 7). "And I heard a voice from heaven," says St. John, "saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them" (Rev. xiv. 13).

Such is the great fulfilment of Israel's Sabbath law; but, while it is so, it seems necessary to remark in conclusion that we cannot limit the fulfilment to the state of eternal blessedness beyond the grave. All that is fulfilled in Christ, all that is to be the portion of His Church hereafter, is more or less the actual possession of Christians even now. The perfected kingdom of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, is always viewed in the New Testament, and not less in the Epistle to the Hebrews than elsewhere (comp. xii. 22), as something to which they are already "come." There must, therefore, be a present as well as a future fulfilling of the Sabbath. And there is; for, amidst many imperfections, with only a partial realising of what is theirs, the people of God keep a constant Sabbath. Their work, like Christ's, is their Father's work: their rest, like Christ's, is rest in God. Their time, like all their other gifts, is His who has redeemed them to Himself, their days at once spent in His holy yet free service, and enjoyed in the feeling of repose communicated by the thought of His unchanging love.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. A. S. AGLEN, M.A., INCUMBENT OF ST. NINIAN'S, ALYTH, N.B.

STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE (*continued*).

§ 3.—PARALLELISM (*continued*).

FROM the last-mentioned variety of parallelism it is an easy transition to that class called by Bishop Lowth *synthetic* or *constructive*. Here the rhythm is not one of thought, but depends entirely on a resemblance in the form of construction. There is no longer in the second member of the verse an elevation of the image and sentiment of the first, but there is a correspondence in the shape and turn of each proposition, and in the constructive parts—noun answering to noun, verb to verb, negatives and interrogatories to similar forms in the parallel sentence. As might be imagined, this style admits of the greatest variety. It lends itself readily to the caprices of free lyric song. It is especially adapted to the genius of the Hebrew Muse, who loves to build up the structure of her verse by adding figure to figure, and accumulating one image on another. It is therefore among complex forms of parallelism that the finest specimens of this style are found. In the following passages, although there are some well-marked couplets, the tendency to multiply the parallel lines until they form a stanza or strophe of verses almost symmetrical in construction, is very plainly exhibited.

"Praise Jehovah from the earth,
Ye dragons and all deeps:
Fire and hail, snow and ice;
Wind and storm fulfilling His word;
Mountains and all hills;
Fruitful trees and all cedars:
Beasts and all cattle;
Worms and feathered fowls:
Kings of the earth, and all peoples;
Princes, and all judges of the world:
Young men and maidens;
Old men and children:
Let them praise the name of Jehovah;
For His name only is excellent,
And His praise above heaven and earth."
(Ps. cxlviii. 7—12).

"I am coming into my garden, my sister, my betrothed;
I am gathering my myrrh with my spices;
I am eating my honeycomb with my honey;
I am drinking my wine with my milk." (Cant. v. 1.)

The synthetic is the prevailing rhythm of this exquisite love song.

"With Him is wisdom and might;
To Him belong counsel and understanding.
Lo, He pulleth down, and it shall not be built;
He encloseth a man, and he shall not be let loose.
Lo, He withholdeth the waters, and they are dried up,
And He sendeth them forth, and they overturn the earth.
With Him is strength and perfect existence;
The deceived and the deceiver are His."
(Job xii. 13—16.)

Frequently one line or member contains two sentiments.

"The nations raged; the kingdoms were moved;
He uttered a voice, and the earth was dissolved.
Be still, and know that I am God.
I will be exalted in the nations;
I will be exalted in the earth." (Ps. xlvi. 6—10.)

In the following there is an antithesis between the two members of each verse.

"Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be famished;
Behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty;
Behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be confounded;
Behold, my servants shall sing aloud for gladness of heart,
But ye shall cry aloud for grief of heart,
And in the anguish of a broken spirit shall ye howl."
(Isa. xv. 13, 14.)

One of the finest examples of all occurs in the 19th Psalm.

"The law of Jehovah is perfect, restoring the soul;
The testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple;
The precepts of Jehovah are right, rejoicing the heart;
The commandment of Jehovah is clear, enlightening the eyes;
The fear of Jehovah is pure, enduring for ever;
The judgments of Jehovah are truth, they are just altogether;
More desirable than gold, or than much fine gold,
And sweeter than honey or the dropping of honeycombs."
(Ps. xix. 8—11.)

Under the head of synthetic parallelism, Lowth includes a peculiar figure which is frequently employed in the poetical books. It consists in using two consecutive numbers in such a way as either to convey the sense of indefiniteness, or else to add point and vigour to an enumeration of facts or objects. A few examples will serve better than further explanation.

"In six troubles will He deliver thee;
Yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee;
In famine He shall redeem thee from death,
And in war from the power of the sword;
Thou shalt be hid when the tongue scourgeth;
Neither shalt thou be afraid when destruction cometh.
At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh;
Neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth."
(Job v. 12—22.)

"These six things Jehovah hateth:
And seven are the abomination of His soul:
Lofty eyes, and a lying tongue,
And hands shedding innocent blood;
A heart fabricating wicked thoughts:
Feet hastily running to mischief;
A false witness breathing out lies;
And the sower of strife between brethren."
(Prov. vi. 16—19.)

The 30th chapter of Proverbs contains many elegant examples of the same kind. A long series of denunciations in the prophet Amos is rendered more impressive by the judicial tone gained by the repetition of this figure.

Thus saith Jehovah:—

"For three transgressions of Damascus,
And for four, I will not restore it."

In the song of Deborah there is a most vivid touch given by the same means.

"To every man a damsel or two;
To Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of embroidery;
One of divers colours, two of embroidery, for the neck of the queen." (Judges v. 30.)[1]

The constructive form of parallel verse might be abundantly illustrated from the New Testament. The instances are, however, chiefly of a complex kind, the verses extending beyond two members. The Beatitudes will occur to every one. The following couplets are from St. James, whose style is throughout singularly like that of the sententious poetry of the Old Testament. "Gnome follows gnome, and the discourse hastens from one similitude to another, so that the diction often passes into the poetical, and in some parts is like that of the prophets." This Jewish cast of thought is the more striking, because the language of the epistle is unusually free from Hebrew grammatical constructions.

"Resist the devil, and he will flee from you;
Draw nigh to God, and He will draw nigh to you.
Cleanse your hands, ye sinners,
And purify your hearts, ye double-minded."
(James iv. 7, 8.)

The following passage from one of our Lord's discourses, also contains synthetic couplets:—

"Sell that ye have, and give alms;
Provide yourself bags which wax not old;
A treasure in the heavens which faileth not;
Where no thief approacheth;
Neither moth corrupteth;
For where your treasure is
There will your heart be also." (Luke xii. 33, 34.)

The next class of simple parallelisms corresponds to Bishop Lowth's *antithetic* class. The outward and inward harmony are both preserved, the structures being perfectly symmetrical, and evenly balanced, but the proportion appears by contrast rather than resemblance. Ewald names it the gnomic, or sententious rhythm, and describes it as "a verse consisting of two members of seven or eight syllables corresponding to each other, as rise and fall, and containing a thesis and antithesis, a subject and its image.[2] The degrees, however, of the antithesis are various. Sometimes the opposition extends to all the terms; sometimes it is confined to one. Now the contrast is a general one of sentiment; now it is minutely drawn out between each particular term, and the propositions are made to balance so nicely that singular answers to singular, plural to plural, and so on.

The following examples exhibit the varieties of antithetic parallelism:—

"The blows of a friend are faithful;
But the kisses of an enemy are treacherous."
(Prov. xxvii. 6.)

[1] We may compare with this figure the common Latin phrase, *O terque quaterque beati.*
[2] *Dichter des A. B.*

"There is that maketh himself rich, yet hath nothing;
There is that maketh himself poor, yet hath great riches."
(Prov. xiii. 7.)

In these examples every word has its opposite, and while the antithesis is complete, perfect external harmony is preserved.

"A wise son rejoiceth his father,
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother."
(Prov. x. 1.)

Here, too, the opposition extends to every term, since *father* and *mother* are relatively opposite.

In the following all terms but one are opposed. The other terms are synonymous in meaning, though expressed in different words.

"He that walketh with wise men shall be wise;
But the companion of fools shall be destroyed."
(Prov. xiii. 20.)

"The memory of the just is blessed;
But the name of the wicked shall rot." (Prov. x. 7.)

"A soft answer turneth away wrath;
But grievous words stir up anger." (Prov. xv. 1.)

"All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes;
But Jehovah weigheth the spirits." (Prov. xvi. 2.)

Here the antithesis is of a general kind, well marked in the contrast of sentiment, but not extending to the several terms. The following is another instance:—

"The lot is cast into the lap;
But the whole disposing thereof is of Jehovah."
(Prov. xvi. 33.)

Sometimes the effect is heightened by the introduction of a second antithesis between the parts of each member of the verse, as in

"There is that scattereth, and still increaseth;
And that is unreasonably sparing, yet groweth poor."
(Prov. xi. 24. Translated by Lowth.)

These examples are all taken from the Proverbs of Solomon, where they abound. It is a form peculiarly adapted for the adages and aphorisms which embodied and preserved Hebrew wisdom. Nothing else could stamp the distinction between good and evil in such enduring character on a nation's mind. Unsuited as the language of the Jews undoubtedly was for expressing the more refined processes of abstract thought, it possessed, in this power of condensing into two short incisive lines the experience of ages, the most efficient agent for promoting practical ethics. Solomon has given an accurate and powerful description of his own proverbs.

"The words of the wise are as goads,
And as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies."
(Eccles. xii. 11.)

They penetrate the heart, and remain fixed in the memory, preserved from oblivion, not only by their brevity, but by the rhythmic form in which their sharp and pointed contrasts fall.

But the antithetic style is not confined to gnomic poetry. It is not inconsistent with the lyric muse, and though the sublimer poetry adopts it but seldom, Isaiah, by means of it, without departing from his usual dignity, adds greatly to the sweetness of his composition. The following is one out of other instances:—

"In a little anger I have forsaken thee;
But with great mercies will I receive thee again.
In a short wrath I hid my face for a moment from thee;
But with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee."
(Is. lxv. 13, 14.)

The Psalms also afford examples:—

"These in chariots, and these in horses;
But we, in the name of Jehovah, our God, will be strong.
They are bowed down and fallen;
But we are risen, and maintain ourselves firm."
(Ps. xx. 7, 8.)

The New Testament contains many examples of the antithetic parallelism. It was a mode of teaching not likely to be neglected by our Lord.

"He that exalteth himself shall be abased,
And he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him;
But unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven." (Luke xii. 10.)

The aphoristic sentences of the rabbinical writings generally take the antithetic form.

"Whosoever maketh himself humble, him the holy blessed One exalteth;
But whosoever exalteth himself, him the holy blessed One maketh humble;
And whosoever pursueth dignity, him dignity fleeth;
But whosoever fleeth dignity, to him doth dignity return."

The antithesis is sometimes strengthened by the employment of a very elegant figure, which is well known to readers of Greek and Latin. The terms of the contrast are arranged in what Greek grammarians call *chiasmus*, that is, cross-wise, like the letter χ—

"He that *spareth* his rod HATETH his son;
But he that LOVETH him *chastiseth* him betimes."
(Prov. xiii. 24.)

If we transpose the terms of the second member, the whole effect is weakened.

"He that spareth his rod hateth his son;
But he chastiseth him betimes who loveth him."

A similar instance occurs in the next chapter.

"He that oppresseth the weak reproacheth his Maker;
But he that honoureth Him hath mercy upon the poor."

The English translation of Luke i. 53 has detected the Hebrew idiom under the Greek, and has added greatly to the force of an impressive passage in Mary's song.

"He hath filled the hungry with good things,
And the rich He hath sent empty away."

The use of this figure is not confined to the antithetic parallelism. We shall see presently with what elegance it is introduced into strophes of four lines. It is also found in the ordinary simple verse, as in these two instances from Psalm 107:—

"For He hath satisfied the craving soul;
And the famished soul He hath filled with goodness."
(ver. 9.)

"For He hath destroyed the gates of brass;
And the bars of iron He hath smitten asunder."
(ver. 16.)

In Latin this figure is of frequent use. The arrangement—

"Ratio consentit, repugnat oratio"—

is more elegant and forcible than

"Ratio consentit, oratio repugnat." (Cic., *De Fin.*, iii. 3.)

The English poet Spenser has thus imitated the Virgin's song:—

"He pulleth doune, he setteth up on hy;
He gives to this, from that he takes away."

There is a beautiful illustration of the fondness of Eastern nations for this mode of expression. "When the Arabs salute one another it is generally in these terms, *Salâm aleikum* ('Peace be with you'); in speaking these words they lay the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum essalâm* ('With you be peace')."[1]

In the Song of Solomon there occurs a curious verse, in which the antithetic terms of the parallelism are arranged on a different system of alternation.

"I am black, but yet beautiful, O daughters of Jerusalem;
Like the tents of Kedar, like the pavilions of Solomon."
(Cant. i. 5.)

That is, black as the tents of Kedar (made of dark-coloured goat's hair), beautiful as the pavilions of Solomon.

There are instances of a similar construction where the parallelism is not of the antithetic kind.

"On her housetops, and to her open streets,
Every one howleth, descendeth with weeping."
(Isa. xv. 3.)

That is, every one howleth on her housetops, and descendeth with weeping to her open streets.[2]

We may compare the following exquisite verse from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, where also the vivid effect that can be produced by parallelism may be noticed:—

"My wings are folded o'er mine ears;
My wings are crossed o'er mine eyes;
Yet through their silver shade appears,
And through their lulling plumes arise,
A shape, a throng of sounds;
May it be no ill to thee.
O thou of many wounds!
Near whom for our sweet sister's sake,
Ever thus we watch and wake."

The poetic mood does not at all times submit to the constraint of fixed metre. Exceptions, which are called poetic licenses, occur in long poems so frequently as to become recognised varieties of verse. Such, for example, in Latin hexameters, is the occurrence of two spondees at the close of a line, in English heroics of an Alexandrine, in English blank verse of lines which have eleven or twelve syllables. The lyric song of Israel was wild and free in its movements. It compelled the flexible rhythm to every change of its fluctuating mood. In the older poetry especially, the animation of the verse is sustained by frequent and rapid changes.

One of these modifications was gained by sacrificing the symmetry of sound which in the perfect parallel verse exists between the two members. While preserving the equivalence of thought, the sentences cease to balance one another. There is a marked inequality between them, which has gained for this kind of verse the name of *unequal parallelism*.

It arises in many cases from the suppression of some member of the proposition, which may be supplied in thought. But at other times it must be referred to the freedom claimed by the Muse. The following examples will guide to the discovery of others:—

"Jehovah is my strength and my song;
For He was my salvation." (Exod. xv. 2.)

"Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth;
Sing praises to Jehovah." (Ps. lxviii. 33.)

"Well have I kept Thy commandments and Thy testimonies;
For all my ways are before Thee." (Ps. cxix. 68).

"The poor and the needy seek for water, and there is none;
Their tongue is parched with thirst." (Ps. xli. 17.)

"Hearken unto me, ye that pursue righteousness,
Ye that seek Jehovah." (Is. li. 1.)

[1] Niebuhr, quoted by Jebb, *Sacred Literature*, p. 74.

[2] Lowth, *Isaiah*. Homer has some fine examples of this arrangement, combined with the elegance and force of the Chiasmus, *e.g.*,

"Wailing and triumph-cry commingled rose
From those who slew, from those, too, that were slain."
(*Il.*, iv. 450.)

"Him the Muse loved, and gave him good and ill,
Of sight bereaved him, gave him sweetest song."
(*Od.*, viii. 63.)

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE LOCAL COLOURING OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

FOLLOWING what is now recognised by most critics as the right chronological order of St. Paul's Epistles, we pass from those addressed to the Church of Corinth to that written to the Churches of Galatia. As intended for a province, not for a single city, it takes into account what we may speak of as the national temperament of the race by which the province had been peopled, rather than the circumstances specially connected with any given locality. It is, we may note, the only Epistle of St. Paul's (unless we except that to the Ephesians, which many regard, from the fact that the words "in Ephesus" are omitted in some of the most authoritative MSS., as intended for many of the Asiatic Churches) which has this quasi-encyclical character.

Into the main subjects of the Epistle, the controversy with the Judaisers, the Apostle's vindication of his authority as independent of any human agency,

coming as a direct immediate revelation from the Lord Jesus, his arguments as to the powerlessness of the Law to justify, and the nullity of circumcision in relation to the great work of the salvation of the soul, I do not now purpose to enter. What I desire to note is the agreement between the defects of character and temperament which St. Paul reproves, and those which are known to have been the special characteristics of the race. That race occupied, it will be remembered, a peculiar position among the population of Asia Minor. The name Galatæ, by which the Greeks knew them, was also that by which they described the Gauls of Western Europe. The name, which seems to occupy an intermediate position between Keltæ and Galli, and represents, probably, a transition stage between two divergent forms of the same root-word, was applied to them because they belonged to the same great division of the Keltic race that had invaded Rome at the commencement of the fourth century before Christ (B.C. 390), had occupied the broad plains of the Po, and peopled the greater part of the country which we now know as France. About 150 years later, another body of the same people had invaded Greece. Their invasion was repelled, and the rescue of the great sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi from the destruction with which they threatened it, was looked upon by the Greeks as the direct result of a divine interposition by the god who was there worshipped. A portion of the invading host had, however, crossed the Hellespont, overran the greater part of Asia Minor, were finally allowed by Attalus I., King of Pergamos (B.C. 230) to occupy a border region between Phrygia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, of about 200 miles in length, and the district received from them its new name Galatia. After taking the side of Antiochus the Great against the Romans, they shared in his defeat, and became subject to the Republic, B.C. 189. Roman writers knew the country thus acquired as Gallo-Græcia.

Here then these Gauls remained, retaining their old national temperament, much even of their old language, adopting some of the customs of the Greeks among whom they were settled, and the older religion of Phrygia, which consisted mainly in the worship of Cybele, as the great Earth Goddess. The chief seats of that worship were at Ancyra (the modern Angora, famous for its goat's-hair fabrics) and Pessinus. The priests who were consecrated to it devoted themselves to the service of the goddess—with that strange perversion of the sense that purity from sensual lust is a condition of true worship, which marks many of the religions of the East—by self-mutilation. The rites of that worship were in the highest degree wild and orgiastic. The belief in magic, with all its details of charms, spells, incantations, common more or less among all semi-barbarous peoples, was nowhere stronger than among them. Lastly, in addition to these influences, the Jews of the dispersion, following in the track of the caravan road by which traffic found its way from the south-eastern to the north-western provinces of Asia Minor, had found their way there, and in the time of Augustus were prominent enough at Ancyra to claim special privileges, which, by the emperor's decree, were inscribed upon tablets placed in the temple of that city.

It was to this people that St. Paul turned his course on what we know as his second missionary journey, accompanied by Silas and Timotheus. His success in dealing with a population more or less resembling them at Lystra, the knowledge which, as a worker in the sail-cloth made for tents, he might have gained of their textile manufactures, his desire to take the most direct route to the western coast of Asia, which he was clearly bent on reaching, may have determined his purpose in thus visiting them.

The excitable temperament of the race was attracted by the presence of one who came among them with marvellous gifts of speech and power to influence others, as the preacher of a new faith. This readiness to catch at anything that showed new thoughts and feelings had been noted before by a Greek rhetorician as characteristic of these very Galatians. "They," it was said, "were more quick, acute, ready to learn than the purer Greeks. If they caught sight of the cloak of a philosopher they would cling to him like iron filings round a magnet." (Themistius, *Orat.*, xxiii., p. 299, quoted by Lightfoot.) So, we may believe, they received the Apostle. He came among them suffering from some "infirmity of the flesh," which, in itself, would have led men to loathe and shrink from his presence, yet they received him as "an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus." It was to them a theme of blessing and congratulation that he had come among them (Gal. iv. 15). If, as we may well believe, the "infirmity" of which he speaks was identical with "the thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 7), and that, in its turn, with some sharp inflammation of the optic nerve, inflicting agonising pain, and impairing his powers of sight, we can well understand how that quick enthusiasm of personal affection would lead them to desire, had it been possible, even "to pluck out their own eyes" and give them to him. There was no church, probably, among all those which St. Paul founded, which seemed to offer a fuller or more quick return to his labours as an evangelist.[1]

But there was also no church within the limits of his mission labours which answered so exactly to those who, in the parable of the sower, were described as like the seed that fell upon the rock, where there was no depth of earth, no moisture to sustain and nourish. On such a soil growth was indeed rapid, but the soil was too shallow for the plant to take deep root, and when the noontide sun blazed and the hot wind smote on it, it withered away. Such a faith as that of the Galatians could not stand the test of time, or persecution, or rival influences. Here, too, we have the national character. The "*mobilitas et levitas animi*," which Cæsar noted in the Gauls of Western Europe, which made him hesitate to trust those whom he found so fickle and changeable in their counsels, their insatiable

[1] I venture to refer to the "Thoughts of a Galatian Convert," in the volume which I have published under the title of "Lazarus, and other Poems," in illustration of what is here said as to St. Paul's work as an apostle in this region.

love of novelty (*Bell. Gall.*, ii. 11; iii. 10; iv. 5), were not less prominent in their Asiatic brethren. The mere fact of the absence of the Apostle weakened his hold upon them, and left them open to new impressions from without. And when the Judaising teachers came, they found in the old traditions of the race, in that religious temperament which has at all times marked the Keltic branch of the human family, that which predisposed them to receive the teaching which was antagonistic to St. Paul's. The old Gauls were a people, to use Cæsar's words again, "*admodum dedita religionibus*," addicted to superstitious observances of all kinds, believing, more than the Romans then believed, in auguries, charms, and incantations; and that type of character, however it may be stirred for a time by religious emotions, is essentially inclined to a ritualistic rather than a spiritual religion. It welcomes rules, is easily swayed by terrors of the unknown, accepts multiplied observances to soothe its vague alarm. The Keltic race stands out in contrast with the Teutonic in the history of modern Europe as holding out against the Protestant, the Pauline, mode of thought, and clinging to the gorgeous ceremonial and the authoritative guidance of the Church of Rome. So it was that, even though "Christ crucified" had been preached among them with such a vividness of word-painting, that it was as though the very scene of Calvary had been set before their eyes as in a picture, they fell under the influence of those who came with claims to a higher authority than St. Paul's, bidding them observe "times and seasons and days and years" (Gal. iv. 10). It was, to use his own expressive word, a word specially forcible as addressed to such a people, as though they had been "bewitched," fascinated as by an evil eye, such as, in the widely diffused beliefs of both East and West, had power to control the wills of those on whom it fell. (Gal. iii. 1.)

Other coincidences, touching on points of minor importance, have been stated with so much force and clearness by Professor Lightfoot, that it is better to quote from him than to state the same facts in less expressive language of my own: "His (St. Paul's) denunciation of drunkenness and revellings, falling in with the taunts of ancient writers, will appear to point to a darling sin of the Celtic people. His condemnation of the niggardly spirit with which they had doled out their alms as a 'mockery of God,' will remind us that the race is constantly reproached with its greed of wealth, so that Gaulish avarice passed almost into a proverb. His reiterated warning against strife and vain-glory will seem directed against a vice of the old Celtic blood still boiling in their veins, and breaking out in fierce and rancorous self-assertion. His very expression, 'if ye bite and devour one another,' will recall the angry gesticulations and menacing tones of this excitable people." (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 13.)

The effect of this convergence of many distinct indications of national character is, it will be admitted, striking and suggestive. The "local colouring" is perhaps stronger in this Epistle than in any other of the Pauline Epistles. There remains, however, one instance more striking than any other, which, in spite of the difficulties which the nature of the subject presents, it would not be right to pass over.

When the burning indignation of the Apostle is aroused against those who were impairing the liberty and corrupting the simplicity which is in Christ, he bursts out (Gal. v. 12) into the wish (as in the Authorised Version) that they who thus troubled the Church might be "cut off." As we commonly read those words, we understand them to mean that he prayed for some sharp judgment of God to fall upon the workers of evil and cut them short in the middle of their course, or that they should be excommunicated and thus "cut off" from all fellowship with the Church which they were thus disturbing. In the judgment of well nigh all competent scholars, however, the words have a very different meaning.

The older religion of these Phrygian Gauls had included the worship of Cybele. The orgiastic rites of that worship were precisely such as fell in with their national temperament. And the priests of Cybele were consecrated to her service, as has been already stated, by self-mutilation. It is, at any rate, a singular coincidence, that these priests of the Earth-Goddess were known to the Romans by the name of "Galli,"[1] and, although other and more fantastic etymologies of the word were given by the older Latin etymologists, yet it is at least probable that the word was transferred to the priests from the people of whom they were the most conspicuous representatives. As might be expected, the word was extended to take in others who were in the same state as that to which the priests had reduced themselves.

Remembering these facts, we can recognise a new meaning, a keener and more cutting irony in St. Paul's words. The Judaising teachers came, insisting on the necessity of circumcision. St. Paul had to fight over again the battle which had seemed to have been settled once for all at the Council of Jerusalem. Circumcision he contended, had no longer any spiritual efficacy. Even its significance as the seal and token of a consecrated life had passed away. It was now simply an outward rite, a "concision," not a "circumcision" (Phil. iii. 2), analogous to the wild "cuttings of the flesh" which marked the worship of the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 28). The one true circumcision which remained for the Church of Christ, was that of the heart, "in the spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God" (Rom. ii. 29.)

The Galatians who suffered that rite to be imposed upon them as a religious ordinance, a condition of salvation, were, therefore, from this point of view, practically falling back, not into Judaism, but into heathenism, into the "weak and beggarly elements" which had been their portion in the days of ignorance. The wish that St. Paul expresses, with a

[1] This derivation of *Galli*, as denoting the eunuch-priests of Cybele, from the Gallo-Græcians or Galatians, is adopted by Facciolati in his Latin Dictionary. Other etymologies have, however, been suggested.

bold Luther-like vehemence which it is difficult to reproduce in modern speech, is that those who had disturbed the peace of the Church would at least be thorough and consistent in their practices, carry their principles to their logical results, and be as the priests of Cybele. That would certainly be the fitting end of those who still clung to a mere fleshly sign of consecration and purity, as though it were a spiritual and eternal obligation.

NOTE.—Wordsworth, Alford, Lightfoot, Jowett, may be named as giving a sufficient *consensus* for the English reader. Bishop Ellicott accepts, but very hesitatingly, the other interpretation.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

MEDIA AND PERSIA.

POSTPONING for the present our notice of the less important names connected with Bible geography, which lie to the west and north of the Tigris, we proceed eastwards into the region which in its northern portion lies on the other side of the great mountain range of Zagros, a range running nearly north and south, which is said by Strabo to divide Media from Babylonia, and which towards the south abuts on the lower waters of the Tigris and the combined stream of the Shat-el-Arab. This region in modern days belongs to the kingdom of Persia, but in early times its northern part was the abode of the Median race, and its southern that of the Persian, while in a portion of it at the north-east dwelt the Parthians, a race in early days subject to Persia, but which in New Testament times had acquired a power and influence surpassing that of their former masters. (Acts ii. 9; Strabo, xi., p. 522.)

To begin with the MEDES. Though there is some reason to think that the Medes once occupied a part of the Mesopotamian region, it is certain that during the period of authentic history their country lay on the south-west of the Caspian Sea, and reached north as far as the Araxes. It was bounded on the west by that branch of the great Caucasian mass called Choatras or Parchoatras, which is continued in Zagros. Their name appears to be contained in that of Madai, son of Japhet, and they were probably of the same Aryan stock as the Persians. (Gen. x. 2; Herod., viii. 62).

The Assyrian records inform us that in the ninth century B.C. they were invaded by an Assyrian monarch, whose name and exploits are recorded on an obelisk now in the British Museum. Little impression, however, was made by this inroad, and it was not until the time of Sargon, about 712 B.C., that the Assyrian power made itself felt seriously by the Medes. He appears to have gained possession of their country so far as to be able to place captive Israelites in some of their towns. (2 Kings xviii. 11.)

But Media was never incorporated with Assyria, and if Herodotus is to be believed, the Medes very soon after this revolted, though it seems probable that this revolt took place later. The subjugation begun by Sargon was probably completed by Sennacherib, who says, as the monuments tell us, that he exacted tribute from the Medes (Herod., i. 95, 106; Rawlinson, *Outlines*, p. 10). But the time of retaliation was at hand. The successors of Sennacherib held the reins of empire over the Medes with a weaker hand, and in 633 B.C. an independent kingdom was established by Cyaxares, who, eight years later, took the principal share in the capture and destruction of Nineveh, B.C. 625.

The verisimilitude, if not the absolute verity, of the Book of Tobit appears in connection with these facts. From his residence at Ecbatana, Tobit, an Israelite captive, beheld with joy the triumph of Assuerus (Cyaxares), and was enabled with his countrymen to "rejoice over Nineveh." (Tob. xiv. 15.)

The Medes were now joined with the Babylonians, and shared in some at least of their conquests, for Josephus relates that Necho, King of Egypt, led that expedition against them and the Babylonians in which Josiah, King of Judah, lost his life, and in which Necho was defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. (2 Kings xxii. 20; Jer. xlvi. 2; Joseph., *Ant.*, x. 5, 1.)

About 597 B.C. Cyaxares was succeeded by a king who, in the apocryphal supplement to the Book of Daniel, called Bel and the Dragon, is named Astyages, if, indeed, this name, which is omitted in the Persian histories of the time, be not a title rather than a personal name, in which case it might perhaps denote the person called in the Book of Daniel, Darius the Mede. If this be the case, he must have ascended the Median throne as a mere child, for we know that in 538 B.C. he was sixty-two years old. But before this date, the independent existence of a Median monarchy had fallen before the power of Cyrus, and the Medes were virtually incorporated with the Persians, though they made ineffectual attempts to recover their independence in the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes (about 500 B.C.), and in that of Darius Nothus (about 420 B.C.). A new and independent Median kingdom was founded in the northern part of the region after the death of Alexander the Great, by Atropates, Satrap of Media, which lasted until the first century A.D., when it was absorbed into the Parthian empire, which had already occupied the southern portion for more than 250 years. (Ker Porter, *Trav.*, I. xiv.; Rawlinson, *Herod.*, i. 416, 419; Herod., i. 127, 128, 130; vii. 61; Xen., *Hell.*, i. 2—19; Arrian, *Exp.*, vi.; Esther i. 3, 14, 18; ix. 2; Dan. vi. 8, 12; Strabo, xi. 522, 523.)

The Medes were naturally a vigorous and warlike

race, and are described by Polybius as the most hardy of the Asiatic nations, and best provided in warlike equipments, especially horses. They appear to have maintained a separate existence for a long time, even among the races to whom they became subject, for besides being named before the Persians, when they are mentioned in the Book of Daniel, we hear of the Median language as being more or less a distinct dialect, side by side with that of the Parthians and the Elamites, or Persians of Elymais, at the time of the Gift of Tongues, immediately after our Lord's Ascension (Dan. vi. 8; Acts ii. 9; Herod., i. 34; Polyb., x. 27). They were divided into six tribes, of which the name of one, that of the *Budii*, may be thought to resemble that of *Phut*, joined by Ezekiel with Lud and Persia, as mercenaries of Tyre. (Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxxviii. 5; Gen. x. 22; Herod., i. 101.)

No Median city is mentioned in canonical Scripture, except *Achmetha*, a name which probably answers to Ecbatana, "the palace in the province of the Medes," in which the national records of Persia were preserved (Ezra vi. 2). There were probably two cities, if not more than two, of the same name: one in Upper Media, *Atropatene*—that of which we are now speaking, the other in the greater Media, *Media magna*. The former may perhaps answer to the city said by Herodotus to have been built by Deioces, and may be placed in the valley of *Mourg-ab*, in which are some very remarkable ruins, especially one called *Takht-i-Suleiman*, "Throne of Solomon," a place at which Solomon is said to have received the Queen of Sheba, and which perhaps represents Ecbatana; and about two miles distant from it, a tomb said to be that of Solomon's mother; though the Solomon thus mentioned was probably of a date not older than the seventh century A.D., if indeed it be not much later than this. The tomb is in all probability the tomb of the great Cyrus; and there are some remains near it in the valley, which are probably those of the ancient city of *Pasargadae*. The description given by Arrian of the tomb answers so exactly to the present state of the monument, that there seems no doubt of its identity. We shall perhaps be forgiven if we place the two accounts in juxtaposition.

Arrian, and also Strabo, following the account given by Aristobulus, an officer commissioned by Alexander to restore the tomb, both say there was a quadrangular platform, on which was a stone building having a roof, and a door so narrow that it was difficult even for a small man to enter. Within the chamber was a coffin of gold, in which reposed the body of Cyrus; and a bed near the coffin, which had golden feet, and on it a Babylonian carpet. Besides this, there once were several other articles, which had been carried off by plunderers. The tomb was entrusted to the care of a family who had inherited the charge from the time of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, and who received regular provision from the king for their service. It bore an inscription:—"O man, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who founded the Persian Empire, and reigned over Asia. Grudge me not my memorial."

Sir R. Porter describes the tomb as follows: "The base rises in steps of vast blocks of marble. The door was four feet high and two feet ten inches in width. The chamber inside seven feet wide, ten feet long, and eight feet high. The floor was composed of two immense slabs, and both the walls and floor were much injured by invaders. There was no ancient inscription, but on a pillar not far off is one in cuneiform characters, which is thus read:—

"Cyrus, Lord, King, Ruler of the World."

The Persians believe the tomb to be that of the mother of Solomon, and to have been built by genii at his command. There are strong reasons for thinking that the neighbouring remains, known by the name of *Takht-i-Suleiman*, are those of the city of Deioces, called in the time of Herodotus, and for some time afterwards, Ecbatana, or rather Agbatana; but in later times, Gazaca or Ganzaca, a name which perhaps means treasure-city, from *gaza*, a Greek word of Semitic origin, but adopted into Persian, signifying treasure. Later still, it was called *Shiz* by the Arabian geographers. Whether Deioces was a real personage, or the name was only a title or appellation, is doubtful; but the word Agbatana appears to have been given to places used as depositories of treasure; and if so, the identification of Agbatana with Gazaca becomes intelligible. On the whole, the city or fortress of Ecbatana may be regarded as connected, perhaps as its citadel, with the Persian city *Pasargadae*, within whose park the great Cyrus was buried, in the tomb which has been already described. This Ecbatana was probably the place mentioned in the Books of Tobit and Judith. (Tobit vii. 1; xiv. 12, 14; Judith i. 2; Herod., i. 98; Arrian, *Exp.*, vi.; Strabo, xv. 729, 730; Rich, *Residence*, ii. 220; Porter, *Trav.*, i. 267, 284, 498, 499; Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, App., pp. 414, 424; Heeren, *As. Nat.*, ii. 351.)

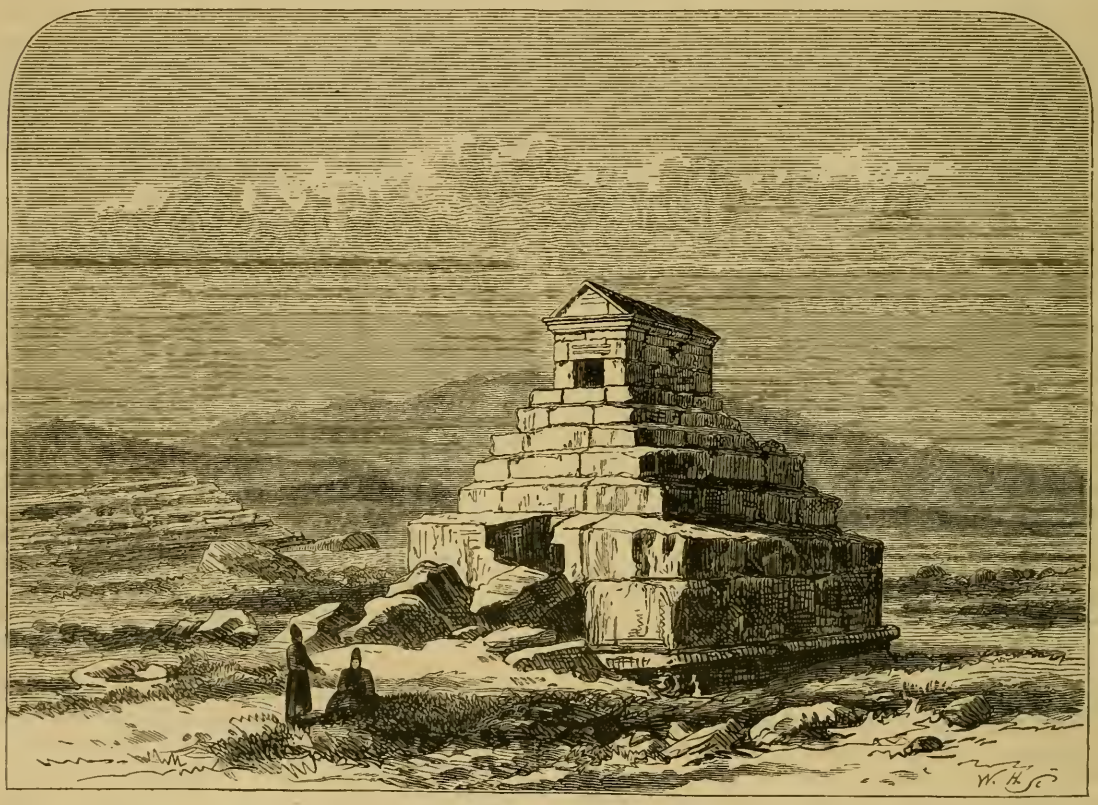
In connection with this neighbourhood we may mention that the river of Gozan, near which the captive Israelites were placed by the Assyrian conqueror, has been thought from the likeness of name to be the *Kizil-Ozien*, which runs from the south-west into the Caspian Sea. (2 Kings xvii. 6; Porter, i. 267, 284.)

We can only mention in passing the ancient and important town of *Rages*, mentioned in the Book of Tobit, which was visited by Alexander in his pursuit of Darius, and which was the birthplace of the famous Arabian Khalif, Haroun-al-Raschid, whose name is so familiar to every reader of the *Arabian Nights*. Its remains still exist under the modern name of Rhey, and are situated about five miles south-east of Teheran, the modern capital of Persia, just under the colossal mountain range of Elburz. Its neighbourhood, under the name of the plain of Ragau, was perhaps the scene of the great battle mentioned in the Book of Judith. (Tob. i. 14; Judith i. 5; Strabo, xi. 524; Arr., *Exp.*, iii.; Fraser, *Persia*, p. 61; Porter, i. 357, 364.)

We come now to the undoubted Ecbatana, the Median capital, represented in modern times by the city of

Hamadan, situated in lat. 34° 53′, long. 40°, under Mount *Orontes*, now *Elwend*. During the Parthian monarchy it was the summer residence of the kings, who spent their winter at their principal city, Seleucia, on the Tigris. Ecbatana is called the Parthian capital by Orosius, and Semiramis is said to have built a palace there. At the destruction of Nineveh, much of the spoil was removed to Ecbatana by the Median commander, Arbaces. During the period of the Persian dominion, the Persian king, in the time of Xenophon, used to spend his spring and summer there, or at least two months in the height of summer. Darius, after his final defeat at Arbela, fled to this place, and was pursued by Alexander, who, after the assassination of Darius, sent his murderer Bessus thither for execution by the Medes and Persians. It was here, too, that Hephæstion, the great friend of Alexander, met with his death. Polybius, the Greek historian, describes Ecbatana and its situation at length, and says that it was an unwalled town, but having a remarkably strong citadel; that he does not like to pass over in silence its palace, but knows not how to describe it, for fear of being accused of exaggeration. Antiochus is said, in the Book of Maccabees, to have passed through Ecbatana on his way to plunder Persepolis. In the fourteenth century the town was sacked by Timour Lenk, and it is now much decayed. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela, who visited it, says that there were 50,000 Jews there, and that it contained the sepulchres of Esther and Mordecai. These tombs are still existing, though as to their genuineness much doubt may be entertained. (2 Macc. ix. 2, 3; Strabo, xi. 522, 524; Diod., ii. 13, 28; Curtius, v. 8, 1; Orosius, vi. 3; Xen., *Anab.*, iii. 5, 15; *Cyrop.*, viii. 6, 22; Arr., *Exp.*, iii., iv., vii.; Polyb., x. 27; *Early Trav.*, p. 109; Porter, i. 102, 114.)

We now pass on to PERSIA, a country which, as to its general position, necessarily holds an important place in Bible geography, though there is not much mention of it in detail. As distinguished from the great Persian empire, the country of Persia, properly so called, was contained nearly within the modern province of Fars, bounded on the north by Media, on the south-west by the Persian Gulf, on the east by Carmania, and on the north-west by Susiana or Elam. It is mentioned by Ezekiel (xxxviii. 5). Before 558 B.C., the Persians were subject to the Medes for about eighty years, when they revolted, and under Cyrus established a powerful empire, the terror of Greece, its unwieldy invader, and in later times its helpless and prostrate victim. Except the mention of Persia Proper by Ezekiel, the history of the Persian empire does not come into contact with that of Israel until the fall of Babylon, or

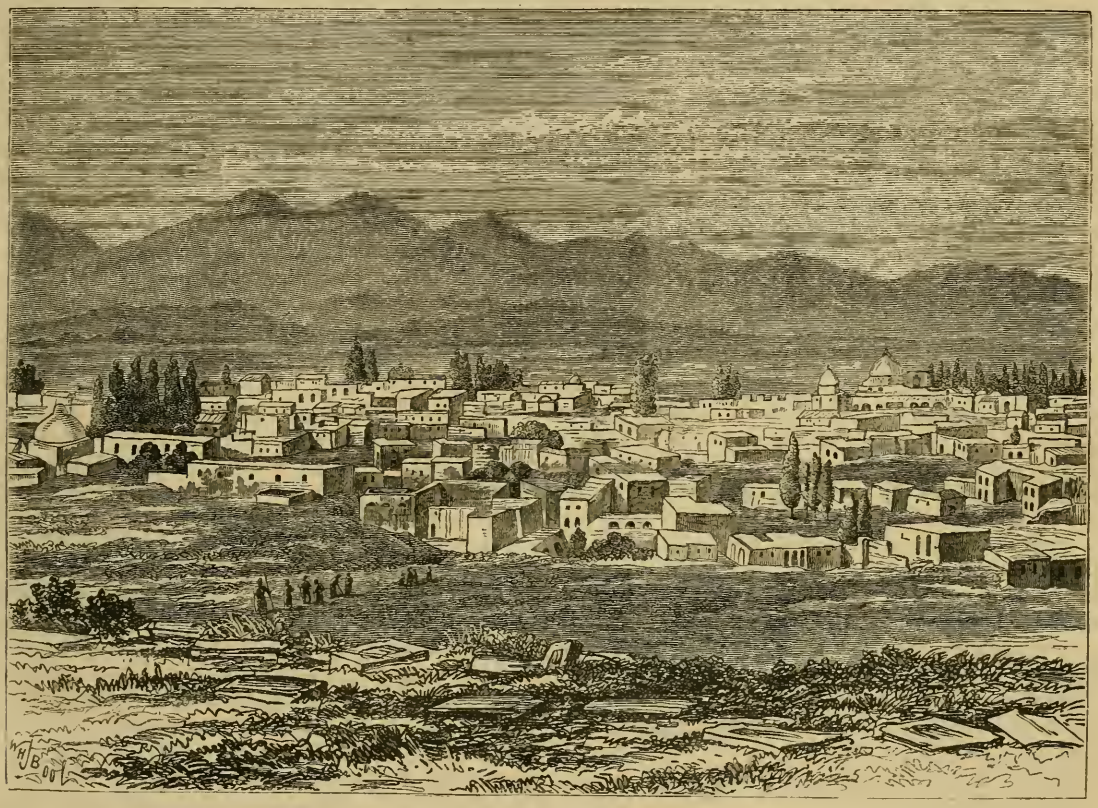


TOMB OF CYRUS.

rather until the prophetic mention of Cyrus in connection with that event, which may thus be regarded historically as identical with it (Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1). Of the successors of Cyrus, we have mention made in Scripture history more or less certainly of the following:—1. Cambyses, son of Cyrus, under the name of Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 6). 2. Smerdis, or rather Gomates, the Magian usurper, as Artaxerxes (Ezra iv. 17, 22). 3. Xerxes, son of Darius, the invader of Greece, as Ahasuerus in the Book of Esther, as a King of Persia in that of Daniel (Esth. i. 1; Dan. xi. 2). 4. Artaxerxes Longimanus, as Artaxerxes in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra vii. 11, 28; Neh. ii. 1, 9). 5. Darius Codomanus, the last Persian monarch, as Darius the Persian in the Book of Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 22).

The division of the empire into governments called satrapies is noticed, though not very distinctly, in the Book of Esther, and in those of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the two latter books mention is made of "governors beyond the river," by whom, no doubt, are meant the satraps of the provinces on the west of the Euphrates. (Esth. iii. 12; ix. 3; Ezra vi. 6; Neh. ii. 7, 9; Herod., iii. 89.) The Book of Esther also, which contains so vivid a picture of a part of the internal organisation of the great Eastern despotism, and of some of its results, brings before us a notice of the government establishment of forced "posts," *i.e.*, couriers who, with the power of impressing the services of others, conveyed messages throughout the empire, between stations at fixed distances from each other, with great regularity and dispatch, a service which is described minutely by Herodotus. (Esth. iii. 13; viii. 10; Herod., viii. 28.)

After the interval of Macedonian supremacy, consequent upon the conquest of Alexander, Persia became subject to Parthia from B.C. 167 to A.D. 226, when a new Persian monarchy was founded. It is during this period that we find mention made of the three languages of the Parthians, the Medes, and the Elamites, —*i.e.*, a period when both the Medes and the Elamites, the people of Persia Proper, were subject to the Parthians; when the Persian empire was, so to speak, in abeyance; and when the older name, Elam, that of the province which was the original seat of the nation, was more appropriate to its inhabitants than that of Persia, by which they are so much better known in general history. The order in which St. Luke places the three nations (Acts ii. 9), indicates their relative importance, or at any rate the superiority of the first of them at that time. We know also how formidable to the Romans the Parthians were during a period of more than 150 years, from the time when in B.C. 53, they defeated the attack made on them by the greedy and ambitious Crassus, a disaster of which we shall have occasion to speak when we come to Haran.



HAMADAN.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED SEASONS (*concluded*).

WE have now brought to a close all that we have to say of the Sacred Seasons of Israel properly so called, of those owing their institution to the Divine command and, like all the other parts of God's ancient economy, properly typical of better things to come. In their case only, so far as this branch of our subject is concerned, is it possible to speak of a fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New. Ingenious speculations may indeed be made with regard to other holy times observed by Israel than those expressly appointed by the Almighty, and regulated by His law. Spiritual meanings may without difficulty be found for them. A resemblance between them and particular conditions of the Christian life may be pointed out; but we have no right to speak of their having been fulfilled in Christ. That implies that they were a part of the will of Him who appointed the Jewish dispensation as a preparation for the Christian, whose revelation of Himself in both the Old and the New Testament is the same in principle though not in extent or clearness, and who purposely arranged all the features of the type with a view to the antitype, according to His own words to Moses, "See that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount" (Heb. viii. 5). With all propriety, therefore, we might leave any other sacred seasons observed by the Jews out of question in these papers. We do so in the case of all of them except two; and we shall speak of these simply in their historical, not in any supposed typical character. The exception is to be justified on the ground that both are mentioned in the Bible, one of them indeed in circumstances making it a little doubtful whether the sacred writer was not thinking of it as really fulfilled in Christ.

The first of the two seasons to which we allude was the Feast of Purim.

A full account of the institution of this feast is given us in the Book of Esther. It was designed to celebrate the wonderful deliverance provided by the Almighty through the instrumentality of Mordecai and Esther for that portion of the Jews who, wandering forth from their own land, had found a settlement in the territories of the great king Ahasuerus, "which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces" (Esth. i. 1). It is unnecessary to dwell here upon the cruel destruction so artfully prepared for these Jews by the haughty and bloodthirsty Haman, the favourite of the king. All the circumstances connected both with it and with the story of Mordecai and Esther, so simply and beautifully told in the book still bearing the queen's name, are familiar to every reader of the Bible. It is enough to bear in mind that Haman's machinations were defeated, and that, when the day for that ancient St. Bartholomew arrived, the Jews rose against their enemies and, with a happier fate than the victims of the later massacre, everywhere obtained a complete victory over them. This was on the thirteenth of the month Adar, the twelfth month of the Jewish calendar, corresponding nearly to our March, and nothing could be more signal than their success. It was celebrated with an intensity of rejoicing which shows us how great the danger and terror must have been, the day after the victory being made "a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another" (Esth. ix. 19). It had happened, however, that the contest between the Jews and their opponents lasted a day longer in Shushan the capital than in the unwalled towns, probably because the strongholds of the former were in possession of the inhabitants, and that thus, while the Jews of the country kept their feast upon the fourteenth, those of Shushan were unable to keep theirs until the fifteenth. To meet the difficulty both days were taken into the feast, "and Mordecai sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, both nigh and far, to stablish this among them that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same, yearly, as the days wherein the Jews rested from their enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to joy, and from mourning into a good day; that they should make them days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor" (Esth. ix. 20—22).

The feast thus instituted received the name of the Feast of Purim, from the word Pur, signifying a lot, because Haman had for a whole year had lots cast before him from day to day, to determine when would be the best opportunity for his murderous purpose (Esth. ix. 24; comp. iii. 7). With some little opposition made to it at the first, it became in a very short time in the highest degree popular with the whole Jewish people, and the popularity seems to have increased with years. When a second month Adar was intercalated to remedy the defects of the Jewish Calendar, which, depending mainly upon the moon, was constantly bringing round different seasons at the same months of the year, Purim was even celebrated a second time; while we are told that such proverbs as these were in circulation, "The Temple may fail, but Purim never;" "The Prophets may fail, but not the Megillah"—*i.e.*, the Book of Esther read at the feast.

As to the mode in which the feast was celebrated, there seems reason to believe that it was altogether unworthy both of the events commemorated and of the general spirit of the Jewish festivals. It was preceded by a fast called "the fast of Esther," on the thirteenth of the

month, in commemoration of Esther's message to Mordecai—"Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day; I also and my maidens will fast likewise" (Esth. iv. 16). But, the fast over, all restraints upon disorder and impropriety seem to have been broken through. Feasting and drinking to excess marked the time. Israel was not able to bear the want of law; and when no Divine fences hedged them in, the people were destitute of the power of self-control. The Feast of Purim, accordingly, is said to have degenerated into a kind of Saturnalia. We have only to add in regard to it that when the 14th Adar fell upon a Sabbath the feast did not begin until the following day. Although, as we had occasion to notice in a former paper, the Sabbath of the Jews was a day of hilarity, and of giving and receiving such simple entertainments as were compatible with the law as to the preparation of food, it was felt that the feasting of Purim was of a different and more worldly kind, and that, even if it could have been carried out upon that day of which God had said that it was to be called "the holy of the Lord and honourable" (Isa. lviii. 13), it would have been wholly inconsistent with its character.

Such was the Feast of Purim. It is an interesting question, whether it is at any time alluded to in the New Testament, and a supposition very generally adopted is that we have such an allusion in John v. 1—"After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." This feast, it is said, can be no other than that of Purim. On the other hand, many eminent scholars urge that we have here the Feast of the Passover; and, though other feasts also have been fixed on, the two now mentioned may be said to divide the suffrages of the most able critics of the New Testament. The main interest of the question lies in its bearing on the duration of the earthly ministry of Jesus. If the feast referred to be that of the Passover, then four Passovers are mentioned in the Gospel of St. John (ii. 13; v. 1; vi. 4; xiii. 1); and, as that feast occurred only once a year, the ministry of our Lord must have extended over at least about three years and a half. On the other hand, if it be the Feast of Purim, then the probability is that it fell between the Passovers of John ii. 13 and vi. 4, and the ministry of our Lord must, so far at least as depends on intimations in the New Testament, be reduced by a year. The question, however, is also interesting on other grounds, for if Purim be the feast, the fact of Christ's going up to Jerusalem to be present at a feast not enjoined in the law would illustrate the strength of His sympathy with the history and feelings of His people.

We have not space in a paper such as this to go into the question at the length necessary to vindicate any positive conclusion respecting it. Let it be enough, therefore, to say first that the feast referred to can hardly be the Passover. Even supposing that we were to insert with many critics the definite article, and to read not "a feast" but "the feast," the insertion would be almost fatal to the idea of which it is often brought forward as the main defence. Neither the New Testament in general, nor the Gospel of St. John in particular, knows anything of such a method of expression as would characterise the Feast of the Passover simply as "the feast." Read "a feast," and it may have been the Passover; read "the feast," and the words are simply unintelligible. "A feast," however, is the true reading; yet it is in a high degree unlikely that the reference is to the Passover. When St. John speaks of the Passover, he names it (ii. 13; vi. 4; xiii. 1); and any apparent exceptions to this rule, such as the words of xiii. 9, "Buy those things that we have need of against the feast," arise from the circumstance that the particular feast has been mentioned in the previous context, and that there can be no doubt on the mind of any reader which it is. Besides this, there is absolutely nothing in the narrative to suggest the thought of the Passover. Is it then Purim? Both remarks now made with regard to the Passover apply with equal force to this idea, while it has also to contend with special difficulties of its own. Thus it may be doubted whether, in the eyes of St. John, Purim would appear "a feast of *the Jews*" at all. It was not a theocratic, but a popular, festival. It was not associated with the thought of those religious guides and rulers of Israel to whom the term "the Jews" is always applied in the fourth Gospel. It had to do with political deliverance rather than religious freedom.[1] In addition to this, it is at least improbable that our Lord should have gone up to Jerusalem to express sympathy with the people in the celebration of a festival observed with so much gluttony and excess. We conclude that, if not the Passover, it was still less Purim.

In the present state of the question, so far as public expression has been given to any definite views, the true solution appears to be that the Evangelist has intentionally kept us ignorant of the feast of which he thought. Mention of it might have led to a misunderstanding alike of the miracle at the pool of Bethesda, and of the whole chapter of which it forms a part. It would be foreign to our present object to say more upon the point. Returning to what immediately concerns us, we come to the conclusion that Purim, though its origin and nature are so fully described to us in the Old Testament, is not once alluded to in the New.

The second of the two sacred seasons of which we proposed to speak is known as the Feast of the Dedication. No reference can be made to it in the Old Testament, for it did not come into existence till long after the last of the prophets had written; but it is spoken of in John x. 22, 23—"And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication, and it was winter, and Jesus walked in Solomon's porch;" and its origin is fully described to us in the Old Testament apocryphal book of

[1] The argument here employed derives some confirmation from the fact that when the Evangelist, at x. 22, mentions the feast of the Dedication, which, though quite as eagerly observed by Israel as any other, had not been instituted by God himself, he does not call it "a feast of the Jews."

1 Maccabees. It was indeed in that most remarkable, the Maccabean, period of Jewish history, that it was instituted. The cruelties and profanities of the mad Antiochus Epiphanes, who had penetrated southward from Syria, and had subjugated Judæa and Jerusalem, could be no longer borne. That prince had not been content with merely putting to death, it is said, 40,000 of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and selling as many more into slavery, after his capture of the city; he had also made the most wanton and unprovoked attacks upon the Jewish faith, wounding the people in their tenderest susceptibilities, and treating with brutal profanity all that was most holy in their eyes. As described in 1 Maccabees, he "entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all which he pulled off;" nay, not only so—after he had returned to his own country with his spoils, "he sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah that they should follow the laws and rites of the strangers of the land, and forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days, and pollute the sanctuary and holy people, set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts; that they should also have their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation, to the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances. And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he said, he should die" (1 Macc. i. 21, 22, 44—50).

Tyranny of this kind draws a swift Nemesis in its train. It was most certainly so in the present instance, and the family of Mattathias, belonging to the priestly line, raised the standard of revolt. It would be foreign to our present purpose to follow the party attaching itself to them, and taking the name of Maccabees, through all their varied and romantic fortunes, while they strove to expel the intruder from their soil and to regain for their brethren freedom to worship God. Suffice it to say that the end was at last effectually accomplished, the Syrians were expelled, and amidst great solemnity and rejoicing the Temple was cleansed from its pollutions. "Now on the five and twentieth day," it is said, "of the ninth month which is called the month Casleu (or Chisleu), in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt-offerings which they had made. Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success. And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt-offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise. They decked also the forefront of the Temple with crowns of gold, and with shields, and the gates and the chambers they renewed and hanged doors upon them. Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away" (1 Macc. iv. 52, 53, 55—58). Thus the Temple was cleansed and the worship of the true God restored, and to commemorate the event the Feast of the Dedication was instituted. "Moreover, Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation of Israel, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness" (1 Macc. iv. 59).

Such was the institution of the Feast of the Dedication about the year 164 B.C., and it will be observed that it fell in the month Chisleu, the ninth month of the Jewish year, corresponding to the close of our November, when "it was winter." The feast was known to Josephus under the name of "Lights," and he imagines that this name was given to it because at the time when it was appointed, liberty beyond all their hopes was recovered by the people (*Ant.*, xii. 7, 7).

Whether the conjecture of Josephus be correct or not, it is at least worth observing that a vessel of oil was said to have been found in the Temple at the time when it was cleansed, the only vessel of the kind which had not escaped pollution, and that it miraculously supplied the lamps of the sanctuary for eight days. It is to this miracle that Maimonides refers in a passage which at the same time shows us how much the Feast of the Dedication was understood to have been honoured among the Jews before his day, and how much it was still honoured in his own. "The precept," he says, "about the lights in the Feast of Dedication is very commendable; and it is necessary that every one should rub up his memory in this matter, that he may make known the great miracle, and contribute towards the praises of God, and the acknowledgment of those wonders He doth amongst us. If any one have not wherewithal to eat, unless of mere alms, let him beg or sell his garments to buy oil and lights for this feast. If he have only one single farthing, and should be in suspense whether he should spend it in consecrating the day or setting up lights, let him rather spend it in oil for the candles, than in wine for the consecration of the day. For, as they are both the prescription of the scribes, it were better to give the lights of the *Encenia* (that is, the Feast of the Dedication) the preference, because you therein keep up the remembrance of the miracle."[1] The festival indeed was one of great joy, resembling in many respects, it is said, the Feast of Tabernacles. Like the great feasts of Israel it lasted eight days.

We have already had occasion to quote those words in which this feast is alluded to in John x. 22. The most interesting inquiry in connection with them would be—What is the Evangelist's object in introducing them as he does into his narrative? It is hardly possible to think that they are introduced by him for the simple

[1] Quoted in Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr.*, *Works*, xii. 342.

purpose of marking the season of the year. It is not in St. John's manner to deal with facts of that kind only as facts. He everywhere beholds in connection with them profounder meanings, deeper and more mysterious intimations, symbols of other and more important parts of that great plan of God which comprehends both the worlds of nature and grace, and expresses itself after a similar manner in both. The intimations of what this thought is, in the present instance are, however, so slight that it is not easy to come to any definite conclusion on the point. It is possible that the Evangelist sees in Jesus, as He walks in the Temple at the Feast of the Dedication, the true consecration of God's house, the true Priest and Victim of His people, the Redeemer in whom Israel ought to rejoice as the Perfecter of its privileges, the Bestower of a freedom which is freedom indeed. But, while he sees this, he remembers Israel's blindness and coldness and hardheartedness—"it is winter." And what a winter it is! To the very Jews to whom Jesus would so fain make Himself known in all the fulness of His grace and love, He is obliged to say, "Ye are not of My sheep" (ver. 26). The very persons whom He would so eagerly welcome to His fold "take up stones to stone Him" (ver. 31), and when He urges home His words upon them anew, they seek again to take Him, and He must needs escape out of their hand (ver. 39). Yes, it is winter—winter though Jesus would so fain make it spring—a winter of the heart, a winter of national life to God's ancient people, a winter cold and desolate and full of storm. We do not venture to say that this is the real meaning of the statement of St. John, that it was the Feast of the Dedication and that it was winter at this time. But some such meaning we are persuaded there is, and we commend the subject to the reader's thoughts. Words of a precisely similar nature will be found in xiii. 30 with reference to Judas: "He then having received the sop went immediately out; *and it was night.*" That the Evangelist beheld this deeper meaning at this time in the feast before us, and in the season at which it occurred, is, however, something entirely different from his seeing in it any "fulfilment," in the proper sense of that term. As already stated, it is not possible to speak of either Purim or the Feast of the Dedication as "fulfilled" in Christ. They were not Divinely instituted parts of that ancient economy whose meaning is to be sought mainly in the fact that it was a preparation for "Him that was to come."

Thus, then, we bring to a close what we have to say of the Sacred Seasons of Israel. It is obvious that the function performed by them for that people was one of extreme interest and value. They not only preserved religious feeling alive and prevented the secularisation of life, but they all pointed onwards to the hope of a better and a brighter day. They were an earnest, teaching that a whole would yet be given; an antepast, containing the pledge of the perfect feast. That they would convey such ideas only to the more spiritually-minded is true, but even to the many who might not comprehend their real purport, in whose hands they might degenerate into merely superstitious rites or carnal ordinances, they were a standing lesson to be interpreted and applied, as fitting opportunities arose, by the higher knowledge and more penetrating insight of the few. Ill understood as they might often be, it was far better for the people to have them than to be left destitute of any religious arrangements but such as they might themselves devise. Appointed by Him, the principles of whose government of His Church have always been the same, they were a distinct point of connection for the full unfolding of His plans; and, when they received the reflex light of the advancing development of His kingdom, the very harmony of the past and of the present, the very sight of the eternal purpose running through so many ages, would tend at once to heighten the sense of its importance, and to bring it home more powerfully to the heart.

And now they have all passed away, and in the form of actual ordinances have left no successors. It might seem at first sight as if the Christian Church were left more destitute than the Jewish, as if equally careful provision had not been made for her strength and comfort. The explanation is to be sought in the fact that that Church is no more a child, no longer like an heir under tutors and governors until the time appointed of his father, but come to her inheritance, and required to administer it in the wisdom and strength of ripened years. If that wisdom and strength are not always actually, they are at least ideally, hers; and it is her special province and responsibility to realise ever increasingly in act what thus belongs to her in idea. She lives in the Spirit, let her walk in the Spirit.

Not indeed that the Church of Christ may not appoint festivals of her own. The early Church, in the first freshness of her Christian instinct, rightly apprehended this when, keeping firm by the eternal truth involved in the institution of the Sabbath, she yet departed from the day expressly named in the fourth commandment, and set apart the first instead of the seventh day of the week as the Christian Lord's Day. She saw it again when she introduced her great Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter, and so on, all the leading festivals of the Christian year, to commemorate in a distinct and individual manner the great facts upon which she rests, the leading doctrines of her faith. And, though the privilege has been at times abused, though ceremonies have been multiplied, and days made sacred to the memory of men who, had they known what awaited them, would have acted the part of St. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra (Acts xiv. 14, 15), and disowned the honour, the remedy is not to be sought in extinguishing altogether a privilege which flows directly from the reality and earnestness of the Church's life. It is to be sought rather in a truer and deeper cultivation of the spirit, as falsehood is not to be expelled by the destruction of truth, but by giving truth a constantly more extended range, and clothing it with a constantly increasing power.

One thing only the Church is ever to bear in mind, that her rites and ceremonies and festivals must be the simple and natural expression of the Spirit of Christ

within her. They must be the cloth which Christian thought weaves, the skins which Christian wine fashions for itself; for, when this is not the case, a new patch sewn upon an old garment makes the rent worse, and new wine put into old skins bursts the skins, so that both it and the skins perish.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MALACHI.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

AN interval of more than two centuries divides Malachi from Zephaniah; and during this interval grave changes took place in the history of the Hebrew nation. The captivity, threatened by the earlier prophet, had been endured; the redemption from that captivity, which he had foretold, had been accomplished. The Temple of Jerusalem had been rebuilt under Zerubbabel; the walls of the city under Nehemiah; the worship of Jehovah had been resumed: and though as yet the seed of Abraham were under the sceptre of the Persian despot, they had, in Nehemiah, a clement and generous governor of their own race.

Malachi is the last of the prophets, and is therefore called "the Seal," his book closing the Old Testament canon. Like Habakkuk, he is, in so far as his personal history is concerned, "a name, and nothing more." The Sacred Chronicles, even in the Book of Nehemiah, do not so much as mention him, although he was a zealous fellow-labourer with that patriotic governor, and greatly aided him in his endeavours to secure a willing and grateful obedience to the Divine law. In this, however, he does but share the fate of those Psalmists who, on the return from the Captivity, composed many songs for the Temple service. They, too, are unknown to fame. Their songs found a place in the Hebrew Psalter, but no chronicle carried down their names to after ages. "Dead to name and fame," they are not dead to "use." Even to this day their works do follow them.

But though history says nothing of Malachi, tradition, which ever babbles most freely where history is dumb, has much to tell us of him. According to tradition, speaking by many voices, he was "a member of the Great Synagogue," "a Levite of the tribe of Zebulun;" he was Ezra, he was Mordecai, he was Zerubbabel, he was Nehemiah. Nay, he was even "an angel," at least in the view of some ancient and of some modern commentators—a view by no means complimentary to the angelic host, since the style and poetry of Malachi are confessedly inferior to those of most of the inspired authors. This view, however, is a mere inference from the meaning of the prophet's name. *Malachi* means "messenger," and is probably a contraction from *Malachijah*, or "messenger of Jehovah," just as Abi (2 Kings xviii. 2) is contracted for Abijah (2 Chron. xxix. 1). The Septuagint translates the Hebrew words for "by Malachi" by Greek words which mean "by the hand of his *angel*," or messenger; and on this slender foundation the whole fable of an angelic authorship has been built up. The simple fact is that we know nothing of the personal history of Malachi, and cannot even be sure whether "Malachi" is a proper name or an appellative. The Old Testament closes, as the New Testament opens, with the words of one who is "a voice" to us rather than a man.

But though we know nothing of the author, we can fix *the date* of this prophecy with reasonable accuracy. Indeed, it dates itself. All the notes of time it contains point steadily, and with one consent, to the second sojourn of Nehemiah in Jerusalem, *i.e.*, about B.C. 420. It may even be said that the prophecy of Malachi, the last of the prophetic books, is simply a commentary on Nehemiah, the last of the historical books. From the whole tone of the prophecy it is obvious that the Temple had been long rebuilt, its worship long restored—long enough for grave abuses to have crept in, and to have become habitual. Among these abuses were the violation of the Sabbath law, the offering of maimed and unclean sacrifices, the withholding of tithes, indifference deepening into weariness of the worship of the Sanctuary, and intermarriage with heathen races on the part of the priests as well as the people. These are the sins which Malachi denounces, and these were the sins with which Nehemiah had painfully to contend.[1] It grieved him much, on his return from Babylon, to find that the priest who had "the oversight of the chambers of the House of God" was allied with Tobiah the Ammonite, and had even allotted that crafty and unscrupulous heathen "a great chamber" in the Temple, which aforetime had been used as a storeroom for the vessels and tithes of the Sanctuary. No sooner had the incensed governor "cast out the household stuff" of Tobiah, and restored the chamber to its original and sacred use, than he perceived there was little need of a storeroom for tithes, &c., since "the portions of the Levites were not given them," and the famishing Levites had fled the service of the Temple to till their fields. He recalled them, "set them in their place," compelled all Judah to bring tithe of their corn and new wine and oil into the Temple treasuries, and appointed faithful men to guard the treasuries, and "to distribute unto their brethren." He then discovered that the Sabbath was habitually profaned, the Jews treading their winepresses on that day, and bringing into the city sheaves "and all manner of burdens" on their laden beasts, and even holding a public market for "fish and all

[1] Neh. xiii.

manner of ware," brought into Jerusalem by certain "men of Tyre." From this pollution also he cleansed the sacred city, setting Levites to watch the gates, that no foreign dealers might enter, and no Hebrew citizen bring in any manner of burden on the day that the Lord had set apart for Himself. And, finally, with a great outburst of rage and grief, he found that both priests and people were contracting marriage with "outlandish women" of Ashdod, and Ammon, and Moab—marriages which were themselves a sin, and which led to sin. With these offenders against the law and destiny of Israel he "contended," "and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear" that they would offend no more.

These are the men we meet in the Book of Nehemiah; and these are the very men we meet in Malachi. While the governor is redressing wrongs with the strong hand of political authority, the prophet is denouncing the self-same wrongs and pleading against them in the name of the Lord. He makes Jehovah Himself denounce the culprits and their offences:—"Ye have corrupted the covenant: ye have departed from my statutes, and have not kept them: ye have defrauded me in tithe and offering: ye have profaned that which was holy: ye have married the daughter of a strange god." In fine, the historian and the prophet place before us the same scene; the same actors hold the stage, at the same period of time.

There is, however, one objection to this date which demands a moment's consideration, if only to show how carefully the various indications of time contained in the prophecy have been collected and weighed. A learned living commentator[1] disputes the conclusion to which we have come, on the ground that the "governor" mentioned in chap. i. 2, must have been a Persian satrap; for, he argues, Nehemiah himself says,[2] "the former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of their bread and wine, beside forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants had rule over the people: *but so did not I*, because of the fear of God." Nehemiah, therefore, was not "chargeable to the people for the expenses of his table, as the governor in Malachi's time was. Thus it appears that Malachi did not prophesy under Nehemiah, but before the latter became governor of Judæa, *i.e.*, under a Persian." But the answer to this argument is plain and obvious. Nehemiah did not burden the people with taxes, nor demand that his table should be supplied by them. But, unless he broke through a custom of Oriental etiquette, which, dating from immemorial antiquity, rules throughout the East unto this day, he must have received presents from his inferiors in rank as often as they formally waited upon him. To enter the presence of an Oriental superior without a *nuzzar*, or offering, would be to challenge his resentment; to offer him that which was defective, bad of its kind, would be to convert an act of homage into an insult. Nehemiah was a *pechâh*, *i.e.*, a satrap, or imperial representative, although he was also a Jew. Many valuable beasts would be presented him by the wealthier suppliants or officials who entered his divan; and therefore, even under the generous Nehemiah, there would be ample scope for the prophet's argument:—

> "When ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is that no wickedness?
> And when ye offer the lame and sick, is that no wickedness?
> Offer it now to thy governor;
> Will he be gracious to thee, or accept thy person?"

The *contents* of the Book of Malachi may be divided in several ways; but perhaps the most unforced and orderly division is that which is now generally adopted. The book opens with a brief introduction or preface (chap. i. 1—4) the theme of which is, God's love to Israel a reason for a response of love to Him. After the introduction come the three main sections of the book—(1) on the impiety and profanity of the priests; (2) on the heathen marriages of the priests and people; and (3) on the day of the Lord.

Section I. extends from chap. i. 6 to chap. ii. 9. It is addressed to the priests, who had despised the name of Jehovah, and laid defective and polluted offerings on His altar. They are rebuked for the mercenary and perfunctory spirit of their service, and for despising the worship which they themselves had rendered despicable. They are threatened with the Divine curse and punishment if they continue in their sins, but are assured that the threatening is designed to bring them to repentance and amendment. Perhaps their severest rebuke is contained in that fine sketch of the true priest (chap. ii. 5—7) with which this section draws to a close—one of the most admired and suggestive passages in the whole book:—

> "My covenant of life and of peace was with him,
> And I gave them to him,
> For the fear which he shewed for Me,
> And the awe in which he stood of my Name.
> The law of truth was in his mouth,
> And no iniquity was found in his lips;
> He walked with Me in peace and integrity,
> And brought back many from guilt:
> For the priest's lips should preserve knowledge,
> And men should seek the law at his mouth."

Section II. extends only from ver. 10 to ver. 16 of chap. 2. This section is addressed to the people as well as to the priests, and reproves a sin of which both had been guilty. In defiance of the law of Moses, they had treacherously and wrongfully divorced their Hebrew wives, that they might take to themselves consorts from the idolatrous daughters of Moab and Philistia. The sighs and tears of the wronged women "covered the altar of Jehovah," so that He no longer regarded the offerings that were laid upon it. They are warned that, by these divorces and forbidden alliances, they are violating, not the law of Moses alone, but the pure marriage law which God had given to man "in the beginning."

Section III. extends from chap. ii. 17 to chap. iv. 4, and has for its main theme that "day of the Lord," that day of judgment ushering in a golden age of purity and concord, of which all the prophets had spoken. The Lord *will* come, though He tarry, come when they look

[1] Dr. Davidson, in *Introd. to the Old Testament*, vol. iii., p. 242.
[2] Neh. v. 14.

not for Him, come to try and to refine His people. Let them repent, therefore, and renounce their sins, that they may be able to abide the day of His coming and to stand when He appeareth. God will be faithful to His promises; they need not question that, as though it were a vain thing to serve Him. And when He comes to fulfil them, He will divide the righteous from the wicked; He will deliver the wicked as stubble to the flames, and cause the Sun of Righteousness to arise on the righteous, with healing in his wings.

The prophecy concludes with a brief admonition (chap. iv. 4—6), in which they are enjoined to remember the law of Moses, but to look for the coming of a better law; to stand in the old ways, but to look for the new. In fine, Malachi is "like a late evening which brings a long day to a close;" but he is also like a morning dawn, which brings with it the promise of a new and more glorious day.

In *style* Malachi differs greatly from the earlier prophets. He shows the influence of the Great Synagogue, established by Ezra, in his more formal and scholastic tone. He lacks the simple grandeur of Joel, and still more obviously lacks the fire and passion of Habakkuk. Though his language is pure and beautiful, and has a certain poetic rhythm, he is not so much a poet, "singing in full-throated ease," as a scholar elaborating an edifying discourse. Indeed, it is curious to note how faithful he is to a single form of composition, and that a very simple one, whatever the theme he takes in hand. Invariably, without a single exception, he develops his subject in the following order: first, he briefly states his thesis; then he states the sceptical objection with which he supposes it may be met; and, lastly, he triumphantly refutes the objection. Thus, for example, he opens his book with the assertion that God has loved Israel; this is his first thesis. The sceptical "*but*" instantly follows, "But wherein has He shown His love?" and is followed by an argument drawn from the strikingly different destinies allotted to the sons of Esau and the sons of Jacob.

This is Malachi's method throughout, this "all his art." But he often invests it with power and spirit by means of the dramatic colloquies, or dialogues, beneath which he conceals it. And though his method be simple, and his meaning lies for the most part near the surface of his words, he nevertheless deals with truths so momentous, and of such an abiding value, that we cannot fail to derive profit from our study of him, if we seek and love the truth. Above all, his prophecy rises to a Messianic close. With more fulness and distinctness than most of the prophets, he teaches us that that day of blended judgment and mercy of which they had all spoken dawned upon the world when, for the fall and rising of many, the Son of man manifested forth His glory. Not only does the last of the prophets foresee the Gospel day, on which the Sun of Righteousness is to shine out with unclouded splendour; he also foresees the bright morning star which is to herald and announce its advent. And thus Malachi is a link between the two Dispensations and Covenants. As we close the Old Testament we catch a glimpse of the Christ whom we are to meet, and with whom we are to walk, in the New Testament; and of the Baptist who came before Him, in the power and spirit of Elijah, to prepare His way, and to attest that this was He of whom Moses and the prophets did write.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

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SAMUEL (*continued*).

SAMUEL has hitherto been presented to us as the judge: we have now to view him as the inaugurator of the monarchy. In no portion of his history does the heroic greatness of his character stand forth more conspicuously. Keenly alive to the ingratitude for his past services which, thinly veiled, appeared in the desire for a change of government, resenting at first almost as a personal slight the demand of the people for a king, with a noble spirit of self-sacrifice he calmly divests himself of his own dignity, and transfers it to the youthful favourite, whom his own hand anoints and his own voice proclaims as his successor in power, and his rival in the affection of the nation. Nowhere in Holy Scripture shall we find a grander example of the complete subjugation of human passion, and the triumph over natural feeling, except perhaps in the relations of John the Baptist to Him whose way he was sent to prepare. (John i. 27, 28; iii. 28—30.)

This momentous episode in the national drama of Israel is presented to us in four distinct scenes, each impressed with a type of its own, and bringing out a separate phase of the prophet's character. (1.) The first of these is laid at Ramah, when the Elders of Israel, as the representatives of the nation, first present the unwelcome request, and Samuel is made acquainted with the Divine will in the matter (1 Sam. viii.). (2.) The second, probably also at Ramah, describes the selection and anointing by Samuel of the Divinely-chosen monarch (ch. ix., x. 1—16). (3.) The third narrates the choice of the king by lot in the general assembly at Mizpeh (ch. x. 17—27). (4.) The fourth gives us the confirmation of the election by another national assembly at Gilgal, with Samuel's solemn remonstrance with the people on their disloyalty to their Theocratic king, and the assertion of his own integrity (ch. xi. 14; xii.). We proceed to consider these in order.

1. No stronger proof of the nation's confidence in the purity of Samuel's patriotism could have been given

than when "the elders of Israel" came to him at his home at Ramah, and addressed to him the startling request that he would voluntarily lay down his authority, and himself look out a successor who, under another title, should govern them in his stead. Such a demand argues a long experience of the unselfishness of Samuel's character, and a well-grounded assurance that he would prefer the well-being of his nation to any private interests. The deputation grounded its request on three pleas: Samuel's advancing age, and diminished activity; the corruption of justice by his sons; and the sense of their weakness in contest with their enemies, from the want of a recognised leader to head their armies and command them in battle (ch. viii. 5, 20, 21). This demand, somewhat brusquely urged by the elders, caused the aged judge at first extreme offence. The old are slow to recognise the failure of their powers, and parents are proverbially blind to their children's derelictions of duty, of which they are often the last to hear. We cannot, therefore, be astonished if to Samuel the necessity for a change of government was less evident than to the nation, and that he should have resented the proposal as a personal affront; "the thing was evil in the eyes of Samuel when they said, Give us a king to judge us" (ch. viii. 5). But with wise self-control Samuel did not trust himself to make any reply, until he had laid the matter before God, and learnt what was His will. "Samuel prayed unto the Lord." The Divine answer graciously soothed his wounded feelings, by reminding him that this perverse and rebellious nation were only showing to him the same ingratitude that had marked all their relations to God Himself, and that the slight he felt so deeply was as nothing compared with that put upon their Divine King—"According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day . . . so do they unto thee. They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not reign over them" (vs. 7, 8). But though the spirit from which the demand sprang was reprehensible, the demand itself was in accordance with the Divine will. The nation was ripe for the establishment of kingly power, and it should be given them. But, like many most coveted blessings, it would greatly disappoint them in possession. The price they would be called to pay for their king would be far higher than they, in their rash eagerness for change, anticipated. And this they must clearly understand beforehand. The choice must be made with their eyes open, and with a distinct knowledge of its consequences. Samuel, therefore, while he was instructed to yield to their desire—"hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee" (ver. 9)—was commissioned previously to set before them the burdensome services the monarch would claim as his prerogative, and the heavy tributes he would lay upon them, which would make them vainly desire to be freed from his galling yoke. "Ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you" (vs. 11—18). But the alarming picture of the despotism they were creating was unavailing to alter their determination. With childish obstinacy they repeated their demand for the glittering idol on which their fancy was set—"Nay, but we will have a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles" (vs. 19, 20). The crisis in the nation's fortunes was far too important for Samuel to decide on his own responsibility. Again the Lord was consulted, and His acquiescence signified. "Hearken unto their voice, and make them a king" (ver. 22).

Not at once, however, did Samuel communicate to the elders the Divine sanction given to their importunate request. So momentous a resolution must not be carried out hastily. Time and thought were needed to make due preparation for it. If the people would have a king, they must be content to wait for him. So the elders were dismissed without any decisive reply—"Go ye every man unto his city" (ver. 22)—though, probably, with a pretty clear understanding that the answer would not be long delayed, and that when it came it would be in accordance with their wishes.

2. The second scene in this history is still laid at Ramah[1] (chap. ix). It is one of the freshest and most graphic of the Old Testament narratives. It was a feast day. A sacrificial banquet was prepared in the "high place"—the citadel or acropolis that crowned the summit of the loftier of the two elevations on which the city was built. The guests were assembled, and were waiting for Samuel to "bless the sacrifice" before they sat down to table. Just then two weary, travel-stained wayfarers were seen climbing the steep path that led up to the city. One of the two was still in the prime of his youthful strength and beauty, and challenged attention by his tallness of stature. This was Saul, the son of a free-born Benjamite named Kish; the other was his servant. The two had started three days before, at Kish's bidding, to seek some strayed asses. Their search had been fruitless, and the young man, beginning to fear lest his father's care for his lost property should be exchanged for solicitude for the safety of his son, had proposed to return home, but had been deterred by his servant, who, finding that they were within reach of the house of Samuel, the famous seer, recommended that they should apply to him for intelligence as to the fate of the asses. On their way up the hill they fell in with some maidens descending to draw water from a well at its foot, and learnt from them where to find the seer, who had only that day returned to the city. The day before, Samuel had received a Divine intimation that the future monarch of Israel was

[1] The name of the city is not mentioned, and commentators differ as to whether it was Ramah or not. The view we have adopted as the most probable is that supported by Vatablus, Ewald, Milman, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. If Samuel had been only a casual visitor there, it is hardly likely that Saul's servant would have known of his being in the city. His words (ver. 6) seem called forth by his finding himself within reach of the place of Samuel's customary residence.

that day to present himself before him. Just as he was leaving his house to go up to the high place, the youthful Benjamite made his appearance within the city. The same Voice tells him that he is the expected one—*le Désiré*. He replies to Saul's inquiry with gracious courtesy, makes known that he is "the seer" he is in search of, and astonishes him by his knowledge of his errand—"As for thine asses that were lost three days ago, set not thy mind on them, for they are found" (ch. ix. 20)—and by the still more astounding intimation that "all the desire of Israel" was on him.

What the "desire" of the nation was at that time could not be unknown to Saul, and, conscious of his own insignificance as a member of one of the meanest families of the smallest tribe in Israel, he modestly puts away from himself the dazzling prospect. It is impossible that he should be called to so high a dignity. Still he and his servant follow Samuel to the summit of the hill, where they find a large company of guests assembled in the hall attached to the sanctuary, and at his bidding occupy the chief places. The principal dish, specially reserved by the cook in expectation of his arrival—"the shoulder and its appurtenances"—is set before the wondering Benjamite. "So Saul did eat with Samuel that day" (ver. 24). The meal over, Saul descends the hill to Samuel's house, and, after an earnest conversation, in which the prophet would doubtless disclose to him the Divine revelation he had received, sleeps in a bed prepared for him on the house-top. Very early, "at the spring of the day," Samuel awakes his young guest with the cry, "Up, that I may send thee away" (ver. 26). This is the crisis in Saul's history. The servant is sent on before, that there may be no spectator of the solemn transaction; and then, at the outskirts of the city, Samuel pours on Saul's head the anointing oil, and kisses him in token of homage.[1] To Saul's implied or expressed wonder at the meaning of these strange symbolical rites, he answers, "Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over His inheritance?" and the future monarch is dismissed with the prediction of three tokens on his way home, which would confirm his faith in the future destiny so unexpectedly thrust upon him (chap. ix. 27; x. 1—7).

The true nobility of Samuel's character shines out in the whole of the remarkable interview. We do not see a trace of the irritated feeling called forth by the demand of the elders. All sense of personal slight has vanished before the assurance that it is God's will that he should hand over his power to this young Benjamite. The inward conflict is over. He has wrestled and overcome.

3. This anointing of Saul by Samuel was, as we have seen, a private act, known only to themselves. But it was necessary that this inner private call should be followed by another public call, in which he should be recognised by the people as the king given them by God. The tribes are therefore called together by Samuel to a religious assembly at the ancient sanctuary of Mizpeh (1 Sam. x. 17). At that hallowed spot, full of the memories of the great national repentance at the opening of his judgeship, and the solemn rites with which their covenant with the Most High had been renewed (1 Sam. vii. 5—11), the aged prophet once more upbraids them with their ingratitude—not to himself, but to their God, who Himself had saved them out of all "their adversities and their tribulations"—in demanding a king, and bids them resort to the lot to determine who that king should be.

In obedience to his direction, the people "present themselves before the Lord by their tribes and by their thousands," and first the tribe, then the family, and lastly the individual chosen is revealed. Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, is given by God to His people as their king. Drawn out of his hiding-place among the baggage of the congregation, he is presented by Samuel to the assembled nation with words of generous commendation: "See ye him," he cries, pointing to the chosen one as he stands towering above the crowd by his shoulders and upwards—"See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people." The people joyfully accept the goodly young monarch, and receive him with shouts of "Long live the king!" (1 Sam. x. 20—24).

One duty yet remained for Samuel to fulfil before he finally surrendered his authority. The monarch of God's people must not be an arbitrary despot, governing according to his own caprice, but a constitutional king, ruling according to fixed principles and divinely established laws. These principles and laws had been already laid down by the great Lawgiver of Israel, who had foreseen that the day would come when the nation would grow weary of the Theocracy, and insist on having a king (Deut. xvii. 14—20). Samuel now rehearses these ordinances, adding perhaps certain fresh limitations, applicable to the circumstances under which the monarchy had been established, and committing them to writing in what has been termed "the Bill of Rights of the Hebrew Nation," deposits the constitutional record in the Holy of Holies, where the Book of the Law had been previously laid up by Moses (Deut. xxxi. 26). This done, Samuel dismissed the assembly, "every man to his house" (1 Sam. x. 25). With anxious heart he must have watched them separating. The irrevocable step had now been taken; the national revolution was complete; Israel had descended from her proud exceptional position, and thenceforth was to be "like all the nations." Would not the day come when they would deplore the exchange they had made and "cry out to the Lord because of their king?" But it would be too late to escape the consequences of their self-will. Their sin should be their punishment.

4. Although the monarchy had been thus solemnly inaugurated, and the king, designated by the sacred lot, accepted by the representatives of the nation at Mizpeh, Samuel could not but see that his task as the establisher of the kingly power was still incomplete. The choice

[1] Compare Ps. ii. 12, "Kiss the son." To kiss, according to Eastern custom, was to proffer homage and service. (1 Kings xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2.)

of the king from the small and insignificant tribe of Benjamin could hardly fail to wound the pride of the more important tribes. The popular voice had hailed him with acclamation on account of his stature and goodly person, and a band of warriors had attended him to his rural home at Gibeah (ch. x. 26). But he received no other marks of respect or homage such as a newly-crowned monarch might justly expect. Some "children of Belial" even spoke of him with undisguised contempt—"How shall this man save us?" "They despised him, and brought him no presents" (ver. 27). He seems to have quietly taken his old place in his father's household, and to have resumed his agricultural labours without any remonstrance from his new subjects. Instead of the intelligence of the peril of Jabesh-gilead being brought to him first, as the head of the nation, he was left to learn it by his own inquiries (ch. xi. 5). Indeed, but for the successful issue of his bold appeal to the personal apprehensions of his people (ver. 7), in the relief of the beleaguered city, and the defeat of the Ammonites, his kingly authority might have remained merely nominal, limited, as that of the judges usually was, to his own tribe. It was this chivalrous expedition, and the complete victory which closed it, that secured his recognition by the nation. Samuel, who must have been trembling for the issue of his work, and almost questioning whether he could have misread God's will, at once seized the opportunity, now that the tide of popular favour set in so strongly towards Saul, to obtain the ratification of the national choice.

In obedience to a summons from him, the representatives of all the tribes assembled at the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal, where the circle of grey stones, plucked from the bed of the Jordan, marked the first encampment of the Israelites on the soil of the Promised Land. There "the kingdom" was "renewed," and the now popular young monarch anointed king a second time, with the sacrifice of peace-offerings, and a general rejoicing (ch. xi. 15). This is the last recorded instance on which the aged prophet appeared publicly before the nation. Saul's throne was now secure, and Samuel might safely complete the surrender of his authority, and retire into privacy. But before he did so he stood up once more among the assembled tribes, and with calm and collected dignity made his farewell address to them. In the strength of conscious integrity he appealed to the whole assembly, as in the sight of the Lord and their anointed king, to bear witness to the unswerving rectitude of his administration. His whole life, from childhood onward, was before them. He had grown grey in their service. What single crime could they charge him with? (1 Sam. xii. 2—5.)

Samuel then took a rapid review of the past history of the nation, enumerating their past deliverances, and showing how in all their emergencies God had raised up a champion to rescue them. Their national distresses were the fruit of their own sins. If they had been faithful to the Most High, no king would have been needed to deliver them (vs. 6—12). Nor let them suppose that because the Lord had not openly expressed His displeasure, and had permitted His prophet to be the instrument in establishing the monarchy and inaugurating the king, their conduct had been well-pleasing in His sight. They had been guilty of disobedience and ingratitude towards their Divine King, nor could His anger be appeased and their punishment averted save by more faithful service both on the part of monarch and people. But if they would be willing and obedient, God's favour should still rest upon them both.

In confirmation of his words, and to awaken the people to a sense of their "wickedness," the sign of a thunderstorm at the unusual time of wheat-harvest was sent at Samuel's prayer. The people, full of terror, acknowledged their guilt, and entreated the prophet's intercession to save them from the threatened destruction. "Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God, that we die not; for we have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king" (ch. xii. 19). There is but a step from presumption to despair. Samuel saw the danger the people were in of imagining that all was lost, and that they had sinned beyond the possibility of restoration. In his reply, therefore, he cheered them by the assurance that, grievously as they had sinned, their case was not desperate. On the other hand, certain ruin would descend on both king and people if they forsook Him. He concluded by the promise of the continuance of his intercessions, the intermission of which would be nothing less than a "sin against the Lord," and a final appeal to their gratitude and their fears—"Only fear the Lord, and serve Him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great things He hath done for you. But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king" (vs. 24, 25).

The deliverance of Israel from the Philistine yoke was one of the chief objects contemplated in the appointment of a king (1 Sam. ix. 16). But any hopes that might have been entertained that this deliverance would be speedily effected were soon shown to be fallacious. The Philistines continued to occupy strongholds in the very heart of the Promised Land—at Gibeah (ch. x. 5), at Geba (xiii. 3), at Michmash (xiii. 5)—and to exercise capricious tyranny over the unresisting Israelites. So complete was their subjugation, that the Philistines had actually carried out a general disarming of the nation, and had removed all the smiths, who might have forged new weapons, to their own garrisons, so that the Israelites had to submit to the degradation of taking their agricultural implements to their enemies' quarters if they needed repair or sharpening. The thoroughness of this disarming may be gathered from the fact that "on the day of battle" the only warriors armed with sword and spear were the king and his son (ch. xiii. 22). Not that the rest of the host were unarmed. Bows and arrows, slings—in the use of both of which Saul's tribesmen, the Benjamites, were adepts (Judg. xx. 16; 1 Chron. viii. 40; xii. 2)—ox-goads, with

which Shamgar did such execution among these same Philistines in the days of the judges (Judg. iii. 31), and other extemporised weapons of an agricultural people, would still render them formidable enemies. With such arms as these, the Ammonites had been defeated before Jabesh-gilead, and they would have vanquished the Philistines if they had been wielded with the same dauntless spirit. But the enthusiasm then awakened was like a fire of thorns, fierce but soon exhausted. The nation had sunk down into their old craven apathy, and a general rising against the Philistine yoke seemed hopeless. Under these circumstances Saul, in the second year of his reign,[1] gathered about him the nucleus of a standing army, two thousand men, under his personal leadership, and another thousand under his gallant son, the youthful and adventurous Jonathan, of whom we now hear for the first time. The first blow was struck by him. He and his band made a successful attack upon the Philistine garrison at Geba.[2] The Philistines at once realised the significance of Jonathan's exploit, and resolved to stamp out the rising rebellion of their tributaries, by a terrible vengeance. For this purpose they collected an immense army, "thirty thousand[3] chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea-shore in multitude." Saul, too, on his part, felt the importance of the crisis. Unless his son's success were instantly followed up by vigorous action, it would be worse than useless. The Philistines would have been exasperated to no purpose. He therefore caused the trumpet to be blown throughout all the land, saying, "Let the Hebrews hear." But the news of Jonathan's having smitten a garrison of the Philistines had the contrary effect on the people to that he anticipated. Instead of flocking to his standard, as when Jabesh-gilead had to be relieved, a general panic pervaded the land. Overwhelmed with terror at the vast army the Philistines were gathering to avenge the insult, and utterly hopeless of being able to make any effectual resistance, the inhabitants of the land abandoned their homes, and betook themselves to concealment or flight. Some, like David in Absalom's rebellion, put the Jordan between them and their enemies, and crossed to the land of Gad and Gilead. Others hid themselves in the caverns, with which the limestone strata of Palestine abound, or among the rocks and thickets of the mountain-sides, or found a place of refuge in underground chambers, or empty water-tanks.[4] The land was depopulated. Saul himself, and the small band that had answered his summons, felt it wise to retreat eastwards to the very confines of the land, and pitch their tents on the old camping ground of Gilgal. So great was the dread of the Philistines, that the panic invaded Saul's army: "all the people followed him trembling" (1 Sam. xiii. 7). It seemed to be a crisis in the nation's fate. It actually was one in that of Saul. The great trial of his faith and obedience was at hand, which was to determine whether he was fit to govern God's people or not. Samuel had promised to come to Gilgal within seven days, to offer the necessary sacrifice before going out to battle, and had plainly intimated that no decisive step was to be taken till he arrived. It was a very severe trial of Saul's faith and obedience. His raw levies were becoming daily more and more demoralised, and were crumbling away before his eyes. "Samuel came not, and the people were scattered from him." All seemed to depend upon his striking a blow, while he had still some soldiers left, and their courage had not entirely given way before the mighty Philistine host. But this he was forbidden to do. He must restrain his eager spirit, and wait for Samuel's coming. At last the weary wearing week was over. The seven days of fierce trial were ended, and Saul breathed more freely. Samuel would soon be with him, the sacrifice would be offered, and he would be at liberty to advance on the enemy. But Samuel came not. Hour after hour passed by, and still the form of the grey-haired prophet was not seen drawing near. Saul's impatient spirit chafed within him at the unlooked-for delay. Surely it could not be expected of him to linger any longer. He had been bidden to wait seven days, and he had waited. Some unexpected hindrance must have pre-

[1] The text of the opening words of 1 Sam. xiii., "Saul reigned one year; and when he had reigned two years over Israel," &c., is certainly corrupt. The existing Hebrew text admits of no other translation than "Saul was the son of a year"—*i.e.*, a year old—"at his becoming king; and he reigned two years over Israel." The same form of words occurs in thirty-seven other passages in the Old Testament, and always in the same sense. First the king's age on his accession is stated, and then the number of years of his reign (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 10; v. 4; 1 Kings xiv. 21; xxii. 42, &c.). There can be no doubt, therefore, that the numeral stating Saul's age at his accession has dropped out of the text. Ewald, one of the best authorities where Hebrew scholarship is concerned, regards the translation of the latter clause of the verse as correct: "Saul had only reigned two years when he organised the picked bands of warriors" (*Hist. of Isr.*, Trans., iii. 52).

[2] The word translated "garrison"—נְצִיב, *netzib*, from a verb signifying "to be set up, established"—may also mean "one set over," "a prefect," a sense it bears in 1 Kings iv. 19; 2 Chron. viii. 10. This is the meaning adopted by Ewald and Dean Stanley: "Jonathan had given the signal for a general revolt by attacking and slaying the Philistine officers" (*Jewish Church*, vol. ii., p. 14). Thenius translates it "pillar" (as Gen. xix. 26, the "pillar of salt" into which Lot's wife was changed), and understands by it a column or trophy set up as a mark of Philistine power indignantly overthrown by the impetuous Jonathan. Our translators have followed the Latin Vulgate "stationem," and this rendering may be accepted as probably correct.

[3] There can be no doubt that this number is incorrect. The number of 30,000 chariots is enormously in excess of all probability. Jabin (Judg. iv. 3) had "nine hundred chariots of iron." Pharaoh pursued after Israel with "six hundred chariots" (Exod. xiv. 7). Nor is it likely that the chariots so far outnumbered the horsemen. David had 700 chariots to 40,000 horsemen (2 Sam. x. 18); Solomon, 1,400 chariots to 12,000 horsemen (1 Kings x. 26); Zerah, 300 chariots to an army of a million (2 Chron. xiv. 9); Shishak, 1,200 chariots to 60,000 horsemen (2 Chron. xii. 3). What the correct number is we cannot determine.

[4] The word translated "high places" (1 Sam. xiii. 6), צְרִחָה, *tsariahh*—is only found here and in Judg. ix. 46, 49 (the history of Abimelech, at Shechem), where it is rendered "the hold." The meaning "tower" given to it in the *Speaker's Commentary* is unsuitable for a hiding-place, and is rejected by the best critics, who give it the sense "cellar" or "subterranean chamber." The "pits" were probably dry tanks or rain-water cisterns, which were often used as places of concealment as well as of confinement (Gen. xxxvii. 20–29; Jer. xxxviii. 6–13; xli. 9; Zech. ix. 11). It was such a tank in the courtyard of the house in which Jonathan and Ahimaaz were concealed, in the time of Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xvii. 18, 19). The word then used, however, is different—בְּאֵר, *b'er*, instead of בּוֹר, *bor*.

vented Samuel's fulfilling his promise. The prophet, if he knew the straits he was in, would be the first to absolve him from his obedience. It would be madness to wait till the Philistines poured down from Michmash, and swept him and his little troop before them into the bed of the Jordan. So, with rash impetuosity, Saul uttered the fatal command, "Bring hither to me the burnt-offering and the peace-offerings,"[1] "and" —whether with his own hand,[2] or that of the priests who happened to be there, it matters not; the offence was not that of encroaching on the sacerdotal office, but of presumptuous wilfulness—"he offered the burnt-offering." Scarcely had the victim been consumed on the altar, when the intelligence reached him that the long-expected prophet was arrived at the outskirts of the camp. Saul, with little anticipation of the reception that awaited him, "went out to meet him, that he might salute him"—offer, that is, the tribute of respectful homage due even from the monarch to the prophet of the Lord. "What hast thou done?" was Samuel's brief and stern question. Vain were all the excuses urged by Saul to cover his disobedience, "Samuel with a word reproved and convicted, and sentenced and silenced him."[3] The plea of unwillingness, "I forced myself and offered the burnt-offering," was shown to be a mere empty pretext. His worldly policy had proved the veriest folly—"Thou hast done foolishly"—evidencing his want of faith in the power and promise of God. He who had bidden him wait till His prophet came, knew all the dangers of his position, and would have carried him safe through them, and having thus tested him and proved him worthy, would have established his dynasty over Israel for ever. This he had wantonly forfeited by his wilfulness and disobedience.

We now pass on to the second occasion on which Samuel was commissioned to test the obedience of Saul.

The circumstances were briefly these:—Centuries before, God had sworn that He would make perpetual war upon the fierce marauding tribe of Amalek for the hostility shown by them to Israel after the Exodus (Exod. xvii. 14—16). The sentence of extermination had hitherto been only partially fulfilled, and the time had arrived when Israel, gathered as a nation under a military head, could avenge the insulted honour of Him who regards all, either of good or evil, that is done to His people as done to Himself. Samuel was the bearer of the Divine commission to Saul. It came from one, as he reminded him, who had anointed him king, and whose word he was bound to receive as that of the Lord himself. "The Lord sent me to anoint thee to be king over His people: now, therefore, hearken thou unto the voice of the words of the Lord" (1 Sam. xv. 1).

[1] Not as in the A.V., "*a* burnt-offering and peace-offerings," but "*the* burnt-offering and *the* peace-offerings"—those, that is, that had been prepared for Samuel's arrival, that there might be no delay when the prophet came.

[2] "He offered" does not imply that Saul offered sacrifice with his own hand, and thus usurped the priest's office. The co-operation of priests on such an occasion is taken for granted, just as in the sacrifices offered by David and Solomon (2 Sam. xxiv. 25; 1 Kings iii. 4; viii. 63). In the latter passage the enormous number of the victims—"two and twenty thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep"—precluded the possibility of the king being the actual sacrificer. Here the rule holds good, "Qui facit per alium facit per se." (See Keil on 1 Sam. xiii. 9.)

[3] J. H. Newman, "The Trial of Saul"—*Plain Sermons*, vol. v., p. 196.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

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"And His disciples asked Him, saying, Why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come and restore all things. But I say unto you, That Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed."—St. Matthew xvii. 10—12.

BEFORE entering on the discussion of a passage of no inconsiderable difficulty, and one on which a great difference of opinion exists, it will be desirable to present our readers with as close a translation as is practicable of the inquiry before us, as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, and as found in the best manuscripts:—

"And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the Scribes that Elijah must come first? And he answered and said, Elijah indeed cometh, and he will restore all things. But I say unto you, That Elijah is come already, and they did not recognise him, but did unto him [lit, in him] whatsoever they would."

"And they asked [or inquired of] him saying, Why say the Scribes [or, That the Scribes say] that Elijah must come first; and he said to them, Elijah [indeed] cometh first and restoreth all things [lit., having come first, restoreth all things]; and how it is written of the Son of man that he should suffer many things and be set at nought. But I say unto you, That Elijah also [or indeed] is come, and they did to him whatsoever they would, as it is written of him."

The use of the particle οὖν, *then*, and the close connection of the inquiry, as recorded by both the Evangelists, with the account of the Transfiguration and the descent from the Mount, seem to furnish a clue to the chain of thought which existed in the mind of the inquirers. They were, doubtless, familiar with the prophecy of Malachi (iv. 5), "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the hearts

of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." The expectation that this prophecy would receive its literal fulfilment in the person of Elijah is evinced by the fact that in most MSS. of the Septuagint version, instead of "Elijah the prophet," we find "Elijah the Tishbite;" and in the panegyric pronounced upon Elijah in Ecclesiasticus xlviii., we find it affirmed (ver. 10) that Elijah was not only ordained of old for reproofs, but that he was ordained also "to turn the heart of the father unto the son, and to *restore the tribes of Jacob*."

Such being the prevailing expectation of the Jews in the time of our Lord, as is apparent still further from the inquiry made of John the Baptist, "Art thou Elias?" (John i. 21), it is easy to understand how the momentary appearance of Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration would affect the minds of the three highly-favoured Apostles, who on that, as on two other special occasions, were singled out of the number of the twelve to be the companions of their Lord. Elijah had indeed appeared, as they had been taught that he would appear, but instead of appearing, as the Scribes had led them to believe, *before* the coming of Christ, he did not appear till *after* it, and instead of remaining upon the earth to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and to restore the tribes of Jacob, his appearance had been but for a moment, and he had speedily vanished from their view.

There can be no doubt that the voice of ancient prophecy was but very imperfectly apprehended by the Jews in this, as in other respects, and that the words of our Lord were designed to supply what was wanting in their interpretation of its import.

With very few exceptions—some have alleged, but, as it should seem, on insufficient grounds, with none—no distinction is made in the prophecies of the Old Testament between the two advents of the Redeemer; and they are represented rather as one continuous whole, than as separated by that "little while" of which our Lord himself spoke (John xiv. 16), which now intervenes between the two.

In this respect, then, our Lord undoubtedly corrected the mistaken views of His disciples. He taught them that, as regarded the predicted preparation for His first advent, the messenger foretold alike by Isaiah (xl. 3), and by Malachi (iii. 1), was John the Baptist. Thus far the meaning of our Lord is explicit; and it is placed beyond the reach of doubt by the facts (1) that the angel, when foretelling the birth of John the Baptist (Luke i. 17), expressly declared concerning him that he should go before the face of the Lord, "in the spirit and power of Elias," and (2) that Zacharias, being "filled with the Holy Ghost," and prophesying of his son, re-echoed the same assurance (Luke i. 76).

The questions which remain open to discussion are: (1) whether the prophecies of Malachi (iii. 1, 2, and iv. 5, 6) are to be taken together or separately—*i.e.*, as both having reference to the same advent of Christ, or respectively to His first and second advents; and (2) whether, if both have *primary* reference to the first advent, their fulfilment, as regards the work of preparation, was partial only or complete in the ministry of John the Baptist.

Now, although at first sight Mal. iii. 1, viewed in connection with Isa. xl. 3,[1] might seem to have exclusive reference to the first coming of Christ, yet when we take into consideration (1) the predicted *suddenness* of the advent—"The Lord whom ye seek shall *suddenly* come to His temple"—(2) the inquiry of the following verse:—"But who may abide the day of His coming, and who shall stand when He appeareth?"—and (3) the fact that both in the words of Gabriel (Luke i. 17), and in those of Zacharias (i. 76), the two prophecies of Malachi appear to be combined in the mind of the speaker,[2] we can scarcely err in arriving at the conclusion that Mal. iii. 1, 2, as well as Mal. iv. 5, 6, has direct reference to the second coming of Christ as well as to the first.

The remaining point for consideration is, do these passages announce the advent of *one* forerunner of Christ only, or of *two?* in other words, do they predict a preparation to be made by an earthly messenger for the *first* only, or also for the *second* advent of the Lord?

It may be impossible to return any positive reply to this inquiry. At the same time, there are some reasons for believing that these prophecies are not yet exhausted, but still await their complete fulfilment. Of these reasons we may mention the following:—

I. If it be admitted that the second as well as the first advent is foretold in both places by Malachi, it seems almost impossible to deny that a preparation is to be made for both—by the "messenger" foretold in the one case (Mal. iii. 1), and by the "prophet" similarly announced in the other (Mal. iv. 5).

II. In Mal. iv. 5 it is expressly affirmed that the "prophet" is to be sent "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord." Now, the only precise parallel to this expression is to be found in Joel ii. 31, where the same six words occur in the original in the same order, and hence the determination of the reference in that place will go far towards the determination of the true meaning of the same words in Malachi.[3] Now it can scarcely be questioned that the prophecy in Joel, taken, as it must be, in connection with Isaiah xiii. 9—12, and more particularly with the prophecy delivered on the Mount of Olives, as recorded by the three synoptists (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.), in both of which prophecies direct reference is made to "signs in the sun and in the moon,"

[1] It is deserving of notice that the expression rendered "prepare the way" is peculiar to Isaiah, who uses it three times (xl. 3; lvii. 14; lxii. 10), and to Malachi (iii. 1).

[2] In the former case the words "He shall go before him" seem to refer to Mal. iii. 1, whilst "in the spirit and power of Elias" manifestly refer to Mal. iv. 5. In the latter case, the words "thou shalt go before the face of the Lord" have undoubted reference to Mal. iii. 1, whilst the words "shalt be called the *prophet* of the Highest" have probable reference to Mal. iv. 5—"Elijah the prophet."

[3] The reference of the words to the second advent in both of these prophesies is confirmed by the undoubted reference to that event in most places, both of the Old and New Testament, in which the "great day" of the Lord is mentioned.

announces those external phenomena in the natural world which shall be some of the precursors of the second coming of the Lord. And although, at first sight, it might be thought (as some, indeed, have maintained) that St. Peter determines the reference of this prophecy to the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 16—21), it will appear, on a closer examination and comparison of the words of the prophet with those of the Apostle, that it can be only the incipient fulfilment of the prophecy on that day which is affirmed by St. Peter, and that, as Bishop Wordsworth has observed, "as at the *Ascension* the angels pass immediately from speaking of that event to speak of Christ's *Second Coming* to judgment, so here, on the Day of Pentecost, St. Peter proceeds to speak of that second advent, because (as Bishop Andrewes says—iii. 315), 'from Christ's departure till His return again, from this Day of Pentecost, "a great and notable day," till the last "great and notable day," between these two days no more such day. Therefore he called them the last days.'"[1]

III. Our Lord's own reply to the inquiry of the three Apostles seems to point to the same conclusion. "Elias, indeed, cometh first, and shall restore all things." It is true that the words which immediately follow, "Elias (or an Elias) has already come," may seem to denote that the foregoing words had already received their accomplishment in the mission of the Baptist. But there are great, if not insuperable, difficulties in this explanation of their meaning. The word here used (ἀποκαταστήσει, Cf. Mark ix. 12, where the same verb occurs, which answers to the Hebrew תשיב) is the same which occurs in Acts i. 6, where the Apostles inquire of our Lord whether He was about at that time to *restore* the kingdom to Israel. Another form of the same word occurs in Acts iii. 21, "Whom the heavens must receive until the times of *restitution* of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began." In this full and comprehensive sense of the word, it is impossible to allege that the prophecy received its complete and exhaustive fulfilment in the preparatory mission of John the Baptist.

IV. It is at least remarkable that some of the miracles ascribed to the "two witnesses" in Rev. xi. 5, 6 bear a striking correspondence to those performed by Elijah.

And, lastly, it is an incontrovertible fact that it was the expectation not only of the Jews, but also of many of the early fathers of the Christian Church, that Elijah was destined to appear again upon the earth before the coming of the Lord. Amongst these it will suffice to mention (1) Tertullian—"They (*i.e.*, Enoch and Elijah) are reserved for death, that, by their blood, they may destroy Antichrist;"[2] (2) Chrysostom—"As John was the precursor of His first advent (*i.e.*, of Christ), so Elijah will be the precursor of His second advent;"[3] (3) Augustine—"What John was to the first advent, that will Elias be to the second advent. As there are two advents of the Judge, so are there two heralds."[4]

Whilst abstaining, then, from any dogmatic assertion on a subject of so much difficulty, it appears to be more in conformity (1) with the general character of ancient prophecy, (2) with the pregnant import of the prophecy on the mount, and (3) with the literal import, and the earliest exposition of our Lord's words, to understand them as affirming that, in the interpretation affixed by the Scribes to the prophecies of Malachi, they were partly right and partly wrong—that in their primary reference those prophecies had received their fulfilment in the mission of John the Baptist, whilst their ultimate accomplishment awaits the close of this present dispensation, and will usher in the second advent of the Son of man.

[1] Commentary on Acts ii. 20.

[2] *De Animâ*, cap. l.

[3] *57th Homily on St. Matthew.*

[4] *On the Gospel of St. John*, Tractate iv.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

SACRED PLACES.

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FROM the Sacred Seasons of Israel we pass now, secondly, to its Sacred Places and Things, and first to that place which was the very centre of the Theocracy, associated with all its most solemn rites, connected with all its highest privileges, the most hallowed spot even of a land the whole of which God had chosen for Himself, and bestowed upon His people in fulfilment of His covenant—the Tabernacle. It may seem, indeed, to some that we ought rather to have chosen the Temple, inasmuch as it belonged to the brightest period of Jewish history, stood for centuries after the Tabernacle had disappeared, and was so often spoken of by our Lord Himself in its relation to the higher dispensation which He introduced. But it must be borne in mind that the Temple was, in all its different parts, only a reproduction, though on an enlarged, more splendid, and more enduring scale, of the earlier structure; that those religious ideas of Judaism of which we are now in search, in order to discover their fulfilment, may be looked for in their greatest purity the nearer we place ourselves to the period of their Divine embodiment;

and—what is peculiarly worthy of our notice—that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the accomplishment of the types of the Old Testament, always refers to the Tabernacle and not the Temple. It is with the former then, rather than with the latter, that we have to do, and any separate consideration of the Temple, its furniture, its officials, or its worship, will be unnecessary.

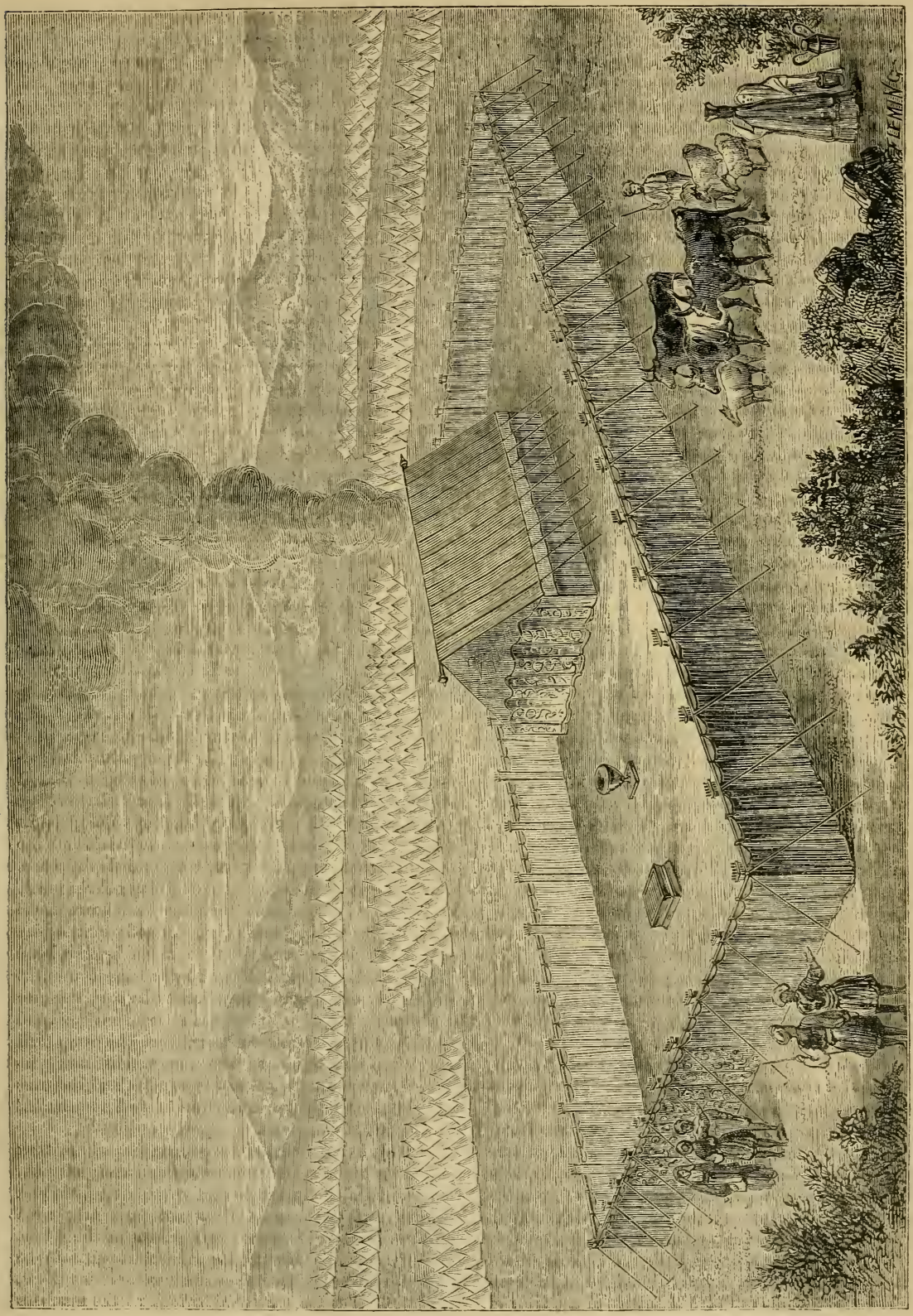
It was immediately after the exodus, on the first constitution of the Jewish state—when redeemed from its bondage in Egypt Israel became not only a separate and independent, but God's covenant people—that directions for the rearing of the Tabernacle were given to Moses. Nothing of the kind appears to have existed either during the captivity in Egypt or in the patriarchal age. Of the worship, indeed, of the people while they were in Egypt we know nothing. Of the patriarchs we read only, as in the case of Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that "they built altars unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord," while of Noah it is added that he "took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar" (Gen. viii. 20, xii. 7, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20). In those simple and early times, when piety was of an individual and family, rather than of a national type, its flame was more easily kept alive than when Israel had become a great people, with all such a people's varied elements; when it mixed more or less with the heathen nations around it; and when it needed far more distinct and elaborate arrangements to keep it in mind of its obligations towards God. No sooner, accordingly, was the nation constituted, and in danger of forgetting its relation to the Almighty and His covenant, than steps were taken to secure it a constant and impressive token of the presence of the true Jehovah in its midst, and of the worship required by Him at its hand. That token was more especially the Tabernacle.

It is not our intention to enter here into the controversy with regard to the mode in which all the different parts of the Tabernacle were put together, or even to give any minute description of it. To do so would require more space than we can command, and would also divert attention from the object that we have immediately in view. It will be enough to speak of such leading particulars of the structure as were in the minds of the New Testament writers when they alluded to its fulfilment in the dispensation of "the fulness of the times."

Looking, then, at the arrangements as a whole, and as they would strike the eye of any one observing them from without, we see first a large enclosed space in the form of a parallelogram one hundred cubits long (the cubit being as nearly as possible a foot and a half), by fifty broad. The length of the space is from east to west, the breadth from north to south. It is marked off by pillars all round, five cubits high, between which are suspended hangings or curtains of fine twined linen, five cubits broad, the only difference being at the entrance to the enclosure, which was in the middle of the east side, and of a breadth of twenty cubits. Here the curtains were of a more elaborate description, "blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework" (Exod. xxvii. 16), thus resembling the curtains for the door of the sanctuary, of which we have not yet spoken.

Within this enclosure, and taking no note of its furnishings, which will remain for after consideration, we have immediately before us, at a distance of fifty cubits, and in the centre of the court, an oblong erection made of wood, ten cubits broad and thirty long, the long sides stretching westward towards the back wall of the court, and terminating twenty cubits from it. This erection, though the first thing that strikes the eye, is entirely subordinate to two great coverings or cloths, one of which alone is fully visible, though having two other skin coverings on the top of it, which do not concern us at present. The covering that we see is of cloth of goats' hair. It is "the tent" of the Old Testament description, unfortunately too often rendered in our English version "Tabernacle," and its object is at once to conceal and to protect the Tabernacle beneath it. The Tabernacle itself is the chief part of the whole structure. Properly speaking, it is only the rich and costly cloth, of which it is said, "Moreover thou shalt make the Tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: with cherubim of cunning work shalt thou make them" (Exod. xxvi. 1) These ten curtains are all, however, carefully joined to one another, and constitute one whole. The larger covering requires support, and the space enclosed by it is to be divided into two parts. To attain these ends is the purpose of the wooden erection to which we have referred. The covering stretches across it, is hooked to the top of the boards which form the walls, and falls down within them to the distance of a cubit from the ground. It is not visible, except, perhaps, in a small degree at the eastern end, to any one standing on the outside, being concealed by the goats' hair covering formerly described. The space within is divided into two, the part nearest the entrance being twenty cubits long, the innermost ten. The former is the holy place, into which the priests alone were admitted; the latter is the Holy of Holies, into which none but the high priest might enter, and that only once a year, upon the great Day of Atonement. The holy place is separated from "the court" by five pillars, from which is suspended a vail, that first vail, whose existence is implied in the mention of the "second vail" of Heb. ix. 3. In appearance and style of workmanship the vail is similar to that at the entrance of the court itself. The Holy of Holies, again, is separated from the Holy Place by four pillars, from which is suspended another vail, "the second" (Heb. ix. 3), made in the same style as the others, but with the important addition that it was wrought with figures of cherubim. It has to be added that both the Holy of Holies and the holy place are inaccessible to the light of heaven, and that both of them have important articles of furniture, of which for the present we say nothing.

Such, necessarily omitting various details for want of



GENERAL VIEW OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE TABERNACLE.

space, was the Tabernacle, and for our present purpose it is sufficient to observe that it consists of three parts—the court, the holy place, and the Holy of Holies. The second and third together constitute the Tabernacle proper, consisting of two parts. The diagram (p. 41) will sufficiently illustrate what has been said.

While we have abstained from entering into the multiplied details and difficult questions connected with the erection of this structure, and by which we should only have confused our readers, there are yet one or two general observations to be made regarding it before we inquire into either its meaning or fulfilment.

1. First, it was all to be executed in strict accordance with the Divine directions, and nothing was to be left to merely human ingenuity or skill. "And let them make me a sanctuary," are the words of the Almighty to Moses, "that I may dwell among them. According to all that I show thee, after the pattern of the Tabernacle and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it" (Exod. xxv. 9). The injunction is afterwards repeated, with the addition that the pattern referred to had been shown to Moses "in the mount" (xxv. 40, xxvi. 30); and the importance felt to be due to this part of its arrangements is illustrated by the fact, that it is dwelt upon with emphasis both by St. Stephen and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Our fathers had the Tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as He had appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should make it according to the fashion that he had seen;" "As Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the Tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount" (Acts. vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5). It is not, indeed, necessary to suppose that Moses had there seen an actual model of the Tabernacle he was to raise, but he had at all events so seen it ideally, or in vision, that he could proceed to its erection as one who had a model before his eye. In conformity, too, with the spirit of this injunction, it is worthy of notice that directions for the construction of all the parts are given in the Old Testament with unexampled minuteness. Besides numerous other allusions, the whole of the 26th and 36th chapters of Exodus are devoted to it, and the directions extend not only to its leading parts, but to the smallest particulars, the loops of the curtains, the hooks of the pillars, the rings of the bars, the cords, and the pins.

2. Secondly, the work was not only to be thus executed in strict accordance with the Divine directions, it was to be so under the power of a Divine spirit. "See," it is said, "I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship. And I, behold, I have given with him Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan: and in the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee; the Tabernacle of the congregation," &c. (Exod. xxxi. 2—7).

3. Thirdly, it was to bear all the marks of the Divine richness and glory. Everything about it was to be executed in a lavish and costly style. Much of the work was to be of solid silver, much even of solid gold. All the boards of the Tabernacle, forty-eight in number, and with a superficies of about 1,050 square feet, were to be overlaid with gold; while, at the same time, they were to be based on silver sockets, each weighing a talent, or about 1,500 ounces. The connecting rods, going round the whole extensive enclosure of the court, were to be of silver. Brass—or rather bronze—was freely used; and there can be no doubt that the embroidery of the hangings or curtains was of the most elaborate kind which it was then possible to produce. The execution of the whole may, no doubt, have been imperfect and coarse, compared with what would be expected now; yet it is also probable enough, when we remember that the Israelites had just left Egypt, that it may have been in no small degree artistic. Nor, even although it had not been so, would it in the least degree have failed to accomplish the end that was proposed. The work met the ideas of the time, and the whole fabric exhibited, as it was intended to exhibit, the utmost richness and gorgeousness of effect to which men were then able to attain.

4. Fourthly, the Tabernacle and all its furniture were to be erected from the freewill offerings of the people. The invitation by Moses to offer for the purpose is recorded at length in the 35th chapter of the Book of Exodus, and it is worth while to notice that every particular connected with the structure is mentioned in it. Nothing was too costly to be offered, nothing too trifling to be accepted. The invitation, too, was answered with a cordiality leaving nothing to be desired. All classes and both sexes, the chiefs and the people, the rich and the poor, contributed their aid. "The children of Israel brought a willing offering unto the Lord, every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all manner of work, which the Lord had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses" (Exod. xxxv. 29). Nay, so great was the readiness to offer, that Moses had to be told that the people were bringing more than was required, and had to issue a proclamation throughout the camp that the giving should cease. "so the people were restrained from bringing, for the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much" (Exod. xxxvi. 6, 7).

5. Lastly, it has to be observed that the whole work was stamped with a Divine harmony and unity of plan. This was effected by means of the measurements and numbers employed in it. We cannot enter here upon the remarkable part played by numbers in the Bible. Even after Bähr's labours, the subject requires to be investigated more fully than has yet, so far as we know, been done. But we have only to look at the numbers

before us in the present instance, in order to be satisfied that all must have been selected with a view to the expression of Divine ideas. Thus it is at once obvious that four is the fundamental number for the Tabernacle proper. It is composed of strips of a covering fastened together into one curtain, each strip being four cubits broad and twenty-eight (4 × 7) cubits long. The boards surrounding and enclosing it are forty-eight (4 × 12) in number, twenty in each of its sides, and six together with two corner boards (Exod. xxvi. 23, 24), making eight (4 × 2), at the back. There are four coverings in all—the Cherubim curtain, that of goats' hair, that of rams' skins, and that said in our English version to have been of badgers' skins (Exod. xxvi. 1, 7, 14). There are four colours in the innermost curtain and in the vails, blue and purple and scarlet and white, and four pillars are set up before the entrance (Exod. xxvi. 31, 32). There can be no doubt, however, that under the Mosaic economy four was the number of the kingdom of God established in the world, the stamp of God as taking up His abode with men; and this idea, therefore, found expression in the number thus fixed upon as the ruling number of the sanctuary, or most peculiar dwelling-place of God in Israel. Again, ten is allowed by all inquirers to be the number of perfection, and hence the part assigned to it in connection with the work. The Holy of Holies was ten cubits long, ten broad, and ten high, thus forming a perfect cube, an idea, we may notice in passing, preserved in the New Jerusalem as seen in vision by St. John, of which, with that defiance of all verisimilitude so characteristic of the Jewish imagination, it is said, "And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal" (Rev. xxi. 16). Even the holy place has its proportions determined by the number ten; for it is ten cubits broad, ten high, and twenty long, twenty in the latter case taking the place of ten, because the idea of perfection is not yet attained in it, while at the same time twenty is the only multiple of ten by which it can be made of a size suitable to its purpose of sustaining that innermost or Cherubim covering which is the centre of the whole. Once more, the size and construction of "the court" are regulated by the number five, as appears especially from the fact that the pillars surrounding it were five cubits high, and the spaces between them five cubits broad, while the whole number made use of was sixty (5 × 12). It is almost needless to observe that the length and breadth of the court, one hundred cubits by fifty, are no less multiples of five than they are of ten. But five is a part of ten broken into two, and is thus the representative of imperfection and incompleteness, the characteristics of that outer court in which Israel had not yet attained to intimate communion with God. Thus in all its parts did the Tabernacle in the wilderness bear the stamp of the Divine harmony and order, of that Divine unity of plan which in one way or another finds expression in all the operations of Him who is the author, not of confusion, but of harmony, alike in the Church and in the world.

The observations now made lead us in no small degree to the answer to be given to the next and most important questions connected with this subject: What did the Tabernacle symbolise to Israel? and, What is its fulfilment now? That it had a symbolical meaning no careful inquirer will deny; and that such a meaning was impressed upon all its parts is proved by the fact that all were to be constructed according to the pattern showed to Moses in the mount, by their construction upon such a fixed scale, and with such a recurrence of particular numbers and measures, as can only be explained by this admission, by the general analogy of the whole Old Testament worship, and by the distinct intimations alike of the prophets of the old economy and the sacred writers of the new. It may be more difficult to say what this symbolical meaning was; and certainly no chapter of Scripture interpretation affords a larger number of illustrations of the most fanciful, although not seldom highly ingenious, speculation. It is impossible, however, to enumerate, far less to discuss, these at present. We must confine ourselves to stating briefly what appears to us to be correct. It will be found that the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, looked at in too one-sided a manner, may easily lead astray, admits in connection with it of being simply and naturally explained.

The Tabernacle, then, was especially designed to represent the dwelling of God in the midst of His people. It was the place where He had taken up His abode in Israel; and taken it up, we desire especially to urge, in the fulness of that character which belonged to Him—not in mercy and condescending grace alone, but also in that holiness which cannot tolerate sin, and which, at the very giving of the covenant, showed itself in the lightnings and thunders and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, so that all the people that were in the camp trembled. If we keep this out of view, as seems to be generally done, we change the whole character of the Tabernacle; we make it a mere message of mercy to Israel; we miss the meaning both of its different parts and of the most important articles of its furniture; we obliterate the most fundamental aspect of God's character, and how can we say that He dwells there? The Tabernacle, then, was God's dwelling-place among His people: "Let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them;" "And I will sanctify the Tabernacle of the congregation. . . . And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God;" "I will set my Tabernacle among you: and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people" (Exod. xxv. 8; xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 11, 12). No words could more clearly express the object of the structure we are considering; and it was in conformity with this that, while "a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle" (Exod. xl. 34). Whatever other thoughts, therefore, may have been connected with it, this aspect was its first

and most important. Let it only further be observed, that in thinking of the Tabernacle as the dwelling-place of God, it is of God, not in His abstract being, but as He makes Himself known to, as He comes into covenant with, men. It is not a model upon a small scale of the universe, as if He of whom Solomon at the dedication of the Temple sublimely said, "Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee," were desirous of an earthly representation of His boundless abode. If a comparison is to be made between it and heaven, where God may be said to dwell, it, not heaven, comes first. The progress of thought is from it to heaven, not from heaven to it. We have here to do with God in the relation in which He stands to man. Of that relation, as it existed towards Israel, the Tabernacle is a symbol.

Hence also its other name, the "Tabernacle of Testimony, or of Witness:" of testimony or witness to what? Surely to the Almighty, not as the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, but as the God of Israel, who in His law had witnessed to Himself and to what He required, and who had commanded that that law should be placed in the very centre of this His abode.

But, further, the other name by which the structure was known, and which is even more frequently given it than that of Tabernacle, must also be taken into account. It was the "Tent of Meeting," words unhappily rendered in our English version the "Tabernacle of the Congregation;" and it received this name because there, not indeed within it, but at it, God met with Israel. "This," it is said, "shall be a continual burnt-offering throughout your generations at the door of the tent of meeting before the Lord: where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee. And there I will meet with the children of Israel" (Exod. xxix. 42, 43). It was not, it will be observed, that the people there met with one another, but that there God met with them.

Such, then, was the meaning of the Tabernacle. It was the place in which God dwelt, where He witnessed to Himself and to His law, and at which His people met with Him. It had relation to the Almighty, not as the Ruler of the Universe, but as One who desired to bring His sinful children nearer to Himself, that they might be sanctified for His service, and be made to rejoice in His favour. And it had relation to man, not as a creature to be bowed down beneath the thought of infinite power, but to be elevated to communion and fellowship with that holy yet merciful Being who had formed him to show forth His praise, and to find in doing so his true dignity and joy.

This fundamental idea, accordingly, at once explains to us the division of the whole erection into three parts, as well as the regulations with regard to the persons by whom these parts might be severally entered. For even in the case of such as are in a certain sense redeemed, within the covenant, and called to make those privileges their own which God is ever waiting to bestow in all their fulness, there are three stages of this appropriation to be passed through. The first is that in which, under a sense of the sins still cleaving to them, they cry tremblingly for a Mediator: "Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die" (Exod. xx. 19); the second, that in which the Mediator is found, through whom they draw near with confidence to God, and dwell in His house; the third, that when the work of mediation is not only completed for them, but in them,—when its effect is not so much reached after as enjoyed,—when realising the truth that they are *in* Him, rather than looking to Him in any external relation, they have themselves attained to the confidence of sonship, and themselves cry Abba, Father, to One who is not only their Mediator's God, but their God—not only His Father, but their Father. The first stage is that of children whose position does not differ from that of servants, though they are lords of all; the second, that of sons who have just reached the time of their majority, and have cast away their spirit of bondage; the third, differing from the second, not so much in kind as in degree, that of these same sons when a happy experience has established them in their position, and the Spirit of God gives continuing witness (Rom. viii. 16) with their spirits that they are the sons of God. To these three stages of spiritual life, of dwelling in God and having God dwelling in us, the three divisions of the Tabernacle corresponded—the first around and at the Tabernacle proper, but not within it; the second and third both within it, but the second not so deep in its recesses as the first, and still separated from it by a vail.

Hence also the fact that these three parts of the Tabernacle were entered as they were—the first by the people who had not yet made clear to themselves the sonship which was theirs; the second by the priests in whom this sonship character of Israel was for the time realised; the third by the high priest alone, in whom it reached its culminating point, and to whom, therefore, it was given to pass into the immediate presence of the Almighty, as One the light of whose countenance is the portion and joy of His redeemed.

If this be the true meaning of the Tabernacle as it presented itself to Israel, its fulfilment under the New Testament dispensation ought hardly to be a matter of doubt. It is fulfilled in the Lord Jesus Christ Himself and in His Church.

First, in the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. In Him God has taken up His abode with man. For, says the Apostle John, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt," or rather tabernacled, "among us" (i. 14)—that is, came to us as the Tabernacle of old to Israel, only "full," not of the glory of the law given through Moses, but of the "grace and truth" which come through Jesus Christ. So also throughout all St. John's Gospel, the Son is ever He in whom the Father dwells, and by whom He makes known the glory of His presence among men: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him;" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;" "If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also" (i. 18; xiv. 9; viii. 19). It is true that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews appears

at first sight to give a different fulfilment, when he distinguishes between Christ and the Tabernacle, speaks of the former as passing "through" the latter (ix. 11; compare iv. 14, where "through" ought to be read for "into"), and even expressly exclaims, "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (ix. 24). The explanation of this language, however, is to be found in the fact already mentioned, that the figure here employed is taken from the Tabernacle, not the Tabernacle from any cosmical arrangement which it may seem at first sight to make use of, and, in making use of it, to establish as something in correspondence with the actual realities of the case. If the Tabernacle, in its various parts, represent the dwelling of God with man, it is a perfectly appropriate thought, that He in whom that dwelling is realised—who in the deepest and most intimate sense is one with the Father, and with whom the Father is one—should be spoken of as having possession of it all; and that, for this purpose, He should be described as passing through its outer apartments into those inmost recesses where God has His peculiar abode. It is in His passing *through* these parts that His unity with God is seen. As He passes through them their distinctions disappear; and He Himself, at the throne of God, becomes that throne to us—a throne no longer separated by a vail from the eye of faith, but beheld with open face by all who have learned to see in Him the glory of God. The difficulty, in short, of harmonising the statement of the Epistle to the Hebrews with the general teaching of Scripture upon the point before us disappears, if we only remember that the different stages of an approach to God may be locally as well as spiritually represented; that in Christ such an approach is complete; and that an antitype is at one time the fulfilment of one, at another of another, feature of its type. The constant lesson of Scripture is that in Christ Jesus all the fulness of the Godhead dwells, and that in Him we have "the Tabernacle not made with hands" (Heb. ix. 11).

But the fulfilment is not in Christ only; it is also in the Church, "which is His body" (Eph. i. 23). For, using that word which denotes the innermost shrine of the Temple on Mount Moriah, that part of the Temple which corresponded in the strictest manner to the most sacred part of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, the Apostle says, "Ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (2 Cor. vi. 16). In the Church God dwells. There He exhibits the glory of His character, and there He bestows the fulness of His blessing. There He meets him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that remember Him in His ways; and there His people enter not only into the holy, but into the most holy place. For the Church of God in her New Testament condition all the lower parts of the Tabernacle have passed into its highest part. She knows no outer court, no holy place even, in which to pause as she advances onward and inward to the very throne of God. She has already reached the Holiest of all. "Having boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh, she draws near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having her heart sprinkled from an evil conscience, and her body washed with pure water" (Heb. x. 19, 20, 22). One with her great High Priest, she enjoys the privileges not only of a priestly, but of a high-priestly state; and so identified with her Mediator that all that is His is also hers, she comes direct to the throne of grace, knowing that "the Father Himself loveth her" (John xvi. 27) and hears her prayer. The prophecy of Ezekiel, as he looked forward to better times, is fulfilled: "My tabernacle also shall be with them; and the heathen shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore" (Ezek. xxxvii. 27, 28). It is a mistake to think that the Holy of Holies is only fulfilled in the heavenly Jerusalem. It is fulfilled now; and the city is already established in the world of which, if we have to say that we see no temple in it, it is not really because there is no temple, but because it is all a temple lightened by the glory of God and of the Lamb.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MALACHI.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

MALACHI'S PREFACE.

CHAP. I. 2—5.

THE "oracle" or prophecy of Malachi opens with a few prefatory verses on Jehovah's love for the sons of Israel—a theme of which the whole book is but a series of variations. And it is surely most appropriate that the closing Scripture of the Old Testament should have for its ruling theme that Divine inalienable Love the supreme manifestation of which the New Testament was to record.

Malachi deals with this theme in his characteristic manner, adopting at the outset the somewhat scholastic form of composition which he maintains throughout. First, he simply announces his thesis, "*I have loved you,* saith Jehovah." This succinct general affirmation is instantly followed by a sceptical objection, thrown into the interrogatory form: "And ye say,

Wherein hast Thou loved us?" And then comes the argument in which the objection is met and the thesis maintained; Jehovah has proved His love for the sons of Jacob by preferring them before the sons of Esau: "*Is not Esau brother of Jacob? and I loved Jacob, but Esau I hated.*" This form—thesis, objection, argumentative reply—characterises the entire book, and would run no small risk of becoming tedious, because too obviously formal and scholastic, were it not for the fine dramatic colloquies in which it is clothed. When God and man discourse together, and that on the highest themes, the dialogue must be clumsily reported indeed if it fail to engage our attention.

The argument of the prefatory dialogue is simple and conclusive, although it has to silence an objection on behalf of which much might be urged. It was by no means unnatural that the Jews of Nehemiah's time should doubt that God loved them. Few and feeble, dwelling in a city "large and great," but undefended by walls, and in which only a few scattered houses were built;[1] with Arabian and Samaritan robbers riding through the streets to stab and burn and plunder; often unable to harvest the scanty crops they had painfully wrung from the neglected fields; the perpetual scorn of the heathen, the frequent prey of the Persian satraps; —what proofs had they that they were the people whom Jehovah had chosen for Himself? They might well doubt a love which shewed itself in forms so austere, and dispensed its gifts with so niggardly a hand.

To this doubt the prophet replied with an argument that could not fail to touch the national pride. Jacob and Esau, the fathers of Israel and Edom, were twin brothers. It might therefore have been thought that they, and their posterity, would be treated with equal favour by the God of Abraham and Isaac. And yet, argues God, "I loved Jacob, but Esau I hated." Even before their birth Jacob was predestined to special favour; it was ordained that Esau should serve his brother.[2] And just as Jacob acquired both birthright and blessing, while Esau found no place of repentance, though he sought it with care and tears, so also it had been, and was, and would be with their descendants. And here was the proof: while Israel was rebuilding its ruined capital and cultivating its waste places, the mountains of Edom were still desolate, and its heritage was the haunt of jackals; Israel should yet arise, shake herself from the dust, and enter on a new, glorious career; but Edom, despite occasional gleams of hope, was doomed to defeat and extinction.

This is the general course of thought in these verses; but if we would enter into their meaning and spirit—if, above all, we are not to condemn Malachi's conception of the Divine election and providence as altogether immoral, we must consider a little more carefully the heritage and lot of Edom.

As you travel south from Jerusalem, the way lies for a few miles along slopes and fertile plains whose verdure is clothed in the purple and crimson hues of the lilies, or anemones, which our Lord bade men consider. The road soon loses itself in a strip of sandy and barren desert, beyond which rises a double range of hills. These hills were once "the heritage" of Edom. The higher and further range is composed of limestone rocks, covered by chalk-loving "downs:" the lower and nearer range, which is composed of red sandstone, forms one of the most striking and picturesque scenes in Syria. Its crests run to about two thousand feet in height. The friable stone of which it consists is all worn and split into deep seams, abrupt chasms, precipitous ravines; while the broad rock-ledges, or platforms, are covered with a fertile soil very prolific both of corn and flowers. The profuse and gorgeous colours of this "red range," and the amazing fertility of its soil, are a constant theme of admiration to travellers. You must walk, they tell us, on the rich sweet grass dappled with wild flowers, in the deep glens, or on the broad level platforms waving with a wealth of corn, and sheltered by precipitous rocks whose deep crimson hue is streaked and suffused with purple and indigo and orange, before you can form any adequate conception of the scene. Among these gorgeous hills lie the caves, and deserted temples, and fallen columns of Petra, once the capital city of Edom, but which has now lain desolate a thousand years.

The feud between Edom and Israel was deadly and unceasing. The fiery sons of Esau, well named "children of the sword," for ever turned their swords against the sons of him who was "a plain man and dwelt in tents." Through all the vicissitudes of the Hebrew monarchy they were its foes, though, as a rule, conquered foes. And when the Babylonians came up against Jerusalem to destroy it, the Edomites eagerly allied themselves with that fierce and impetuous nation, and stimulated them to even more than their wonted cruelty, urging them to raze the Sacred City, "yea, raze it even to the foundations thereof."[3] This offence the Hebrews never forgave. The later Hebrew prophets are perpetually denouncing woes on Edom, woes such as this: "Because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever," therefore "Edom shall be a desolation: every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof."[4] The predicted woes soon began to fall. Their eagerness to destroy the city and kingdom of Judah in concert with the Babylonians did not save the Edomites from a similar fate. The Hebrew blood was hardly wiped from their swords before they themselves became victims of the Babylonian arms. Their hills were invaded, their cities destroyed, and the inhabitants thereof carried away captives within a few years of the fall of Jerusalem. And Cyrus issued no decree restoring *them* to their native land. A hundred years after the Lord had turned again the captivity of Zion, Malachi could point to the Red Range, and declare that the mountains of Edom were still a desolation and his heritage a haunt of wild beasts. And, indeed,

[1] Neh. vii. 4.

[2] Gen. xxv. 23.

[3] Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Obad. i. 10—14.

[4] Amos i. 11, 12; Jer. xlix. 7—18.

Edom *never* recovered that blow, never thereafter became a dangerous rival to Israel. Conquered and enslaved again and again by the Persians, by the Nabathæans (or Ishmaelites), by the Greeks, by the Jews under the Maccabees, by the Romans, they were utterly exterminated by the followers of Mohammed; and, to this day, their cities are deserted heaps of ruins, through which the jackals prowl, and their fertile glens are covered with a mere jungle of brambles, and wild flowers, and weeds.

This terrible doom Malachi, like most of the prophets who were before him, describes and foretells. Besides pointing to the mountains then lying desolate and the cities haunted by wild beasts, he predicts that if at any future time Edom should say,

> "We are broken in pieces,
> But we will rebuild the ruins."

Jehovah would reply,

> "They may build, but I will pull down;
> And men shall call them, The Border of Wickedness,
> And, The people with whom Jehovah is angry for ever."

Whether there was ever a strictly literal fulfilment of these latter words; whether the country of Edom was ever familiarly known as "The March of Wickedness," its inhabitants as "The people with whom Jehovah is angry for ever;" or, as Isaiah predicted, "The people of the Ban," I do not know: nor do I know that the prophecy would gain much by a literal fulfilment of that kind. It is enough that the *intention* of the prophecy has been fulfilled; that, whenever the Edomites have set themselves to build themselves up, God has pulled them down. To this day Petra and its dependent towns are "desolate cities," the houses of which, according to the Oriental superstition preserved in Job,[1] "none should inhabit, ordained to be ruins" by God Himself. To this day the rangers of the desert hurry by the abandoned tenements and temples, and through the long rock-hewn avenues, deeming them perilous and accursed, and muttering prayers for the Divine protection.

Here, then, according to Malachi, was the proof that God loved Israel. They might be few, feeble, despised, and exposed to a thousand calamities and dangers. Nevertheless, they were at least redeemed from their captivity; Jerusalem was fast rising from its ruins; the Temple was rebuilt; a bright prospect of hope illumined their future. Whereas they had but to look out on the mountain range which formed the southern rampart of their land, to descry the home of other children of Abraham who were still captives in a strange land, whose cities were left unto them desolate, whose prospect was darkened by an ever deepening gloom, a night to which there would be no dawn. To what was this difference, this preference, owing, but to the love of Jehovah?

Such words could not but be comfortable to the people of Israel, as both flattering their national pride and gratifying their national animosity. But can they be altogether comfortable to *us?* Can it give us any pleasure to hear that God proves His love for one race by hating another? Rather it sounds to us like a blasphemous libel on the Divine nature and goodness. When we hear Jehovah say, "I loved Jacob, but Esau I *hated*," we are tempted to exclaim, "Thank Heaven, then, the Jehovah of the Jews was not the God and Father whom we know in Christ Jesus the Lord!"

Nor can we evade the difficulty by saying, "This is only an Oriental and hyperbolical way of saying that God *preferred* Israel to Edom." That is not a fair way of reading the passage; nor is it any easier to vindicate an unjust preference than an unjust hatred: nor, again, is it possible to distinguish from hatred a preference which dooms an entire race to the sword.

How are we to read the passage, then?

Let us read it in its natural sense, as meaning that God did love Israel and did hate Edom. *Why should He not hate that which is hateful?* Would He be God if He did not?

The key to this passage, as to many others, is the fact we are so apt to forget, that God does nothing arbitrarily; that He has a reason, a good and kind reason, for all His choices and acts. We are not here told what His reason for hating Edom was. Nor could we arrive at all the reasons that went to make up His reason without reviewing the entire history of Israel and Edom, and the bearing of that history on the history and welfare of the whole world. Happily, there is a shorter and easier method of dealing with the difficulty. And it is this, "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword" is a saying which, when it is rightly understood, commends itself to every man's conscience; for it is but a form of that Divine and wholesome law of retribution which we find in our own lives no less than in the Written Word. Well, the Edomites took the sword. So fierce and cruel were they that they were called "the children of the sword." Was it unjust, then, that they should perish by the sword? Suppose—though this is very far from being the whole truth—that Jehovah had no other reason for hating them than this, that they were for ever plunging their swords into the breasts of men and women whom He loved, and making peace and the fruits of peace impossible: was not that reason enough? Was that stern hatred which our fathers cherished for the French when Napoleon, to indulge their lust of conquest and domination, led them to campaign after campaign, so that all Europe was converted from a fruitful field into a barren and bloody arena—was *that* an unrighteous feeling? And if it was right in them, was it wrong in God? We too often think of Love as a tender-eyed, soft-handed, weak-knee'd grace, for ever puling in caressing tones, and lavishing its embraces indifferently on all. But the true love, the unselfish love, is strong and ardent, and can make even a hen a match for a hawk. Indifferent to its own perils and pains, it flames out against whatever would injure those whom it cherishes. If, for wise and kind ends that embraced the welfare of the whole world, God loved Israel, He

[1] Job xv. 28.

could do no other than hate Edom, the insolent and implacable foe of Israel.

And that His love for Israel did embrace ends of mercy that went beyond Israel is hinted in the closing lines of this brief preface:

> "And your eyes shall see it, and ye shall say,
> '*Great is Jehovah beyond the border of Israel.*'"

One reason for the judgments that fell on Edom was, that the Jews might know, and that from them the whole after-world might learn, that Jehovah was not their God alone; that He could only be their God as He was also the God of all kindreds and tribes. Doubtless their first conception of this lesson was imperfect. They conceived of God as punishing other nations out of love for *them*. But it did not take them long to discover that if God were angry with the heathen when they did wrong, He was pleased with them when they did right. The Psalms of this period conclusively prove that if they still held "salvation to be *of* the Jews," they knew it to be *for* all men. They learned that they themselves were chosen and called, not for their own sake alone, nor for their fathers' sake, but for the world's sake, in order that they might become the ambassadors of God to the heathen, and give both preachers and a pattern of righteousness to mankind. They are for ever calling on "all peoples" to praise the Lord, and "all nations" to magnify Him, because His mercy and truth are over all and endure for ever.[1] And thus, at sundry times and in divers manners, as they were able to bear it, the great truth was brought home to them, that He who was great *in Israel* was also "*great beyond the border of Israel;*" that *in every nation* he who feared God and wrought righteousness was acceptable to Him.

[1] See Psalm cxvii., and the other psalms of that period.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE (*continued*).

§ 4.—COMPLEX PARALLELISM.

ALTHOUGH the principles of Hebrew rhythm are so obscure, and so easily elude our most careful analysis, the ear soon becomes accustomed to the harmony of the verse, and distinguishes its several varieties without difficulty. No one, for instance, in reading the Book of Proverbs can miss the peculiar cadence of its antithetic style. The Song of Solomon soon captivates the ear with the graceful melody of its limpid verse. If it had but the completeness given by rhyme, it would want nothing of the richness of sound of those irregular measures in which modern poets love to express their sweet and wayward fancies.[1]

In their development from the simple rhythm, the complex forms of verse follow the analogy of rhymed stanzas in English and other modern poetry. Just as the original rhyming couplets have developed into verses of every possible variety, so the simple Hebrew rhythm has undergone countless variations and formed numerous combinations. The *rhyme of thought* has been treated like the *rhyme of sound*. In this way grew up what is recognised as the *strophe system* of the Psalms. It may well be designated by this name when it returns with regularity in the compass of one poem.[2] This is often, but not always, the case. The verses do not always run even, and the structure, while in all cases it follows the sense, by which the psalm may generally be divided into paragraphs, does not always admit of a rhythmical division. It follows that in the arrangement of the strophes there is scope for much ingenuity, and, at the same time, for arbitrary conjecture. But where the divisions are obvious, the stanzas are easily referred to certain ground forms from which they have been developed; and these, in their turn, are but developments of a more original and simple form.

This original form is the distich, or couplet. It is visible, as we have seen, in the earliest song that has been handed down to us (Gen. iv. 23, seq.) It has been already indicated that this peculiar rhythm was not called

[1] Cf., for instance, the "golden cadence" of the following lines with part of Tennyson's *Maud*:—

> "For, lo, the winter is past,
> The rain is over and gone;
> The flowers appear upon the fields;
> The time of singing is come;
> The cooing of the turtle-dove is heard in our land;
> The fig-tree sweetens her green figs;
> The vines blossom—
> They diffuse fragrances.
> Arise, my fair one, and come!
> My dove in the cleft of the rock,
> In the hiding-place of the cliffs,
> Let me see thy countenance;
> Let me hear thy voice;
> For sweet is thy voice,
> And thy countenance lovely."
> (Cant. ii. 11, &c. Ginsburg's Trans.)

> "A voice by the cedar-tree,
> In the meadow under the hall!
> She is singing an air that is known to me—
> A passionate ballad, gallant and gay;
> A martial song like a trumpet's call!
> *Singing alone in the morning of life,*
> *In the happy morning of life and of May,*
> *Singing of men that in battle array,*
> Ready in heart, and ready in hand,
> March with banner, and bugle, and fife,
> To the death, for their native land."

There are other passages which show even greater resemblance. The natural—almost inevitable—use of true parallelism in such verse will strike the student who reads the preceding. The italicised lines are a perfect specimen of progressive parallelism.

[2] Cf. Davidson's *Introduction to Psalms*.

into existence as a necessity of expansion of thought, but that the Hebrew mode of expanding the thought results from the requirements of the rhythm. The poet's ideas obey the rhythmical rise and fall, the diastole and systole, which is a necessity of his physical organisation. The genius of other tongues permits of this representation in the successive cadences of single lines. In Hebrew the ascending and descending rhythm demands at least a pair of verses, which bear to one another the relation of rhythmical antecedent and consequent, of *προῳδός* and *ἐπῳδός*.[1]

But it often happens that the two parallel sentences are not so related. They are both, as it were, in the ascending scale of emotion, and need a further line or couplet to complete the rhythm. From this necessity have arisen the various sources of complex parallelism.

(1) The simplest of these is a combination of couplets, which takes a form exactly analogous to the well-known long-metre verse of English hymns. The thought, unable to exhaust itself in two lines, is spread over four, each pair being completely parallel, perfect in the proportion both of matter and form; in a word, a pair of perfect *thought rhymes*.

"By the word of Jehovah were the heavens made;
And by the breath of His mouth all their host.
He gathereth the waters of the sea together as a heap;
He layeth up the depth in storehouses.

Let all the earth fear before Jehovah:
Let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of Him.
For He spake, and it was done;
He commanded, and it stood fast." (Ps. xxxiii. 6—9.)[2]

A verse of Keble's "Hymn for Easter" is appended for comparison:—

"'Where is your Lord?' she scornful asks;
'Where is His hire? We know His tasks.
Sons of a king ye boast to be;
Let us your crowns and treasures see.'"

Sometimes an additional couplet makes the stanzas of six lines. Psalms xcvi. and xcvii. arrange themselves in these hexastichs. There are also strophes of eight lines, and of sixteen. Each of the standard forms of parallelism—*progressive*, *constructive*, and *antithetic*—may be developed in this way. The following beautiful example combines in its six lines the synonymous and antithetic rhythm.

"Sing unto Jehovah, ye saints of His,
And give thanks to His holy name.
For His anger endureth but for a moment;
His favour for a life long.
At evening weeping cometh in for the night,
And in the morning cometh a shout of joy."
(Ps. xxx. 5, 6.)

The following, from the Song of Moses, is an example of the progressive parallelism in a stanza of this kind.

"Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath He cast into the sea;
His chosen captains were drowned in the Red Sea;
The depths have covered them;
They sank to the bottom as a stone." (Exod. xv. 4, 5.)

(2) Another common arrangement of rhymes occurs in the well-known English ballad metre, or common metre, where the rhymes, instead of being regular, alternate. Take as an example a verse of Keble's "Hymn for the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity."[3]

"How shall we speak to thee, O Lord,
Or how in silence lie?
Look on us, and we are abhorred;
Turn from us, and we die."

By a similar alternate arrangement of corresponding sentiments or of corresponding expressions—the Hebrew poets produce an analogous effect.

"Jehovah is my light and my salvation;
Whom shall I fear?
Jehovah is the defence of my life;
Of whom shall I be afraid?

"When the wicked come against me,
To eat up my flesh;
My oppressors and my enemies to me,
They have stumbled and fallen.

"Though a host should encamp against me,
My heart shall not fear;
Though war should rise up against me,
In spite of it I will be confident."
(Ps. xxvii. 1—3.)[4]

"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven,
And whose sin is covered.
Blessed is the man to whom Jehovah imputeth no guilt,
And in whose spirit is no self-deceiving."
(Ps. xxxii. 1, 2.)

In this example the correspondence of thought is regular—of form alternate. It should be compared with the verse from Keble's hymn given above.

"The womb that bore them forgets them;
The worm feeds sweetly upon them.
They are no more remembered;
They are broken like a tree." (Job xxiv. 20.)

The New Testament contains examples of this form:—

"Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat;
Neither for the body, what ye shall put on.
The life is more than meat,
And the body is more than raiment."
(Luke xii. 22, 23.)

"If ye keep my commandments,
Ye shall abide in my love;
Even as I have kept my Father's commandments,
And abide in His love." (John xv. 10.)

There is one psalm in which the arrangement in strophes of four lines is marked by a peculiar device, adopted principally by the poets of the later age of Hebrew poetry. Our English version of the Scriptures has partially preserved it in Ps. cxix., where the paragraphs marked by the twenty-two Hebrew letters are familiar to every one. But our translation does not exhibit the most interesting feature. In the original, each verse of the twenty-two sections begins with the same initial letter, so that the poem forms a kind of *acrostic*.[5]

There are several of these alphabetical poems preserved in the Bible, exhibiting many interesting varieties in the manner of grouping the initial letters, which

[1] Delitzsch, Introduction to *Psalms*.

[2] Cf. Ps. xxi. In these and many other examples, I have followed the translation of Delitzsch in Clark's Foreign Library. This writer has paid particular attention to the strophe system of the Psalms.

[3] The example is chosen for the true parallelism between the lines of the couplets, which however is regular, not, like the rhymes, alternate.

[4] Cf. Ps. cxlii. 5—8; xlviii. 4—8.

[5] *ἀκροστίχιον*, a poem in which the initial letters of the verses formed a word. Said to have been invented by Epicharmus, a comic poet, *floruit circ.* 500 B.C.

will receive fuller notice in a subsequent paper. Bishop Lowth made the existence of this arrangement the starting-point of his system of *parallelism*. It lends strong confirmation to the strophe system. Thus the quatrains in Ps. xxxvii.—some of them examples of regular, some of alternate parallelism—are plainly distinguished, since each stanza begins with its own initial letter.

"*A*gainst the ungodly fret not thyself,
neither be thou envious against the evil-doers;
for they shall soon be cut down like grass,
and be withered even as the green herb.
*B*e doing good, and put thy trust in the Lord;
dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed;
delight thou in Jehovah,
and He shall give thee thy heart's desire."
(Ps. xxxvii. 1—4.)

(3) Another form assumed by the quatrain, or stanza of four lines, is exactly analogous to the verse which Tennyson has employed with such effect in his *In Memoriam*, where the two outer and two inner lines rhyme.

The example given here has been chosen because it combines something of the nature of parallelism with its own peculiar and beautiful rhythm.

"Ring out, wild bells, to the wild sky,
The flying cloud, the frosty light.
The year is dying in the night;
Ring out, wild bells, and let him die.

"Ring out the old, ring in the new;
Ring happy bells among the snow.
The year is going: let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true."

Jebb has given to these stanzas the name *introverted*, illustrating their structure by a phrase drawn from military drill. The parallelism is arranged in an order that looks inward, or *from flanks to centre*. The following will serve as examples:—

"Should Abner die as a malefactor dieth?
Thy hands were not bound,
Nor thy feet put in fetters;
As a man falleth before wicked men, so fellest thou."
(2 Sam. iii. 33, 34.)

"At the hearing of the seer, they are obedient unto me;
Even the sons of strangers do me homage;
Yea, the sons of strangers fade away;
They come forth trembling from their strongholds."
(Ps. xviii. 45, 46.)

"Unto Thee lift I up mine eyes, Thou that dwellest in the heavens;
Behold, as the eyes of servants unto the hand of their masters,
And as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress,
Even so our eyes look unto Jehovah, our God, until He have mercy upon us." (Ps. cxxiii. 1, 2.)

The last passage is somewhat differently arranged both by Ewald and Delitzsch; but whatever form the stanza takes, there is a marked introversion in the rhythm.

"My son, if thine heart be wise,
My heart also shall rejoice;
Yea, my veins shall rejoice
When thy lips speak right things."
(Prov. xxiii. 15, 16.)

"I will redeem them from the hand of the grave;
I will redeem them from death:
O death, I will be thy plagues;
O grave, I will be thy destruction." (Hos. xiii. 14.)

Here there is a twofold harmony. The lines in each couplet are *constructively* parallel, while the first is *synonymous* with the last—the second with the third.

In one of the lyric pieces of Isaiah, though the measure is too free and unconstrained to admit of regular division into strophes—a thing rarely possible in the impassioned prophetic odes—yet the ruling rhythm is very plainly marked, and is of the introverted kind.

"And it shall come to pass in that day,
Jehovah shall make a gathering of His fruit,
From the flood of the river,
To the stream of Egypt;
And ye shall be gleaned up one by one, O ye sons of Israel.

"And it shall come to pass in that day,
The great trumpet shall be sounded;
And those shall come who were perishing in the land of Assyria,
And who were despised in the land of Egypt;
And they shall bow themselves down before Jehovah,
In the holy mountain in Jerusalem." (Isa. xxvii. 12, 13.)

Examples of this arrangement are found in the Gospels and Epistles.

"I indeed baptise you with water unto repentance:
But He who cometh after me is mightier than I,
Of whom I am not worthy to carry the shoes:
He will baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."
(Matt. iii. 11.)

(4) The rhythm often flows on into three lines, making triplets of parallels. The pleasing effect of this arrangement may be measured by the delight which triple rhymes, occurring now and again in English heroic verse, cause by their variety. Dante boldly interlaced triplets, throughout his long majestic poem, into what is known as the *terza rima*, where, however, the rhymes alternate. Tennyson has shown, in his *Two Voices*, with what a pleasing effect continuous threefold rhymes may be carried through a long series of stanzas. According to Delitzsch's arrangement, Ps. liii. is composed entirely of stanzas of three lines; but the parallelism is of a free kind, and not well marked. The rhythm is much more distinct in Ps. xcvi., which falls into five regular strophes, three of them consisting of two sets of triplets, with the symmetry very clearly defined. The other two stanzas are composed of couplets.

"Sing unto Jehovah a new song;
Sing unto Jehovah, all lands;
Sing unto Jehovah, bless His name.
"Cheerfully proclaim His salvation from day to day;
Declare His glory among the heathen,
His wonders among all people.
"For great is Jehovah, and worthy to be praised exceedingly;
Terrible is He above all gods;
For all the gods of the people are idols,
But Jehovah hath made the heavens.
Brightness and splendour are before Him;
Might and beauty are in His sanctuary.
"Give unto Jehovah, O ye races of the peoples,
Give unto Jehovah glory and might;
Give unto Jehovah the honour of His name.
"Take offerings and come into His courts:
Worship Jehovah in holy attire;
Tremble before Him all lands.
"Say among the heathen, 'Jehovah is new king,
Therefore the world will stand without tottering;
He will govern the people with uprightness.'
"The heavens shall rejoice,
And the earth be glad;
The sea shall roar, and its fulness.

"The field shall exult and all that is therein.
Then shall all the trees of the wood shout for joy
Before Jehovah, for He cometh:
For He cometh to judge the earth.
He shall judge the earth in righteousness,
And the peoples in His faithfulness."

But the most undoubted example is afforded by the two magnificent elegiac poems which form the first part of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. In these we have the sure guide of the alphabetical arrangement; and though each line is itself a complete specimen of the Hebrew rhythmic form, being divided into two parts, with a strongly-marked cæsura, or pause, like a Greek pentameter verse, yet the presence of the acrostic principle, which determines the true close of each strophe, leaves no doubt that the poem is composed in triplets.

"Ah, how doth the city sit solitary! otherwise full of people.
She is become as a widow, the great one among nations.
The princess among provinces, she is become tributary.
By night she weepeth sore; and her tears are upon her cheeks.
There is not one to comfort her; of all her lovers.
All her friends have betrayed her; they are become her enemies."
(Lamen. i. 1, 2.)

The Poem of Job is cast in a very simple style of verse. Only once or twice in a chapter does the rhythm vary from the uniform couplet, and take the triple form. The examples are chiefly of the synonymous and constructive kind.

"If the days of man are determined,
If the number of his months are with Thee,
Thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass."
(Job v. 5.)

"Man has moved back the limits of darkness;
He searches into the furthest deeps,
The stones hidden in the shadow of death.
He digs, far from the beaten road, trenches,
Which the feet of the living know not;
He suspends himself and swings, far from the abode of men."[1]
(Job xxviii. 3, 4.)

The grand Temple Hymn (Ps. cxxxvi.) is in great part composed of triple parallels, with the additional feature of a refrain introduced after each line.

"O give thanks unto Jehovah, for He is good;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
Give thanks unto the God of Gods;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
Give thanks unto the Lord of Lords;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
To Him who alone doeth great wonders;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
To Him who by wisdom made the heavens;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
To Him who stretched out the earth above the waters;
For His mercy endureth for ever."

The New Testament contains many instances where these connected and correspondent lines are, at least, constructively parallel, and form within themselves a distinct sentence, or significant part of a sentence.

"The foxes have holes,
And the birds of the air have nests;
But the Son of man hath not where to lay His head."
(Matt. viii. 20.)

"Woe unto them! for in the way of Cain have they walked,
And in the error of Balaam's reward they have run greedily on,
And in the gainsaying of Korah they have perished."
(Jude 11.)

[1] It is a description of the ancient mode of mining.

"Put forth thy sickle and reap,
For the season of reaping is come;
For the harvest of the earth is ripe.
Put forth thy sharp sickle,
And gather in the clusters of the vine of the earth;
For its grapes have reached their full growth."
(Rev. xiv. 15—18.)

We must not pass from this part of our subject without mentioning the prevailing rhythm of David's grand ode, preserved for us in Ps. xviii. and in 1 Sam. xxii. It is composed of ten strophes, of nearly equal length and similarity of construction, the measure flowing evenly along in couplets till the close of the stanzas, where a triplet (which is sometimes doubled) is introduced with something of that delightful sense of fulness and richness of sound which is given in the Spenserian metre by the concluding Alexandrine.[2]

"For who is God save Jehovah?
Who is a rock except our God?
He is the God that hath girded me with strength,
And cleared my way before me.
He made my feet like hart's feet,
And setteth me up upon the high places of the land.
He traineth mine hands to war,
So that mine arms should bend even a bow of steel.
Thou hast given me the shield of thy salvation;
Thy right hand upholdeth me;
Thy graciousness doth lift me up."
(Ps. xviii. 31—35.)

(5) The preceding forms of verse are known in some systems by the name *equal complex parallelisms*, because there is in all of them a certain equivalence between the members. But there are also forms in which this symmetry does not exist. The rhythm, not exhausted in the couplet, is often completed by a line which has no corresponding or parallel verse, as in the following example from the Song of Moses and Miriam:—

"Thy right hand, O Jehovah, is glorious in power;
Thy right hand, O Jehovah, hath dashed in pieces the enemy;
And in the greatness of Thy majesty hast Thou overthrown them that rose up against thee."

And in this instance of the synthetic kind:

"He that putteth not out his money to usury,
Nor taketh reward against the innocent;
He that doeth these things shall never be moved."
(Ps. xv. 5.)

The single line may precede the couplet, as in the opening of Deborah's magnificent ode.

"Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes!
I to Jehovah, even I, will sing;
Will sound the harp to Jehovah, God of Israel."

[2] There occurs in Shakespeare's *Henry IV.* a very perfect and beautiful specimen of triple parallelism. It occurs in the sick king's soliloquy:—

(1) "Why rather, sleep, liest thou in smoking cribs,
(2) Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,
(3) And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy slumbers,
(1) Than in the perfumed chambers of the great,
(2) Under the canopies of costly state,
(3) And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody?"

The arrangement of the equivalent forms is marked by the figures —(1) answers to (1); (2) to (2); (3) to (3). The accidental rhyme shows how much of the pleasure derived from metre depends on our anticipation. We look for rhymes in Shakespeare at the close of a speech, and there they are very beautiful and effective; but the consonance of *state* with *great* in these lines is a blemish. The parallel rhythm, uncertain and loose as its laws are, compared with the rules of Greek or Latin prosody, derives its power and beauty from the fact that the ear naturally looks for it. Hence it has its place even in poetry formed on quite different systems of rhythm.

From this arrangement a stanza of five lines naturally grows. Its form will vary with the position of what we may call the *unrhymed* line.

The shortest of the Psalms is an example with the single line falling at the end.

"Praise Jehovah, all ye peoples;
Magnify Him, all ye nations of the earth!
For His merciful kindness is ever towards us,
And the truth of Jehovah endureth for ever.
Praise Jehovah." (Ps. cxvii.)

In the following it begins the verse:—

"Yet Thou art holy, sitting enthroned above the princes of Israel!
In Thee our fathers trusted;
They trusted, and Thou didst deliver them.
Unto Thee they cried, and were freed;
In Thee trusting, they were not put to shame."

This instance from the New Testament exhibits the unrhymed line in the middle:—

"For they who sleep sleep in the night,
And they who are drunken are drunken in the night;
But let us who are of the day be sober;
Putting on the breastplate of faith and love,
And for an helmet the hope of salvation."

(6) A stanza of four verses is sometimes formed by the occurrence of an unrhymed line before or after triplets.

"Give ear unto my words, O Jehovah:
Consider my meditation.
O hearken Thou to the voice of my calling, my King and my God,
For unto Thee will I make my prayer."

Psalm xxix. opens with a fine specimen of this verse, and contains beautiful examples of the different kinds of five-line stanzas.

"Give unto Jehovah, ye sons of God,
Give unto Jehovah glory and strength!
Give unto Jehovah the honour due unto His name;
Worship Jehovah in holy apparel.

"Hark! Jehovah is above the waters;
The God of glory thundereth,
Jehovah above the water-floods.
Hark! Jehovah is in power;
Hark! Jehovah is in majesty.

"Hark, Jehovah! He breaketh the cedar-trees;
How Jehovah breaketh in pieces the cedars of Lebanon,
And maketh them skip like calves;
Lebanon also and Sirion like young buffaloes.
Hark, Jehovah! how He flasheth forth flames of fire!

"Hark! Jehovah shaketh the wilderness;
Jehovah shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh.
Hark! Jehovah maketh the hinds to calve,
And strippeth the forests of their leaves;
While in His palace everything shouteth 'GLORY!'

"Jehovah hath His seat above the mighty flood;
Yea, Jehovah shall sit as a king for ever!
Jehovah will give strength unto His people;
Jehovah shall give His people the blessing of peace."

(7) A stanza of six lines is also formed by the combination of two sets of unequal complex verses. Psalm c. opens with an example.

"Make a joyful noise unto Jehovah, all ye lands.
Serve Jehovah with gladness;
Come before Him with rejoicing.
Know ye that Jehovah is God:
He hath made us, and His we are;
His people and the flock of His pasture."

This is the prevailing rhythm of David's touching elegy over his friend Jonathan and King Saul. The sad and passionate cry, "How are the mighty fallen!" which is the key-note of the dirge, the substance probably of the wail, caught up and prolonged by the crowd of mourners, runs with wayward beauty through the verses, without interrupting the measure.

"The beauty of the forest, O Israel, is slain upon thy heights:
How are the mighty fallen!
Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Askelon;
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph!

"Ye mountains of Gilboa, let no dew nor rain come upon you and your fields of offerings;
For there the shield of the mighty is stained,
The bow of Saul not anointed with oil.
From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

"Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
And in their death were not divided:
They were swifter than eagles, and stronger than lions.
Ye daughters of Israel, weep for Saul,
Who clothed you in scarlet, with delights;
Who put ornaments of gold on your apparel.

"*How are the mighty fallen* in the midst of the battle!
Jonathan slain upon thy heights.
I am distressed for thee, Jonathan, my brother:
Very pleasant hast thou been to me;
Thy love to me was wonderful—yea, passing the love of women.
"*How are the mighty fallen*, and the weapons of war perished!"

It would be useless to attempt to carry our classification further. The modifications are endless. The rhythm of the more animated odes obeys no known rules. We have analogies in English metres. In verse like that of Coleridge's *Christabel*, the poet follows no guide but his ear. The length of the line and position of the rhyme are, apparently, arbitrarily chosen. In reality, they are subject to a higher law than those of prosody. They are swayed by the artist's taste, and musical feeling, and the nature of the inspiration by which he is moved. So it was with the poets of Israel. While they seem to be emancipated from all law, a just perception of beauty guides them, even in their most impassioned moods; and always, as the storm of feeling subsides over a calmed sea, the regular wave-beat of the standard rhythm makes itself heard again, with its powerful, if monotonous, repetitions, its solemn and majestic sound, as of "deep calling to deep."

BIBLE WORDS.

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SERIES I.—OBSOLETE WORDS AND PHRASES.

THE object of this series of papers is to explain and illustrate the obsolete and archaic words and phrases in the Authorised Version of the Bible.[1] For the sake of clearness, it has been thought desirable to divide these words and phrases into classes, and arrange them under corresponding heads. It is, therefore, proposed to give (1) those words and phrases that have dropped out of use, either absolutely, or in the sense and construction employed in the Authorised Version; (2) those words which have been elevated, and (3) those which have deteriorated in meaning; (4) those that have been extended, and (5) those that have been narrowed in signification; and, finally, those which, without accurately coming under any of the above distinctions, have either been (6) strengthened, or (7) weakened in force.

The present series will give, in alphabetical order, the words and phrases that have become nearly or quite obsolete.

All to, *altogether, entirely.* In Judg. ix. 53 we read of Abimelech when besieging Thebez, "that a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and *all to* brake his scull." Few passages in the English Bible are more generally misunderstood, especially by those who only hear it read. Those unacquainted with the archaism naturally interpret the phrase as meaning "for the purpose of breaking," "with the full intent to break," thus indicating the object, not the result of the woman's act. As a proof of the prevalence of this error, it may be remarked that in some editions of the English Bible of high authority, including Bagster's earlier editions of the *Polyglott* and the *Treasury Bible*, we find the infinitive "all to *break*," instead of the past "all to brake." The Hebrew word קִרֵּץ simply signifies "brake," or "crushed," with no intensive force.

It is not very easy to decide whether our translators intended to connect *to* with the preceding or the succeeding word—*i.e.*, whether they intended that we should read "all-to brake" or "all to-brake." Both forms have sufficient authority, though there is little doubt that *to* more properly belongs to the verb, as an intensive prefix. This form has descended from the Anglo-Saxon, where it is of constant occurrence—e.g., *to-borsten*, to burst asunder; *to-cinan*, to cleave asunder; *to-teran*, to tear in pieces; and is found very frequently in mediæval English—*e.g.*, in "Piers the Plowman," *to-broke, to-lugged;* and in Wiclif's Bible "the veil of the Temple was *to-rent*" (Matt. xxvii. 51). To this *all* was superadded to impart a further increase of strength—*e.g.*, in the "Mirror for Magistrates," *all-to-dasht;* Gower, "Confessio Amantis," *al-to-tore;* Chaucer, "Knight's Tale," *a lis to-broken;* and in Wiclif's Bible, "lest houndis turned togidre *al to breke* you" (Matt. viii. 6); "Be *al to dercned* the eyes of hem that thei see not" (Ps. lxix. 23). In process of time the prefix *to* was separated from the verb or participle and connected with *all*, in the sense of altogether. This seems to have been the usage of the Elizabethan writers—*e.g.*, Calfhill, *Answer to Martial* (Parker Soc.), "The blade itself is *all* to behacked" (p. 3); "Serapis and his priests were *all* to be crossed" (p. 91); and Latimer, "Smiling speakers creep into a man's bosom they love, and *all to* love him" (*Sermons*, p. 289); "We be fallen into the dirt, and all be *all to* dirtied, even up to the ears" (*Remains*, p. 397). It is met with frequently in Spenser:—

> "With briars and bushes *all to* rent and scratched."
> (*Faery Queen*, iv. 7, 8.)

And it is found in Shakespeare, but only in doubtful and minor works:—

> "The very principals (main timbers) did seem to rend,
> And *all to* topple." (*Pericles*, iii. 2, 17.)

It is also employed by Milton, but evidently archaically:—

> "And wisdom's self
> Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude,
> Where with her best nurse, Contemplation,
> She plumes her feathers and lets grow her wings
> That in the various bustle of resort
> Were *all to* ruffled and sometimes impaired." (*Comus.*)

Ancients (*subst.*), *old men, elders.* "The Lord will enter into judgment with the *ancients* of his people" (Isa. iii. 14); "The Lord shall reign. . . . before his *ancients* gloriously" (Isa. xxiv. 23); "I understood more than the *ancients*" (Ps. cxix. 100); also Jer. xix. 1; Ezek. vii. 26; viii. 11; xxvii. 9. The word "ancient," though familiar enough to us an adjective, has entirely dropped out of use as a substantive, as which it was employed by the writers of the sixteenth century. Hooker so uses it, sometimes as in the Authorised Version, in the plural, "that for which the *ancients* so oft and so highly commend the former [invention]" (*Eccl. Pol.*, v. 39, 5), sometimes as in the Geneva rendering of Ps. cxix. 100, "I understood more than the *ancient*," in the singular—*e.g.*, "scholars and followers of the *ancient*" (v. 7, 3).

Angle (*subst.*). This word, which is now used exclusively as a verb, "to angle," is found twice in the Authorised Version as a noun substantive, in the sense of a "fish-hook." This must indeed have been its earlier meaning, its use as a verb being a derived one. For *angle* is a pure old English substantive, inherited from our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The passages in the Authorised Version where it occurs are Isa. xix. 8, "The fishers also shall mourn: and all they that cast *angle* into the brooks shall lament;" and Hab. i. 15, "They

[1] I desire to acknowledge, once for all, my obligations to Mr. W. Aldis Wright's *Bible Word Book*, from which many of the examples are borrowed.

take up all of them with the *angle*, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their drag." In both places "angle" is found in the Geneva Bible. This use of the word may be illustrated from Shakespeare, who employs it both as a verb, as nowadays, and as a noun :—

> "He that hath kill'd my king . . . .
> Popp'd in between the election and my hopes,
> Thrown out his *angle* for my proper life."
> (*Hamlet*, Act v., sc. 5.)

It is found as late as Pope, but probably adopted as an archaism :—

> "A soldier now he with his sword appears,
> A fisher next his trembling *angle* bears."
> (Pope, *Vertumnus and Pomona.*)

Anon (*adv.*), *immediately, soon after.* It is a striking instance of the mutability of language, that this little word, which was one of the most familiar in the daily intercourse of our forefathers, should have dropped so entirely out of use as to need interpretation. It occurs only twice in the Authorised Version, Matt. xiii. 20, "He that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and *anon* with joy receiveth it;" and Mark i. 30, "Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and *anon* they tell him of her." In each case the word is the same usually rendered "immediately." It comes to us from the Anglo-Saxon *on àn*, in one—*i.e.*, in one instant. It is of constant occurrence in Tyndale's Testament—*e.g.*, Mark i. 20, "And *anon* hee called them, and they leeft their father Zebede in the shippe;" and the Geneva Bible—*e.g.*, Mark ii. 2, "And *anon* many gathered together, insomuch that the places about the door could not receive any more;" and is found abundantly in Shakespeare. To take one example out of many :—

> "*Anon* a careless herd,
> Full of the pasture, jumps along by him
> And never stays to greet him."
> (*As You Like It*, Act. ii., sc. 1.)

Astonied (*part.*), another form of *astonished*, used contemporaneously with it, with no variation of meaning, and no apparent principle to determine the selection. At the time of the publication of the Authorised Version, "astonished" was the favourite form, occurring nearly four times as often as the alternative form "astonied," which we only find nine times: Ezek. ix. 4, "I sat *astonied* until the evening sacrifice;" Job xvii. 8, "Upright men shall be *astonied* at this;" xviii. 20; Isa. lii. 14, "As many were *astonied* at thee (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men); so shall he sprinkle many nations;" Jer. xiv. 9; Ezek. iv. 17; Dan. iii. 24; iv. 19; v. 9. This form was inherited from Wiclif's version, where it is found not unfrequently—*e.g.*, Mark ix. 14, "And anoon al the puple seynge Jhesu was *astonyed*, and thei dredden; and thei rennynge gretten hym;" Acts ii. 7, "Alle was *astonyed*, and wondriden;" and from the Geneva Bible, where it is found in all the passages but two in which it appears in the Authorised Version, and many other besides. The word appears in various shapes in early writers. Thus we have *astoned* in Chaucer :—

> "For which this Emelye *astoned* was,
> And seide, 'What amounteth this allas!'"
> (*Knight's Tale*, 1503.)

And in Spenser *astownd* :—

> "The gyant selfe dismaied with that sownd
> * * * * * *
> In hast came rushing forth from inuer bowre
> With staring countenance sterne, as one *astownd*."

In the Geneva Bible "*astoined*:" "And they were *astoined* at his doctrine, for he taught them as one that had authority" (Mark ii. 22). Sackville gives as the form *stoynde*, from which, as Mr. Wright remarks (*Bible Word Book*, p. 42), the transition is easy to the form *stunned*, which is etymologically the same. For instance, "Alexander fighting against the Mallians had a blowe with a dart on his necke, that so *astonied* him that he leaned against the wall, looking upon his enemies" (North's *Plutarch*, "Alex.").

In Wiclif we find "stonying" for "astonishment"—*e.g.*: "Thei weren abaischid with a greet *stonying*" Mar. v. 42.

Milton uses "astonied," but probably, as poets are wont to do, as an archaism :—

> "Adam, soon as he heard
> The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,
> *Astonied* stood, and blank." (*Parad. Lost*, ix.)

Both *astonished* and *astonied* come to us from the Norman-French *estonnir*, to astonish, amaze, derived from the Latin *attonare, attonitus*, to thunder at, to stun. Kindred forms are the Anglo-Saxon *stunian*, to stun; the German *erstaunen*, to be astonished; and the modern French *étonner*.

Avoid (*verb int.*). The use of this verb in an intransitive sense in 1 Sam. xviii. 11, "David *avoided* out of his presence twice," is supported by examples from Shakespeare and other early writers—*e.g.*,

> "Well done; *avoid*; no more." (Shakespeare, *Tempest*, iv. 1.)
>
> "Pray you *avoid* the house . . . Here's no place for you; pray you *avoid*; come." (*Coriol.*, iv. 5.)
>
> "They made proclamation by sound of trumpet that all the Volsces should *avoid* out of Rome before sunset." (North, *Plutarch*, p. 195.)

Bestead (*part.*) is found once in the Authorised Version, Isa. viii. 21, "They shall pass through it, *hardly bestead* and hungry," when it represents the Hebrew נִקְשֶׁה, *niqsheh*, "hardly dealt with," "maltreated." It is formed from the Anglo-Saxon root *stede*, place, position, which we still find in current speech in the forms "in*stead* of," = "in place of," "to stand in good *stead*," "home*stead*," "*steady*," &c., and signifies "placed," "situated," either well or ill, but rather more usually the latter; its precise sense depending on the qualifying adverb. We have examples of its use in Chaucer, in some of which it is used for *distressed*, without an adverb :—

> "And swiche a colour in his face hath how
> Men mighten know him that was so *bestad*
> Amonges all the faces in that route."
> (*Man of Laws' Tale*, 5069.)

It only occurs once in Shakespeare :—

> "I never saw a fellow *worse bested*,
> Or more afraid to fight than is the appellant."
> (2 *Hen. VI.*, ii. 3.)

Bewray (*verb trans.*). This obsolete word, which is found four times in the English Bible, from the accidental similarity of sound and sense is often supposed to be another form of "betray." The two, however, come from entirely different roots; the latter coming through the French *trahir* from the Latin *trado*, while *bewray* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *wrégan*, or *wreian*, to accuse, connected with the German *rügen*, to reprove, censure, blame, and the idea of treachery belonging to *betray* is absent. In all passages where it is found in the Authorised Version, it merely signifies to make known, proclaim, discover. Thus Prov. xxvii. 16, "Whoso hideth her (a contentious woman) hideth the wind, and the ointment of his right hand which *bewrayeth* itself;" xxix. 24, "Whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul; he heareth cursing: and *bewrayeth* it not;" Isa. xvi. 3, "Hide the outcasts; *bewray* not him that wandereth;" Matt. xxvi. 73, "Surely thou (Peter) also art one of them; for thy speech *bewrayeth* thee." In the last passage Wiclif's version runs, "thi speche makith the opyn."

We have the word in Chaucer :—

> "O messager, fulfilled of dronkenesse
> Strong is thy breth, thy limmes faltren ay
> And thou *bewreiest* alle secrenesse."
> (*Man of Laws' Tale*, 5193.)

> "O blisful God that art so just and trewe,
> Lo! how that thou *bywreyest* mordre alway!
> Mordre wil out, that we se day by day."
> (*Nun's Priest's Tale*, 1556.)

It is frequent in Shakespeare :—

> "Here comes the queen, whose looks *bewray* her anger."
> (3 *Hen. VI.*, i. 1.)

The uncompounded verb *wray*, or *wreie*, is used by Chaucer in the same sense :—

> "Yet eft I thee beseech, and fully say
> That privete go with us in this caas
> That is to saine, that thou us never *wray*."
> (*Troilus and Cress.*, iii. 285.)

Bolled (*part.*). Few words in our English Bible are more generally unintelligible than this, which, as it is read year by year in the first evening lesson for Palm Sunday (Exod. ix. 31), probably conveys no definite meaning to nine-tenths of the congregation. The word signifies "swollen," "podded for seed," and is an archaic word somewhat unfortunately preserved by our translators from the earlier version—*e.g.*, that of 1551, and the Geneva Bible of 1560. Wiclif's vigorously idiomatic rendering is "the flax buroiwnde coddes" (burgeoned, shot forth). The word is connected with a root denoting a swelling roundness, which has many representatives in our own and the kindred languages—*e.g.*, in English, *bole* (of a tree), *boil, ball, billow, bowl, belly, bolster*; in German *bolle*, a bulb, a ball; Dutch, *bol, bolle*, a head; Latin, *bulla*, a bubble. *Boll* is defined by Wedgwood as "the round heads or seed-vessels of flax, poppy (Bailey) or the like," and by Halliwell, *Provincial Dictionary*, as "a bud, a pod for seed."

The original sense of "swelling" may be illustrated abundantly from our early literature, and particularly from Wiclif's Bible—*e.g.*, Gen. xxxi. 36, "And Jacob *bolnyde* ("was wroth," Authorised Version) and seide with strijf, For what cause of me, and for what synne of me, hast thou come so fersly aftir me?" Deut. xvii. 13, "All the puple schal here and drede that no man fro thennus forth *bolne* with pride" ("do no more presumptuously," Authorised Version); 2 Tim. iii. 4, "*bollun* with proude thoughtis;" Col. ii. 18, "*bolnyd* with witt of his fleisch" ("vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind," Authorised Version).

We have the following illustration from Chaucer :—

> "But this welle, that I hereof rehearse,
> So holsome was that it would aswage
> *Bollen* hearts." (*Black Knight*, v. 101.)

And from Surrey :—

> "Like to the adder with venimous herbes fed,
> When cold winter all *bolne* hid under ground."
> (*Æneid*, ii. 616.)

Mr. Earle writes of the form *bowln*, it is "a relic of a forcible word in Saxon poetry, *gebolgen* = 'swollen,' generally with anger."

Bravery (*subst.*) is once found in the Authorised Version in the sense of *finery, splendid* attire, Isa. iii. 18, "In that day the Lord will take away the *bravery* of their tinkling ornaments." A similar meaning is borne by the French *brave*, gay, fine, gorgeous in apparel, and the verb *braver*, to swagger in fine clothes; the Italian *bravare*, to flaunt, to vaunt one's person, connected with French *braguer*, the Scotch *braw*, and our own *brag*. *Bravery* in the sense of splendid dress is of frequent occurrence down to the end of the seventeenth century :—

> "From royal court I lately came (said he)
> Where all the *braverie* that eye may see,
> And all the happinesse that heart desire
> Is to be found." (Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.)

> "With scarfs and fans and double change of bravery."
> (Shakespeare; *Taming of the Shrew*, iv. 3.)

Bray (*verb trans.*), *to pound*, or *beat to pieces*, especially used of the action of a pestle and mortar, is found once in the Authorised Version, Prov. xxvii. 22, "Though thou shouldest *bray* a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." It is derived from the French *brayer*, to beat small, and in English seems to have been confined to the use indicated in the passage of Proverbs. Nares, in his *Glossary*, gives several instances of this use from our early dramatists. Richardson also furnishes this apposite example from Lord Berners' translation of Froissart, "The Englysshmen were fayne to gather the thystelles in the feldes and *braye* them in a mortar, and temper it with water, and make therof a passte, and so bake it to ete, suche povertie they endured."

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

THE JORDAN VALLEY AND THE DEAD SEA.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

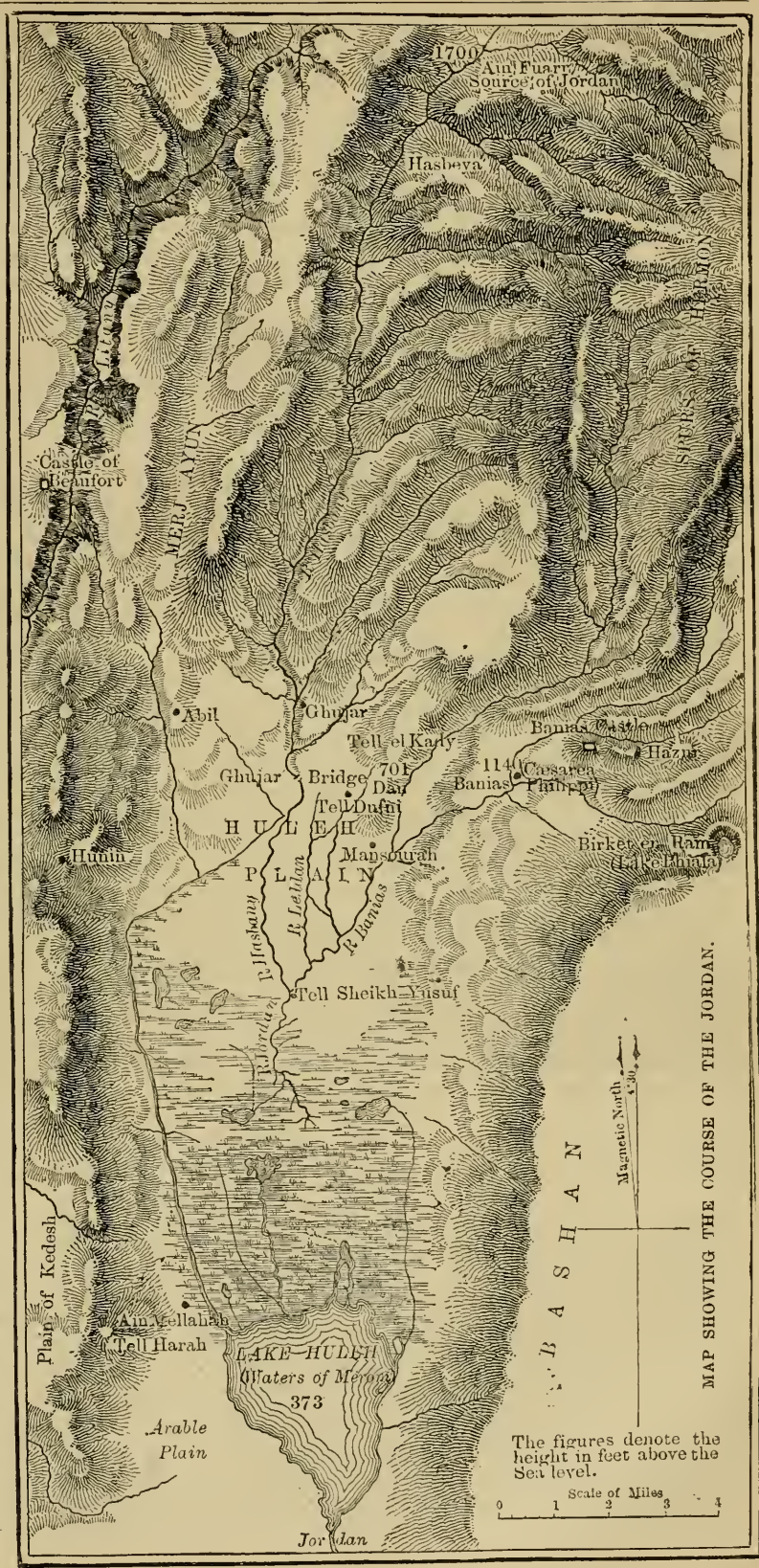
THE peculiar character of the Jordan as a purely inland river, running, for a large portion of its course below the level of the sea, has already been noticed, but a somewhat fuller description of the river, and the country through which it flows, seems necessary to enable the reader to follow the minuter details which it is proposed to give in the following paper.

CAVERN AT BANIAS FROM WHICH THE JORDAN ISSUES.
(From Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

The Name.—According to a tradition at least as old as St. Jerome (400 A.D.) the Jordan derived its name from the two streams which rise at Banias and Tell el Kady, the former being called Jor, the latter Dan. This tradition is, however, erroneous, for it would appear from Genesis xiii. 10 that the river was known to Abram as the Jordan long before the Danites settled at Laish, and "called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father." The true derivation of the name would seem to be from "Yared," to descend, and, except in two instances, it is always written in the Bible with the definite article, *the* Jordan, that is, "the descender," possibly in allusion to its rapid course or its descent, so to speak, into the very bowels of the earth.

The Jordan is formed by the junction of three streams—the Hasbany, the Leddan, and the Banias; the first, issuing from a large fountain near Hasbeya, on the western slopes of Anti-Lebanon, at an altitude of 1,700 feet above the level of the sea, runs down the mountain glen of Wady et Teim to the plain of El Huleh, cutting for itself a deep chasm in the rock; the second flows from the fountain at Tell el Kady, 701 feet above the sea; and the third derives its supply of water from the springs which well up at the foot of a mound in front of the great cavern at Banias, at the base of Mount Hermon, and 1,140 feet above the sea. The three streams run together at the lower end of the plain El Huleh, and shortly afterwards the Jordan loses itself in a morass and spreads out into the lake El Huleh, the "waters of Merom" of the Bible; this lake is four and a quarter miles long, two and three-quarter miles wide, and 373 feet above the sea. For two miles after leaving the lake the river runs with

a sluggish current, but it then enters a narrow gorge, with high and somewhat precipitous hills on either side, and for the next nine miles is a foaming torrent descending nearly 900 feet to the level of the Sea of Galilee, which lies 626 feet below the Mediterranean. The Sea of Galilee is a pear-shaped sheet of water, the broad end being towards the north; the greatest width is six and three-quarter miles, and the extreme length twelve and a quarter miles; the lake is almost surrounded by hills, from 1,000 to 1,500 feet high, that occasionally recede from the shore, giving place to small plains, one of which is the Plain of Gennesareth. Between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, a distance of 66 miles, the Jordan valley, or, as it is here called, the "Ghor," is from one to twelve miles wide; the valley is in some places exceedingly fertile, in others perfectly barren; it is bounded on the west by the mountain system of Palestine, and towards the sunrising by the edge of the great eastern plateau. The river descends with innumerable windings through a lower valley of its own, from 40 to 100 feet below the level of the Ghor, and along its margin there is a belt of tropical jungle, which is frequently alluded to in the Bible as the "excellency" or "pride" of Jordan, usually in connection with the lions that were wont to dwell in it. So tortuous is the course of the river, that though the two seas are only 66 miles apart, its actual length is about 200, and in this distance there is a fall of 666 feet. The Dead Sea, which receives the waters of the Jordan, is 1,292 feet below the Mediterranean, and is about 46 miles long, its greatest width being ten and a half miles. On the east and west the lake is shut in by the barren hills which rise abruptly from its shores, but at its southern end there is a level



plain—and then the ground rises to the ridge 787 feet above the sea—which separates the waters of the Dead Sea from those of the Red Sea. The shores of the Dead Sea are generally barren, but there are not wanting little oases, the luxuriant vegetation of which has frequently called forth the admiration of travellers.

There are two points connected with the Jordan which may be mentioned here—its overflow and its importance as a boundary. In Joshua iii. 15, we are told that Jordan "overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest," April and May; and in 1 Chron. xii. 15, that Jordan had "overflown all his banks" in the first month—that is, in the month Nisan, which commenced with the new moon of March or April. The water in the Jordan is at its highest level in March, April, and May, after the cessation of the rainy season, but the physical features of the country are such that no sudden rise of the river would be likely to cause a large inundation, the Sea of Galilee acting as a regulator to the flow of water, and the terraced banks of Jordan preventing the spread of its waters over any large portion of the valley. A more correct rendering of the original would be that Jordan "is full up to all his banks" or runs with full banks, and this is true at the present day, the river rising to the level of its banks after the rains, and only overflowing them to a short distance in exceptional places. The great depressed valley of the Jordan formed a natural division of the country, dividing it sharply into two regions, and this separation was the more strongly marked by the difficulty of crossing the river at certain seasons of the year, and also of obtaining access to it, the only roads to the valley being rough paths down a few steep water-courses. The isolation of the two and a half tribes on the east of Jordan was in some measure due to this feature, and we find the sacred writers, who for the most part lived on the west, continually alluding to the eastern districts as "beyond Jordan," or "on the other side of Jordan."

The Jordan Valley is naturally divided into three sections; from the sources of the river to Lake Huleh, from Lake Huleh to the Sea of Galilee, and from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, and in the remarks that follow it will be well to consider each of these sections separately.

I.—FROM THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN TO LAKE HULEH.

The remotest perennial source of the Jordan is the great fountain of Fuarr, in the bed of Wady et Teim, not far from Hasbeya, which gives birth to the Hasbany stream. Higher up the valley there are several springs on the slopes of Anti-Lebanon, but their waters do not form any continuous stream, except perhaps those from Ain Ala, in the Wady Sefineh;[1] in the rainy season, however, and during the melting of the snows on Mount Hermon, a great body of water descends from the heights above Rasheya. In the pool of Fuarr, at the foot of a bold cliff, the water bubbles up in twenty different fountains, and almost immediately falls over a weir some ten feet high. A little lower the infant Jordan is spanned by its first bridge, and the river then bends "with all the waywardness of a Highland trout stream; thick trees hang over its clear surging waters, and reeds fill the bays twenty feet high, while rocks and a thousand hanging straggling creepers on them, tangle together over silent pools."[2] About six miles below Hasbeya, a large stream comes in from Ain Seraiyib, at the foot of Mount Hermon, and shortly afterwards the river issues on the volcanic plain of Huleh, running in a narrow chasm from fifty to sixty feet deep; on its way it receives the waters from the fountain of Luweizeh, near El Ghujar, and a stream from the plain of Ijon; at El Ghujar there is a bridge, and a mile below this the gorge ends abruptly. At Hasbeya the custom of cooling the drinking water with snow, which seems to be alluded to in Prov. xxv. 13, still exists, but it is curious that this, the largest branch of the river, is not mentioned in the Bible or by any ancient writer as one of the sources of Jordan.

The plain of Huleh, which descends in a series of terraces to the lake of the same name, is remarkable for its exuberant fertility, and is the granary of the surrounding country; the climate is hot and enervating, and the people live in huts composed of the long babeer canes that grow in the neighbouring swamps to a height of fifteen feet. It is this district, with its rich basaltic soil, irrigated by a thousand rills drawn off from the sources of the Jordan, of which the Danite spies reported that it was very good, "a place where there is no want of anything that is in the earth," and in its centre rises the mound that marks the site of Laish, where the Danites settled themselves after driving out the little Phœnician colony from Sidon. On the Huleh plain, too, the forces of Chedorlaomer were signally defeated by Abram; it would appear that Sodom, Gomorrah, and the other cities of the plain, after having paid tribute to the King of Elam[3] for twelve years, had revolted and been defeated in the vale of Siddim by Chedorlaomer, and the kings who had accompanied him from Mesopotamia. Loaded with booty and prisoners, amongst whom was Lot, the army on its homeward march halted on the rich plain round the fountain of Dan, and here it was surprised by Abram, who, on hearing of the capture of Lot, hastily gathered his servants together, and, advancing northwards from Hebron by forced marches, fell upon the invaders during the night, and "before they could arm themselves, he slew some of them as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away."[4] After pursuing the enemy for two days, as far as Hobah, near Damascus, Abram returned laden with spoil, bringing back with

[1] This stream has not been thoroughly examined during the dry season.

[2] "*Rob Roy*" *on the Jordan*, p. 202.

[3] Elam is that portion of modern Persia which lies immediately east of Babylon.

[4] Joseph., *Antiq.*, i. 10, 1.

him Lot and the women and people who had been carried away.

On the right or western bank of the Hasbany, near the foot of the hills, there is a curious isolated hill on which stands the modern village of Abil; traces of old foundations and buildings can still be seen on the mound, the remains of Abel of Beth-Maachah, where Sheba, the son of Bichri, was besieged by Joab. A mound had been cast up against the city, and "it stood in the trench," when the remarkable scene occurred which is described in 2 Samuel xx. 15, ending in the murder of Sheba, whose head was cast out of the city to Joab.

The mound that marks the site of Laish has already been alluded to as rising in the centre of the Huleh plain; this mound, now called Tell el Kady (the hill of the judge), an Arabic translation of the old name Dan (the judge), is the birthplace of the largest source of Jordan. On this hill the wandering colony of Danites set up the graven image which they had stolen from Micah on their journey northwards, and instituted an order of priesthood which lasted till the ark was captured by the Philistines at the battle of Aphek. Of the nature of this irregular worship we know nothing, but it was probably owing to its previous sanctity as a "holy place" that Dan was selected by Jeroboam as one of the sites on which to set up the worship of the golden calf; in the reign of Baasha, Dan was taken by Ben-Hadad, King of Syria; and after this we hear no more of it in the Bible, though it appears to have existed as a village down to the time of St. Jerome. The mound is an irregular cup-shaped oval, 300 yards long and 250 yards wide, elevated from twenty-five to thirty feet above the plain; the entire surface is covered with ruins, in which the plan of no single building can be traced. There are two springs, the principal one, rising at the north-west end of the mound, forms a small pool of purest crystal water, and then rushes off, a full-grown stream, to the lake below; the second bubbles up in the midst of a tangled thicket in the centre of the enclosure, and flows past the tomb of Sheikh Hazraik and a magnificent oak tree, to join the larger branch. Following down the western bank of the united stream, we soon come to a little mound which marks the site of Daphne, a point mentioned by Josephus as the northern limit of the Lake Samachonitis (Huleh); beyond are some curious caverns excavated in the limestone rock, and lower still the stream joins with that coming from Banias.

On the eastern side of the Huleh plain, a triangular terrace rises 500 feet above the general level of the valley, and at its innermost angle, at the foot of a cliff fifty feet high—the root, as it were, of Mount Hermon—wells up the fountain of Banias, the most celebrated and picturesque of the three sources of Jordan. Josephus describes the water as in his day issuing from a dark cavern full of still water of unfathomable depth, and says that Herod adorned the place, called Panium, with a beautiful temple of the whitest stone; now, however, the water breaks through the loose stones and rubbish that have accumulated in front of the cavern in numberless tiny rills, which, almost immediately uniting, flow off towards the west. Some of the water is carried by conduits into the village of Banias, some is led away for irrigation, but the main stream rushes down through tangled thickets and park-like scenery to join the Leddan from Tell el Kady—and lower down the Hasbany from Hasbeya—and forms with them the great river of Palestine, the Jordan. By a tradition as old as the first century, the water of the Banias fountain is said to come through a subterranean passage from Lake Phiala, the modern Birket er Ram, a circular lake, with no visible outlet, situated in a mountain bowl about five miles south-east of Banias. The account given by Josephus is that when Philip was Tetrarch of Trachonitis he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and that it was found afterwards at Panium; a similar story is still told and believed by the Arabs, but no such communication can possibly exist, for the fountain would exhaust the lake in a few days, and the water of both would be the same, instead of one being bright and sparkling, the other impure and stagnant; there is also a deep valley, Wady Em Keib, which effectually separates them. Eusebius gives a marvellous legend connected with the fountain, that towards the close of the third century it was the custom on certain occasions to throw a victim into the water, and that the body always disappeared spirited away by the demon of the fountain, till one day Astyrius, a Roman senator and Christian, taking pity on the people, prayed God, through Christ, to remove the demon, on which the victim at once floated, and the fountain was not troubled again. The cavern, the entrance of which is shown on the left side of the illustration on page 56, is now half filled with the débris of its own roof, and its mouth almost closed with the rubbish of centuries; of Herod's temple there is no trace, but like the temple at Ain Fijeh, the great fountain of the Barada, it may possibly have stood on the level space at the top of the cliff. On the face of the rock, however, five niches remain—three of which are shown in the illustration—and beneath these are some mutilated inscriptions, dedicated to Pan, and containing a "pro salute" for the reigning authorities.

The situation of Banias (Cæsarea Philippi) is one of the most beautiful and charming in all Palestine; spreading over the level terrace alluded to above, the town commands an extensive view over the rich district of Huleh, whilst its elevation above the valley places it beyond the influence of the fever-breeding swamps below; the oak, terebinth, and fig-tree give a welcome shade on the hottest summer's day, whilst everywhere the sound of running water falls pleasantly on the ear, and the eye is delighted with the park-like verdure, the open glades, and that combination of rock and grove, of cavern, fountain, and cascade which has earned for Banias the name of the Syrian Tivoli.

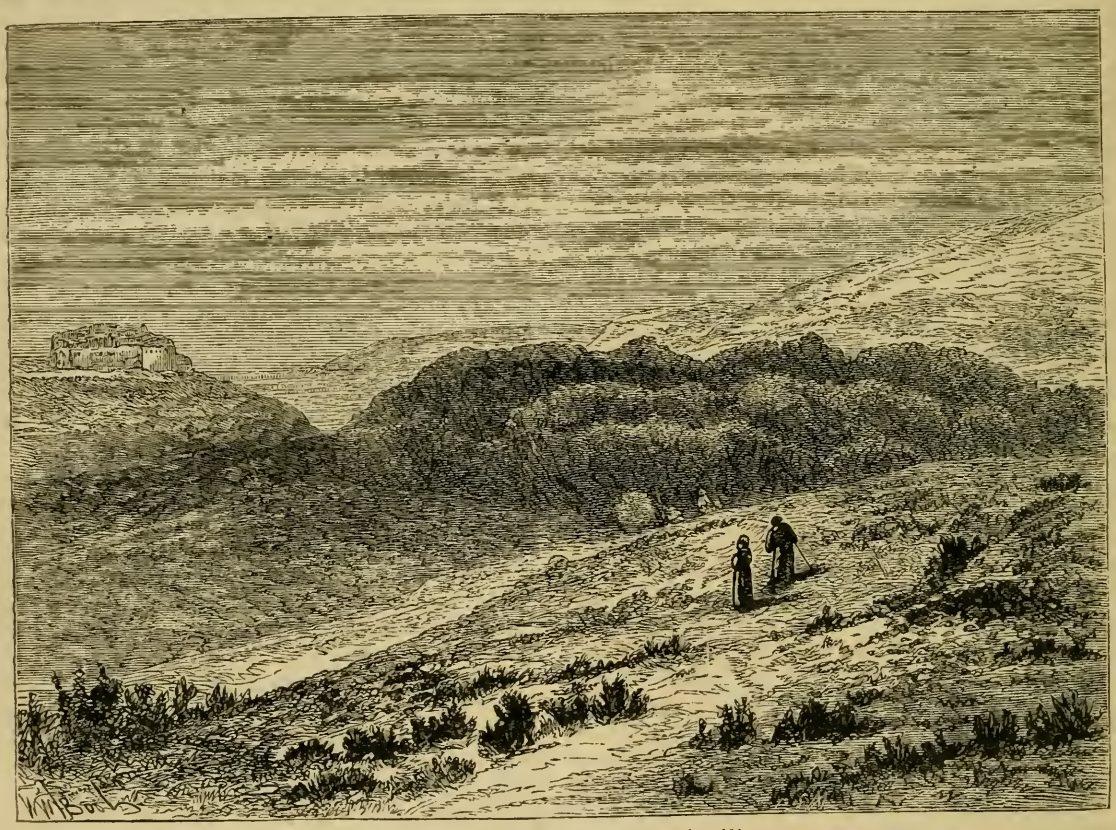
The environs have, however, greater attractions than those derived from their natural beauty; it was into the "coasts" or "towns" of Cæsarea Philippi that our

Lord came shortly before His last journey to Jerusalem, and in this neighbourhood occurred the events recorded in Matt. xvi. 17; the memorable words, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church" were possibly uttered at the foot of Mount Hermon, the very type of all that is solid and enduring, and one of the many lonely peaks around may have been the high mountain to which Jesus took Peter, James, and John apart, and was transfigured before them.

It was currently believed in the fourth century that the woman cured of an issue of blood (Luke viii. 43) was a native of Cæsarea Philippi; and Eusebius states that he had himself seen her house, and that in front of it were brazen images said to represent our Saviour and the woman, the former standing, the latter in the attitude of a suppliant; these statues, according to Theophanius, were afterwards destroyed by the Emperor Julian.

Many an acre of the terrace is now covered with ruins, broken shafts and capitals, and the foundations of buildings so completely destroyed, that hardly one stone remains on another; the ruins also extend far up the wooded slope beyond the deep ravine of Wady Za'arch, and in this direction there is a fine fragment of the old wall of the Roman city. Some of these shapeless ruins must have formed part of the great amphitheatre in which Titus celebrated the birthday of his brother Domitian, by forcing the Jews taken prisoners at Jerusalem to fight with and kill one another, by throwing some to wild beasts, and by burning others, but the exact site has yet to be identified.

The authentic history of Banias dates from its mention by Josephus as a place called Panium, at which Herod the Great erected a temple in honour of Augustus Cæsar. Long before this, however, Panium must have risen to importance, and though the name itself does not occur in the Old Testament, Dr. Robinson has, with some probability, identified it with Baal Gad under Mount Hermon, the limit of Joshua's conquests towards the north. The town was enlarged by Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis, and called by him Cæsarea Philippi, by which name it was known to our Lord and His disciples; large additions were also made by King Agrippa II., who, out of compliment to the Emperor Nero, changed the name to Neronias. Neither of these names adhered to the place any length of time, for Eusebius, early in the fourth century, calls it Paneas, and of this, Arab pronunciation has made the modern Banias. The town was taken by the Crusaders in 1129 A.D., and given as a fief to Rayner Brus; but during the stormy period that followed it was taken and retaken several times by the contending parties.



GROVE OF OAKS NEAR HAZUR (p. 61).
(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

The present village consists of some fifty or sixty houses gathered together on the ruins of the town of Rayner Brus, which would seem to have occupied only the citadel of the Roman city. The houses are built with fragments of old buildings, and roofed with mud; and on the flat surface thus formed, bowers or cages of wicker-work are erected in summer, to afford a retreat at night from the fleas, scorpions, and other hungry animals that hold high carnival below.

High up on the mountain side above Banias is the grand old castle, known during the period of the Crusades as the Kalat es Subeibeh, and famous at one time as the residence of the "old man of the mountain," one of the chiefs of the Assassins. Larger than the well-known Castle of Heidelberg, and planned with consummate skill, the castle played an important part in the struggle between the Crusaders and the Saracens, and was frequently taken and re-taken by either side. Protected on three sides by deep ravines, and on the fourth joined to the main body of Mount Hermon by a narrow shoulder, over which it has a command of near 200 feet, the castle must, before the invention of fire-arms, have been well-nigh impregnable, and only liable to fall into an enemy's hands through famine or treachery. Some travellers have seen in the castle a striking monument of Phœnician architecture, but no Phœnician work can be traced in the building; all the details are such as are found in the mediæval castles of Europe, and though the Romans may have had a military station here, the castle as it stands appears to have been built by the Saracens, and probably formed part of the network of fortified posts with which they covered the country and kept it in subjection.

A prominent object on the bare mountain side beyond the castle is a clump of fine old oak trees which may in all probability claim descent from one of those groves that always accompanied the "high places" of Baal and Astarte, and sometimes the altars erected to the true God, as in Gen. xxi. 33, where it is said that "Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God;" and in 1 Samuel xxii. 6, though in this case it is not clear whether the grove was connected with true or false worship.

The trees at one time appear to have formed a complete circle surrounding a mound, known as Tell Hazur, and enclosing a temple or altar that stood on the summit; of this building there are traces, in some foundations of well-dressed stones. Amongst the trees is the tomb of Sheikh Ozman, or Othman el Hazury, a small whitewashed building, without any pretensions to beauty.

The reverence with which trees, especially oaks, were regarded in early times, still lingers amongst the inhabitants of Palestine; there is hardly a prominent tree which does not throw its shade over the tomb of some Moslem worthy who has chosen his last resting-place on account of the peculiar sanctity attached to the spot. Sprites and spirits are believed to hold undisputed sway midst the thick branches, and hardy indeed must the Arab peasant be who would dare to pass one of these lone trees without adding his mite to the woollen shreds which hang from its boughs. This custom of hanging up strips of clothing as a memento of a visit to any remarkable place was formerly very widely spread, and was common in England and Scotland in the days when pilgrimages were made to holy wells and other places renowned for their sanctity.

The illustration on page 60 shows this beautiful grove of oaks in the foreground, with the keep of the Castle of Banias on the left, and in the distance the rugged spurs of Mount Hermon.

On a slight elevation near the grove are some inconsiderable ruins, called Hazur, one of the numerous places of the same name which have been identified with the Hazor of the Old Testament, over which Jabin reigned. This Hazor, however, would appear to have been in the neighbourhood of Kedesh, on the right or west bank of the Jordan; Josephus states distinctly that it "lay over the Lake Samachonitis" (Huleh), and it may possibly be identified with Tell Harah, noticed below.

We may now follow the further course of the Jordan after the junction of its three main streams at the foot of a small mound, Tell Sheikh Yusuf, remarking that the quantity of water which they contribute to the full-grown river is in the following proportion—Hasbany 3, Leddan 5, and Banias 10. Mr. Macgregor, who, in his canoe, the *Rob Roy*, was the first to explore this portion of the Jordan, informs us that the river at first turns and twists exceedingly, running with a swift current between vertical banks twelve to twenty feet high; lower down near the marsh much of the volume is lost by flooding out into lagoons, and at last the river forks out into six different channels and loses itself in a "tangled maze of bushes eight feet high," through which "no boat or even a reed raft, or a plank could get through." This barrier extends for half a mile, and then the Jordan runs for three miles through a mass of papyrus, the largest in one place in the world, to the Lake Huleh, the waters of Merom of the Bible, and Lake Samachonitis of Josephus. Mr. Macgregor's description of the papyrus which he discovered whilst exploring the lake in his canoe, is so interesting that no apology is needed for quoting it here. The entire mass of papyrus floats upon the water, and has the remarkable feature of upright wall-like sides, caused by the manner of the plant's growth; "there is first a lateral trunk lying on the water and half submerged. This is sometimes as thick as a man's body, and from its lower side hang innumerable string-like roots, from three to five feet long, and of a deep purple colour. On the upper surface of the trunks the stems grow alternately in oblique rows; their thickness at the junction is often four inches, and their height fifteen feet, gracefully tapering until at the top is a little round knob, with long, thin, brown, wire-like hairs eighteen inches long, which rise, and then recurving, hang about it in a thyrsus-shaped head. The

stem, when dead, becomes dark brown in colour, and when dry it is extremely light; indeed, for its strength and texture, it is the lightest substance I know of." "The papyrus was used for writing upon by the Egyptians, and was prepared for this purpose by cutting it into thin slips. These were laid side by side, and upon them others in a cross direction, and both were joined by cement and then pressed into a continuous sheet."

The Hulch lake presents no remarkable features; the Jordan enters it through the mass of papyrus noticed above, and leaves it at its southern end "between islets of papyrus and tall canes." On the eastern shore the hills rise abruptly from the water's edge, whilst on the western there is a wide level tract of rich arable ground between the lake and the foot of the hills. At the north-west corner of the lake is the spring of Ain Mellahah, and on the heights above, not far from Kedesh, is an isolated peak, Tell Harah, covered with extensive ruins, which may possibly be those of Hazor. There is no evidence of name or tradition in favour of the ruins, but their position on high ground overlooking the lake is so suitable, that we may, at any rate for the present, identify them with the city of Jabin. On the plain south of Ain Mellahah several authorities place the scene of Joshua's great victory, and it certainly fulfils many of the necessary conditions. We may also with some probability identify the same plain with the "Plain of Asor" on which, after a hard struggle, Jonathan defeated the troops of Demetrius.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

SAMUEL (*continued*).

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

THE whole of the guilty nation, like Jericho of old, was placed under a ban, which included every living thing belonging to it. All that breathed was to be put to the sword, and the spoil, instead of enriching the captors, was to be devoted to the Lord. The animals were to be slain, and, together with the movables, burnt, the valuables deposited in the sacred treasury (1 Sam. xv. 3). Saul, as the anointed king of Jehovah's people, was to be the fulfiller of Jehovah's ban, and "utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven" (Exod. xvii. 14). Such a commission would be by no means unwelcome to Saul's warlike temperament, and he at once proceeded to execute it, mustering his forces at Telaim, on the southern frontier. Thence he marched into the heart of the enemies' country, and having first warned the friendly tribe of the Kenites—the tribe of Hobab, Moses' relative by marriage, and of Heber, Jael's husband (Judg. i. 16; iv. 11)—to shift their quarters, lest they should share in Amalek's destruction, he commenced the attack. The campaign was eminently successful; the roving hordes were discomfited through the length and breadth of their land, from Havilah in the east to Shur in the west, on the Egyptian frontier; and the people, young and old, put to the sword (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8). But the hour of victory was the hour of Saul's moral overthrow. The same rash wilfulness which had caused his failure in his first trial, appeared again in a more marked form. He could not bend his will to simple obedience. Agag, the King of the Amalekites, was spared to grace his triumph, in direct violation of the devotion of all the population to destruction; and, while the sentence was executed unsparingly upon "everything that was vile and refuse," the best and choicest of the spoil, especially of the flocks and herds, was retained, nominally to sacrifice to the Lord, but really to gratify his own covetousness and that of his army, by the acquisition of so much valuable property.

With these symbols of victory, Saul entered the city of Carmel, in the mountains of Judah, in triumph, and, after setting up a trophy of his exploits (ver. 12), pursued his march to Gilgal, in order that in that consecrated centre of the kingdom he might dedicate the first-fruits of the spoil in a grand sacrificial thank-offering to Jehovah. The disastrous issue of Saul's second trial was made known to Samuel by God in a dream—"He is turned back from following Me, and hath not performed My commandments." This intelligence was exceedingly painful to Samuel—"it grieved Samuel"—literally, "it burnt him" (ver. 11). Agitated by these distressing feelings, sleep fled from Samuel's eyes, and he spent the night in wrestling with God in fervent supplication, doubtless interceding for the offender, as well as beseeching that the cause of God and His prophet might be spared the dishonour that would be the consequence of Saul's deposition—"he cried unto the Lord all night" (ver. 11). Once again Samuel proved the calming power of prayer. Strengthened by communion with God, Samuel rose in the morning, and with stern composure proceeded to the meeting with Saul. The voices of the cattle which struck his ear as he approached the camp disclosed the real nature of Saul's disobedience, and when the monarch with easy self-satisfaction advanced to greet the prophet, and announced that he had fully executed the task committed to him, he at once stripped off the mask with which he was attempting to hide his guilt, even from himself. "What meaneth then," he asked, "this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and this lowing of the oxen which I hear?"

Saul's excuse was ready. It was not he that had done it: it was the people. The responsibility of sparing the cattle rested with them, and their motive had been a

good one, of which Samuel himself must approve. "The people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen, to sacrifice unto the Lord thy God; and the rest they have utterly destroyed" (ver. 15). But Samuel sternly silenced this cowardly transference of the blame from himself to his partners in guilt. "Stay," "stop your unavailing excuses"—the word is the same as that in Ps. xlvi. 10, "*Be still*, and know that I am God"—"and listen to the sentence with which Jehovah charged me last night" (1 Sam. xv. 16).

Samuel then proceeded to remind Saul of the great and unlooked-for elevation he had received from the Lord, "when he was little in his own sight" (cf. ch. ix. 21), in being "made head of the tribes and anointed king over Israel," and to upbraid him with the disloyalty and ingratitude he had shown in acting in direct defiance of the Divine commands. But Saul, not yet humbled, persisted that he *had* obeyed: he had "gone the way the Lord had sent him;" he had "utterly destroyed the Amalekites;" as a proof of their utter defeat he had "brought Agag," their king. Why should he be blamed, when he rather merited commendation? And as for the cattle, the fault, if any, rested with the people, not with him. They, with well-intentioned zeal, had taken "the firstlings of the ban" to sacrifice to Jehovah, Samuel's God. The prophet of Jehovah should be the last to visit with severe censure that which was intended to do honour to Jehovah.

In addition to the moral offence of disobedience to the express command of God, a grave error underlay this apology of Saul's. He overlooked the fact[1] that what was already devoted to the Lord could not be offered to Him on the altar, because it belonged to Him already (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29), but must be burnt together with the city to which it belonged, "in the midst of the street thereof" (Deut. xiii. 16). This base paltering with truth, this pretext of piety to excuse wilful disobedience, awakened the true prophetic spirit in Samuel's breast, and, rapt beyond himself by the inspiration of the Most High, he poured forth in winged words the eternal truth which lies at the foundation of all religious service, the inferior worth of ceremonial to moral obedience, so far in anticipation of any teaching yet given:—

> "Hath Jehovah pleasure in burnt-offerings and sacrifices,
> As in obedience to the voice of Jehovah?
> Behold, obedience is better than sacrifice,
> And to follow as the fat of rams!
> For disobedience is the sin of heathenism,
> Disbelief is idols and devils;
> Because thou hast rejected the word of Jehovah,
> He hath rejected thee also as His king."[2]

Twice did the now terrified monarch acknowledge his guilt—"I have sinned" (1 Sam. xv. 24—30)—but, still unable to bring himself to unconditional confession, continued to attribute his offence to the wishes of the people, whom he was afraid to irritate by insisting on the destruction of the spoil; and, thinking far more of himself than of the God he had offended, implored the prophet not to make the fact of their disagreement patent, lest it should lower him in the eyes of the chiefs, and weaken his authority with the people, but condone his transgression by taking part with him in a public act of worship. Samuel, clearly discerning the hollowness of this seeming contrition, refused to share the worship of one who had rejected the Lord, and whom the Lord had therefore rejected. In an agony of terror, as the prophet turned to leave, Saul seized the skirt of his mantle with such despairing energy that it rent in his grasp. It was an omen not to be disregarded. "The kingdom had been rent that day by the Lord from Saul, and the doom was irrevocable. 'The Strength of Israel' was not a man, that He should change His mind—'lie or repent'" (vs. 27—29). Overcome, however, at last, by the renewed entreaty of the now thoroughly humbled monarch, and apparently fearful lest public safety might suffer if the royal authority was prematurely weakened, Samuel consented to return and support Saul by his presence while he performed his acts of worship.

One terrible act of Divine retribution had yet to be carried into effect before the prophet's commission was fulfilled. The king of Amalek, who, by the ferocity with which his wars had been conducted, had robbed of their sons so many mothers in Israel, must atone by his death for the slaughter of the people of the Lord. At Samuel's command, Agag was led out before him. The king, thinking that because Saul had spared him, all danger to his life was over, presented himself almost joyously, promising himself that "the bitterness of death was passed." That hope would be at once dispelled by Samuel's stern greeting, as he stood sword in hand by the altar in the Holy Place—

> "As thy sword hath made women childless,
> So shall thy mother be made still more[1] childless."

The dread sentence was instantly carried out—whether by Samuel himself, or by the soldiers standing by, is uncertain[2]—and Agag, the devoted one, was "hewed in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal." If the ferocity of the act shocks us, we must remember how different was the moral code of the Old Testament from ours, and that the new law had not yet been promulgated which inculcated universal love, through the words, the life and death of Jesus Christ.

All that Samuel was commissioned to do was now done. The king and the prophet parted, never to meet again. Each repaired to his own house—Saul to Gibeah, Samuel to Ramah, to brood in solitude over the failure of his once bright hopes. "Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death: nevertheless Samuel mourned for Saul" (vs. 34, 35).

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[1] Keil, *in loc.*

[2] The translation adopted is that of Ewald, as rendered by Mr. Estlin Carpenter.

[1] "*Still more* childless," because in losing her son she loses also the king of her people, and her loss is thus greater than that of any other bereaved mother. (Ewald.)

[2] Bishop Wordsworth considers that the words denote no more than that Samuel ordered the act to be done by the public executioner of justice. We may compare "he sent and beheaded John in the prison," of Herod (Matt. xiv. 10); "when he had scourged Jesus," of Pilate (xxvii. 26; cf. John xix. 1). Josephus states that Samuel ordered Agag to be put to death. (Bk. vi., ch. 7, § 5.)

Outwardly so stern towards the offending monarch, his heart was full of tenderness towards him, and, like David's towards his banished son, "longed to go forth unto" him, in that personal intercourse his misconduct had rendered impossible (2 Sam. xiii. 39). Busied as he was with his judicial functions, which had not ceased with the accession of Saul, for "he judged Israel all the days of his life" (1 Sam. vii. 15), and with the superintendence of the company of youthful prophets who were receiving an official training in the college (to adopt a modern term) probably founded by him at, or just outside his city of Ramah (ch. xix. 20—24), a craving for that human affection he had lost kept him restless and unsatisfied. Samuel's resolution not to be comforted called forth at last the remonstrance of the Almighty. "How long," was the word of the Lord to Samuel, "wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing I have rejected him from reigning over Israel?" (ch. xvi. 1). These words contain a confirmation of the sentence on Saul. "I have rejected him, and therefore it is vain for thee to hope for a reversal of the decree. Put an end, therefore, to thy mourning, and prepare thyself for the new commission I am about to entrust to thee."

This commission could hardly have been a very welcome one; for it was to anoint a successor to the virtually deposed monarch, and thus seal his rejection. This successor, the "neighbour better than he," to whom the Lord had given the kingdom rent from Saul, was to be found at Bethlehem, among the sons of Jesse—the grandson of Boaz and Ruth—an elderly man of some substance, evidently, like his grandfather (Ruth iv. 21, 22), one of the chief men of the village. Samuel's disinclination to the errand was not obscurely made known. His personal safety, nay, his life would be compromised by an act which, in the eyes of a monarch jealous for the stability of his forfeited throne, would be regarded as little less than one of high treason. "How can I go?" said the reluctant prophet. "If Saul hear it, he will kill me" (ch. xvi. 2). The Divine Voice indicated a way in which Samuel might fulfil his errand without alarming the suspicions of Saul. He was to take a heifer with him for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the Lord, and bid Jesse and his sons to the sacrificial feast that followed, and then obey the intimation he received. "I will shew thee what thou shalt do."

For some unexplained cause—probably from the supposition that he was come to rebuke and punish them for some sin of which they were conscious[1]—the elders of Bethlehem were much alarmed at his arrival, and anxiously asked if he came with peaceful intent (ch. xvi. 4). Samuel quieted their apprehensions by the intimation that he had come to offer sacrifice to the Lord, and called upon them to sanctify themselves and take part in the sacrificial feast. Jesse, as a chief man in the village, and his sons, received a special invitation. One by one the sons of Jesse came in to take their places at the table. As they entered, the young men passed before the prophet, making their obeisance to the venerated judge. Samuel evidently had an eye for manly beauty, and the tall and handsome Eliab, Jesse's firstborn, seemed to him a fit successor to the choice and goodly Saul. "Surely," he said within himself, "the anointed of Jehovah is before Him." But an inward Voice warned him of his mistake in estimating men by their outward qualifications, instead of by their spiritual gifts. The Prophet of the Lord must judge with the Lord's judgment; not by "the outward appearance," but by "the heart" (ver. 7). The rest of Jesse's sons presented themselves to Samuel with the same result. "Neither hath the Lord chosen this" is the successive verdict in each case. Seven had now passed in review without the expected indication being given, and, in surprise at the silence of the inner Voice, he asked, "Are these all the lads?" Jesse replied that "there was indeed one more, the youngest, who was keeping the sheep." But without this despised one the feast could not begin. "Send and fetch him," was Samuel's reply, "for we will not sit down till he come hither" (ver. 11). To the amazement of Jesse and the assembled elders, and perhaps the ill-concealed annoyance of the elder brothers, the commencement of the feast was deferred till the young shepherd had been summoned and brought hence. As soon as the comely lad entered, "ruddy"—*i.e.*, with red or auburn hair—"and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to," the long-delayed intimation was received—"Arise and anoint him, for this is he." Samuel at once joyfully obeyed; the beauty of the lad as he came in, flushed with haste and expectation, and the promise of future goodness and greatness that beamed in his fair countenance and flashed from his sparkling eyes, at once won the old man's heart, and with glad presage he took the horn of oil and anointed the shepherd boy as the coming ruler of the people of Jehovah. It is expressly stated that the anointing took place "in the midst of his brethren" (ver. 13), but it is very doubtful whether they or even Jesse himself realised the meaning of the act. No words of Samuel's are recorded as having accompanied the anointing, so that even the subject of it may have been left for a time in ignorance of its purport. Josephus indeed[1] tells us that Samuel whispered into the ear of David, whom he had placed by his side at the feast, and communicated to him privately both the dignity to which he was called, and the principles of action that would ensure the permanence of his throne and dynasty. But the Jewish historian is too much in the habit of making unauthorised additions to the simple narrative of Scripture for us to place much dependence upon his statement; and we think it more probable that the precise purpose of his anointing was left in obscurity at the moment, to be more fully explained by Samuel hereafter, as the lad's mind opened under the teaching of the Holy Spirit to a comprehension of the solemn responsibility which he was chosen to fulfil. And that Divine teaching was an immediate result of the anointing. "The Spirit of the Lord came upon

[1] "Thus conscience does make cowards of us all."—*Hamlet*, iii. 1.

[1] Jos., *Ant.*, vi. 8, 1.

David from that day forward." The holy influence of which that anointing oil was the symbol descended into his heart and worked within as a refining, elevating, strengthening power, fitting him step by step for the new tasks which lay before him in the dim future. By degrees, as with the heirs of God's spiritual kingdom, his high destinies were made known to him, and he was led to seek that wisdom and that strength by which alone he could prove himself worthy of them.

"The God of Israel said—The Rock of Israel spake to me—
He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."[1]

But Samuel's visit caused no outward change in the young man's daily life. With this new calling, with the consciousness of this novel power, David returned to his former duties, and by his faithful care of those "few sheep in the wilderness" with which Eliab taunted him on the battle-field of Ephes-dammim, "jeoparding his life unto the death" in their protection, trained his soul for the high work for which the Lord had marked him out—to "feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance."

We like to look upon David as the spiritual son of Samuel; and we think that we are justified in so regarding him. We cannot deem it probable that the aged prophet would rest satisfied with the mere official act of anointing, and take no pains to prepare the lad, who had gained so powerful a hold over his affection, for that throne which was so specially his work. Although Scripture is almost silent as to any further intercourse between them, we can hardly be wrong in tracing much that gave the character of David its dignity and its greatness—his wisdom as a ruler, his love for God's Word, his deep spiritual insight, the warmth of his religious feelings, his unshaken trust in God—to the instructions received by him from Samuel. When in after years he fled from the murderous designs of Saul, David at once betook himself to Samuel's house in Ramah as a familiar place of shelter, and to Samuel as his natural counsellor; and in his company he resorted to what was perhaps a more secure refuge, the prophetic college at Naioth. "And he and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth" (1 Sam. xix. 18). This is the last recorded event in the history of Samuel. With this our knowledge not only of his intercourse with David, but of his own life, closes. The next time we meet with Samuel's name is in the record of his death, and the funeral honours paid him by the nation. Set aside, disregarded, thwarted in his lifetime, his death, as often happens, awakened the whole people to a sense of his greatness, and of all that he had been and done for them. It was a national loss they had sustained, and the nation came together to show their sense of it; "*all* the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him" who through his protracted and stainless life had been the common friend and benefactor of all. No greater man had died in Israel since Moses and Joshua. "They wept for him," writes Josephus,[2] "very many days, grieving in common not as at the death of a stranger, but as if each had suffered a personal bereavement. He was by nature a just and kind man, and on that account specially dear to God." He was buried, not in any public sepulchre, but in the midst of "his home at Ramah"—probably in the courtyard or garden belonging to it—the home in which he had in all probability been born, and which had been the beloved centre to which he returned in the intervals of his judicial circuits, the tribunal of his unblemished judgeship, and the sanctuary of his worship (1 Sam. vii. 17; xxv. 1.; xxviii. 3).[3]

Any biographical notice of Samuel would be rightly felt to be incomplete which omitted to speak of that mysterious occasion on which his presence is once again seen in the sacred narrative, in connection with the closing scene of the ever-deepening tragedy of the reign of Saul. The language of Holy Scripture is too express to allow us to question that it was no demon personating the prophet, but the spirit of Samuel himself, permitted by God to reappear on earth, that passed final sentence on the wilful monarch whom in life he had so often warned in vain.[4] "The Lord is departed from thee and become thine enemy . . . . the Lord hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and hath given it to thy neighbour, even David . . . . the Lord will deliver Israel with thee into the hands of the Philistines; and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me" (ch. xxviii. 16—19). "How different," writes Dean Stanley,[5] "from that joyous meeting at the feast at Ramah, when the prophet told him that on him was all the desire of Israel, on him and on his father's house! How different from that 'chosen' and 'goodly' youth to whom 'there was none like among the people,' was the unhappy king who, when he heard the prophet's judgment, fell and lay the whole length of his gigantic stature upon the earth, and was sore afraid, and there was no strength left in him!" "All human history," strikingly observes Archbishop Trench, "has failed to record a despair deeper or more tragic than his, who having forsaken God, and being of God forsaken, is now seeking to move hell, since Heaven is inexorable to him; and, infinitely guilty as he is, assuredly there is something unutterably pathetic in that yearning of the

[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 3.

[2] Jos., *Ant.*, vi. 13, 5.

[3] The body of Samuel, or what was reputed to be such, was translated by the Emperor Arcadius at the end of the fourth century of the Christian Era, and brought with great pomp to Constantinople.

[4] That this was the opinion of the Jewish Church is plain from the words of Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlvi. 20), as well as from the rendering of 1 Chron. x. 13 in the Septuagint—"Saul asked counsel of her that had a familiar spirit to inquire of her, and *Samuel* made answer to him"—and the testimony of Josephus, who affirms that it was *Samuel* who appeared and prophesied to Saul (Jos., *Ant.*, vi. 14, 2). All later Jewish expositors also agree in this view, which was also held by the chief writers of the early Christian Church—Justin Martyr, Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Jerome, &c.—up to the Reformation. On so mysterious a subject it was not unnatural that a diversity of opinion should prevail, and the opposite hypothesis has been maintained by Tertullian and Cyril Alex. among the fathers, and Luther, Calvin, Bishops Hall and Patrick, and Matthew Henry among reformed divines. A catalogue of the authorities on either side will be found in Bishop Wordsworth's *Commentary*, in the notes to this passage.

[5] *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. ii., p. 30.

disanointed king, now in his utter desolation to change words once more with the friend and counsellor of his youth, and if he must hear his doom, to hear it from no other lips but his."[1] With this solemn transaction, so mysterious in its partial revelations that we may say in the words of Hooker, "our safest eloquence is our silence," we take our leave of one of the most truly great of the characters of the Old Testament. "Samuel the Prophet of the Lord, beloved of his Lord, established a kingdom, and anointed princes over his people. By the Law of the Lord he judged the congregation . . . . by his faithfulness he was found a true prophet, and by his word he was known to be faithful in vision. . . . . He destroyed the rulers of the Tyrians, and all the princes of the Philistines. Before his long sleep he made protestation in the sight of the Lord and his anointed . . . . . and no man did accuse him. And after his death he prophesied and shewed the king his end, and lift up his voice in prophesy to blot out the wickedness of the people" (Ecclus. xlvi. 13—20).

[1] Trench, *Shipwrecks of Faith*, p. 47.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MALACHI (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

FIRST PART.

THE SINS OF THE PRIESTS.

CHAP. I. 6 TO CHAP. II. 9.

IN the brief preface of this book, the love of God for Israel has been affirmed and demonstrated; in the first section Jehovah proceeds to demonstrate that His love had awakened in Israel no vital response of love—no, not even from the priests, who were devoted to His service by the vows of their ordination. These vows they had shamelessly broken. They had suffered the Temple to fall into disrepair. Most of the priests, Levites, singers, and porters of the Sanctuary had abandoned the undefended city of Jerusalem, and had to be "sought out" from the plains and villages in which they thought themselves less exposed to danger. Those who remained in the Temple or its vicinity performed their service in a perfunctory spirit, despising the very altar at which they rendered their hireling ministrations. Nay, even the high priest himself had desecrated the Temple by assigning "a great chamber" in it to the use of Tobiah the Ammonite, with whom he had allied himself, although Moses had decreed that "the Ammonite should not come into the congregation of God for ever." This scene of disorder, indifference, profanation, is painted from the outside in the Book of Nehemiah:[1] now we are to see it painted from the inside by Malachi.

In order that he may bring home to the conscience of the priests the solemn charge He is about to allege against them, Jehovah commences His address to them with a maxim of universal acceptance, a maxim from which, therefore, they could not withhold their assent. The maxim, or proverb, is,

> "A son honoureth his father,
> And a servant his master."

But if this trite maxim of human morality be true, how are they, priests who have despised the name of Jehovah, and polluted His altar, to escape the charge that they have *not* honoured their Father, nor reverenced their Master and Lord? They answer as usual with the sceptical "but," questioning the fact, since they cannot impugn either the maxim or the inference: "But wherein have we despised Thy name? And wherewith have we polluted Thee?" And the objection is met with the argument, that they have presented to God—their Father as men, as priests their Master—offerings which they would not have dared to carry into the divan of Nehemiah; sour and corrupt bread, instead of the fresh wholesome loaves they were bound to bring every week; beasts which, so far from being without spot or blemish, were blind and lame and diseased (chap. i. 6, 7).

Now the implied reproach of this argument gains force so soon as we remember that the whole Mosaic ritual was based on the assumption that God dwelt among His people like an Oriental monarch among his subjects. The Temple was His palace; the altar His table; the priests were His ministers; the sacrifices were the offerings they presented when they entered His presence, and the food with which His table was supplied. And if an earthly monarch was "the father" and "the lord" of his subjects, and was attended with scrupulous devotion by his courtiers, how much more might the Divine King claim to be honoured by His subjects, the people of Israel, and to be had in reverence by His heriditary courtiers and ministers, the sons of Aaron, who stood before His throne and ate of His table? That *they* should neglect His service, and bring His authority into contempt, was treason and base ingratitude. To enter the presence of a prince with a present of that which was mean and defective was a gross insult; no Oriental would be guilty of it who did not feel that he was strong enough to revolt, or that the power of his prince was declining and about to pass away. But the power of Jehovah was not on the decline. He was a great King, and His "name should be great among the nations." It was He who had roused up the Chaldeans against Judah and the Persians against the Chaldeans; He who had given the Hebrews into captivity and redeemed them from captivity; He who had inflicted woes so calamitous on the Edomites, and would inflict on them woes still more calamitous. Already, the very heathen were

[1] Neh. xii. 27—29; xiii. 4, 5.

beginning to recognise Him as "the God of heaven"—Cyrus and his Persians to wit; and ere long He would make Himself great "from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof," and "in every place incense should be burned to His name, and a *pure* sacrifice be offered" Him. For His ministers to offend and insult Him *now* would be simply to decree their own misery, and to banish themselves from the wider empire He was about to win (vs. 8—11).

Thus far—viz., to the close of verse 11—the sense of the argument runs clear save at one point. The 9th verse is not only involved and elliptical in expression, but its very tone is dubious. There is no real difficulty, however, in ascertaining the sense of the words. What they mean is this. First, Jehovah, speaking in the name of the people, bids the priests seek the face of God, "*that He may have pity on us.*" Then in the next line He charges them, the priests, with having originated the insulting practice of presenting worthless sacrifices on the Divine altar, and of having caused all the disasters by which that offence was rebuked—"*From* your *hand hath come this.*" And, finally, He demands of them whether, if their governor would not accord them a gracious reception when they offered him that which was lame and sick, they can hope that He will give a gracious reception to those whom they commend to Him, when both they themselves, and the suppliants whose suit they urge, have insulted Him with maimed and defective rites—"*Will he accept persons for* your *sake?*"

A few of the commentators read this verse as a grave and earnest summons to repentance and supplication; but most of them, and those the ablest, pronounce it an ironical appeal covering an implied menace. And surely, if we study the context, we cannot doubt that the tone of the passage is ironical. There is a threatening tone of irony in verse 8—"Offer the lame and the sick to thy governor! will *he* be gracious to thee, and accept thy person?" and that tone is continued in verse 9—"Come now, with your maimed sacrifices to Jehovah, and seek His favour for the clients you have caused to sin! will *He* be gracious to thee, and accept of them for your sake?" And the same tone is still maintained in the opening clauses of verse 10, in which the mercenary spirit of the priests is held up to scorn. While they did not scruple to offer base and worthless gifts to Jehovah, they would not offer even such sacrifices as these, nay, they would not so much as shut a gate, or kindle a fire, in the Temple, unless they were paid for it. Their ministry was as mercenary in motive as it was careless and insulting in manner. So at least I read these clauses, though there is good authority for another reading, viz.:

> "O that there were one among you who would close the gates,
> That ye might not kindle a fire on mine altar to no purpose!"

Read thus, the words contain a sigh of weariness and disgust, a wish that the Temple might be shut against the hirelings who profaned it, and that its maimed and defective rites might come to an end. But, however we read these lines, whether as a satire or as a sigh, there is no doubt that the tone of the Divine Speaker grows grave and indignant in the next lines:

> "I have no pleasure in you, saith Jehovah of Hosts,
> Neither will I accept any offering at your hand."

The charge against the priests is resumed in verses 12 and 13, in which we have another graphic picture of their listless and perfunctory ministry. As we study it, we see them lounging about the Temple courts, desecrating the name of the Lord by the insolent contempt with which they bring stolen and lame and sick beasts for sacrifice, finding the service an intolerable burden which ought to be their honour and pride, snuffing at the pollutions they themselves have laid on the altar, despising the sacrifices which they themselves have rendered despicable, and crying as they went about their ministry, "What a weariness it is!" Such a picture gives us a far clearer insight into the moral and religious condition of the Hebrews of this time than the facts chronicled in the Book of Nehemiah, and helps us to realise the utter debasement from which that brave and disinterested governor attempted to raise them.

For it was "like priest, like people." When the ministers of the altar treated it with supercilious contempt, how should the people honour it? They did not honour it. They took the priestly infection only too readily, and showed their contempt for the altar which the priests despised by bringing to it illegal offerings and sacrifices. Malachi gives us two instances of such contemptuous and fraudulent violations of the law, and leaves us to infer the rest from these (ver. 14). He gives, as his first instance, that of the cheat who offers a female on the false pretence that he has no male in his flocks or herds; and, as his second, that of the liar who, under stress of danger or desire, vows a pure, and then, when the peril is past or the desire gratified, offers an impure or blemished beast. Once more Jehovah affirms that He is no dethroned prince, and rules no waning empire; but that He is a great King, with a growing Name among the nations.

If the people, and above all the priests, despise and dishonour Him whom even the foreigner and the heathen are beginning to respect, they cannot hope to escape condign punishment. Nor will they escape it. Jehovah will repay their contempt for Him by exposing them to the last extremities of ignominy. If they do not repent, if they do not give glory to His Name, He will convert their priestly benedictions into curses, as indeed He has done already; He will "rebuke their *arm*"—*i.e.*, He will render them incapable of their official duties, the arm being the instrument and symbol of active labour. He will make them as the refuse of the festal sacrifices, and cause them to be swept out of the Temple with it. (Chap. ii. 1—3.)

These verses present no difficulty, and therefore we need not linger over them; but they probably contain an historical allusion which, as it has not been pointed out before, it may be well to indicate. In the Book of Nehemiah[1] we read that, on the day on which the priests and

[1] Chap. xiii. 1, 2.

people were separated from the "outlandish women" they had married, they read from the Book of Moses in the audience of the people that "the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the Congregation of God for ever, because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water, but hired Balaam against them *that he should curse them; howbeit our God turned the curse into a blessing.*" In all likelihood Malachi was present when these words were read. They may have made a deep impression on him, as they certainly did on the people at large, even inducing them to send away "the strange women" for whose sake they had divorced their Hebrew wives. And it may be that we hear an echo of these words in the threatening of chap. ii., ver. 2. That of old God had *turned a curse into a blessing*, may have suggested the menace that He would now *turn a blessing into a curse.* It is the more probable because Malachi lingers on the expression, and repeats it in various forms, as though striving to make the allusion clearer.

> "I will send *the curse* against you
> And will *curse* your *blessings;*
> Yea, I have *cursed* them one by one."

In any case, the correspondence in thought and word between the chronicle of Nehemiah and the prophecy of Malachi is not without interest.

At this point in the argument, the Divine Speaker "changes His voice." Incensed by their contempt, He had threatened the priests that He would render them contemptible, and change their benedictions into a curse; but now He passes from threatening to appeal, and speaks in mercy, not in wrath. He had brought a charge against them, a charge full of menace; now He shows the gracious intention of the charge, and endeavours to shame them into amendment, by placing before them a picture of the true priest, a picture so pure and lovely that surely no minister of the altar could, or can, look upon it without compunction and self-reproach. "Ye shall know that I have sent this charge to you," O insolent and faithless priests, in order that—that I may dismiss you from my service and condemn you to everlasting infamy? no, but—"that my covenant with Levi may *remain*" (ver. 4), that you may recover the true priestly spirit, keep your vows, and continue in my service.

This "covenant with Levi," like the blessing turned into a curse, carries our thoughts back to the days of Balaam. For when Balaam saw that Jehovah was turning His curse into a blessing, he commanded that the wanton daughters of Moab should be sent into the camp of Israel, to wile the men of Israel to "the sacrifices of their gods." It was when this artifice had succeeded, and "Israel was joined unto Baal-peor," so that the anger of the Lord was kindled, that the grandson of Aaron, by a bold act of fidelity, stayed the plague before which "twenty and four thousand" had already fallen.[1] For his zeal, God entered into a solemn covenant with him, saying to Moses, "Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned away my wrath from the children of Israel, by (showing) my zeal among them, so that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. Wherefore say—

> "Behold, *I give unto him my covenant of peace,*
> And he shall have it, and his seed after him,
> The covenant of an everlasting priesthood,
> Because he was zealous for his God,
> And made an atonement for the children of Israel."

This, beyond a doubt, is the ancient Scripture which Malachi had in his mind when he represented Jehovah as saying of Levi—Levi standing for the whole priestly tribe—

> "*My covenant of* life and *peace* was with him,
> And *I gave them* [*i.e.*, life and peace] *to him,*
> For the fear which he showed for me,
> And the awe in which he stood of my name."

But though the Prophet casts this backward look on the fidelity and zeal of Phinehas, on which he bases the priestly covenant, we must not suppose, indeed we cannot suppose that, in the verses which follow (vs. 6, 7), he is simply describing Phinehas, or any of his successors in the priestly office:

> "The law of truth was in his mouth,
> And no iniquity was found in his lips;
> He walked with me in peace and integrity,
> And brought back many from guilt.
> For the priest's lips should preserve knowledge,
> And men seek the law at his mouth,
> Because he is the messenger of Jehovah of Hosts."

The lines of character are too large and fair to be those of mortal man. It is *the ideal priest* whom the prophet has in his mind, the archetype to which every true priest will seek to be conformed, not any single member of the priesthood—as indeed he himself intimates by using the tribal name "Levi" in verse 4, instead of the personal name "Phinehas," and by employing the abstract term "*the priest*" in verse 7.

The true priest, then, is one with whom, for his holy fear and self-devoting zeal, God has made a covenant of life and peace—that is, of being and of well-being, for all the blessings that make up human welfare were summed up for the Hebrew in one word—peace. "The law of truth"—the truths which have their root in the Divine law—is the staple of his instructions; it is ever in his mouth; "and no iniquity"—*i.e.*, no sinister perversion of truth, inspired by self-interest or class-interest—is "found in his lips." He "*walks*" with God in a happy *consent* and *progress*; for "how can two walk together except they be agreed?" And to walk is not only to move, but to move onward and forward. Not only does he walk with God, he walks with Him "in integrity and peace:" two lines of advance are specially marked out for him—the generous uprightness, which saves his teaching from sinister perversions, rules his personal conduct, so that he is drawn aside by no selfish or impure motive; and, moreover, he possesses himself ever more fully of all the blessings which conduce to peace or well-being. And thus, by his own pure and happy life, no less than by his wholesome and unperverted doctrine, he "brings back many from guilt," convincing the sinful of the mistake they have made, and leading them, through repentance, to that way of life

[1] Numb. xxv. 6—15.

and peace in which he himself is advancing. Nor in all this does he do more than is required of him by his vocation. For whose "lips *should* preserve knowledge," a knowledge of the Divine Will as revealed in the law of truth, if not his at whose mouth, as at its native home, men seek that law, "because he is the angel or messenger of the Lord of hosts?"

The priests of Malachi's time not only fell short of this pure and lofty ideal—all have done that, save only the great High Priest of our Confession—but they openly and insolently renounced and reversed it. Instead of keeping the way of integrity in their personal conduct, they had "departed from the way" (ver. 8). Instead of shedding light on the path of peace by their instructions, they had cast stumbling-blocks before the feet of those who were striving to keep it, and turned them aside, "making many to stumble at the law" in place of smoothing the way for them. And thus they had "corrupted the covenant with Levi;" Jehovah no longer holds Himself bound by it, since they no longer breathe the fidelity and zeal to which it was granted. As they have forsaken His ways, and have driven others to forsake them by their injustice and greed, He will make them as base and despicable in the sight of all the people as His service and covenant have become in their sight—unless, indeed, they should repent and amend, "observe His ways" and "give glory to His Name" (ver. 9).

Thus ends the section on the priests and their sins. They are convicted of their guilt. They are menaced with retribution. They are shown what they ought to be, and invited to repent and mend. And as the picture of the ideal priest is the most beautiful passage of this section, so also it is the most suggestive: and that, not simply because, since we are all priests unto God by the grace of Christ, it teaches us what manner of men *we* ought to be, but also because it illustrates the high moral tone of the Hebrew prophets. We conceive of the Mosaic dispensation as mainly a ritual, "a carnal commandment," a system of outward observances. So also the Hebrews themselves conceived of it in the main. But the psalmist and prophets had worthier conceptions of the law that came by Moses, conceptions which made it a meet symbol of, and preparation for, the grace and truth which came in Christ. When *they* speak of the meaning and essence of sacrifice, they do not represent Jehovah as requiring bullocks and rams. The cattle on a thousand hills are His. They represent Him as speaking with a large scorn of the oblations and offerings that were laid on His altar. What He required was an obedient will, a contrite spirit, a thankful heart; that men should do justice, show mercy, and walk humbly with Him. And when they speak of the true priest, it is not his ceremonial exactness in the service of the altar which they hold up to admiration, but his truth, his integrity, his wisdom as a teacher, the moral sweetness of his personal character. And it really is very fine to observe with what native ease Malachi rises into this higher region of thought. While dwelling on the sins of the priests, he moves in the lower, the ceremonial, element; he insists on the maimed rites and blemished sacrifices, on the perfunctory and contemptuous spirit with which they lounged through the service of the Temple. But no sooner does he attempt to frame a conception of what the true priest should be, than all *that* is forgotten; we hear no more of altar and sacrifice: his thoughts are riveted on the moral aspects of the priestly vocation—how holy a man, how wise a teacher, how careful and friendly a guide, the priest should be. When we are thinking only to hear that the sons of Levi are to offer clean and perfect instead of blemished and polluted sacrifices, to delight in the ministrations of the Sanctuary instead of despising them, as much to our surprise as pleasure he places before us a lofty spiritual ideal of character and service well-nigh, if not altogether, beyond the reach of mortal powers: he pronounces an eulogium on Levi which we should hardly dare to inscribe, as an epitaph, on the tomb of the holiest saint, or even on that of an inspired apostle—

> *"The law of truth was in his mouth,*
> *And no iniquity was found in his lips;*
> *He walked with me in peace and integrity,*
> *And brought back many from guilt."*

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

HEBREW MEASURES OF WEIGHT.

THE question of measures of weight is intimately connected with that of measures of value, from the fact that the latter, amongst civilised nations, are nothing else than definite weights of gold, silver, or copper, of distinct purity or alloy. We shall speak of coin, with reference to its stamp and denomination, in a separate chapter; but it is impossible to do justice to the subject of ancient weights without reference to their monetary value.

The unit of weight amongst the Hebrews, which it is most convenient to consider as regulating the entire system, is the *shekel*. This word originally meant weight; and the verb "to shekel" signifies first to weigh, and then, in a secondary sense, to pay. But in the course of the history of the Jews, from the time of Moses down to that of Maimonides, considerable differences occur in the use of the word *shekel*. It has one meaning as a unit of weight, and another as one of value; or as a weight and as a coin. It represents different weights, as well as different values, in gold and in silver; and it represents, after the Captivity, a unit larger by one sixth than was the case under the First Temple. And yet further, the word, when

occurring on the coinage, does not (at all events in some cases) denote definite weight at all, but simply "money."

Extreme obscurity hangs over the subject of the Hebrew system of weights and of coins. It is, however, an obscurity which is inexcusable. There is reliable information to be found in Hebrew literature; and the coins and weights which are at the present time in the British Museum are sufficient to allow of the confirmation and explanation of the Rabbinical learning.

Under the kings of the house of David, as we learn from the work of Maimonides on the annual tribute,[1] the Jewish silver shekel had the weight of 320 average-sized grains of barley, taken from the middle of the ear. The barleycorn, which is the natural basis of our own, as well as of the Chaldean, system of long measure, we thus find to be taken also as the standard of weight. We have seen that the measurements of the foundations of the Temple at Jerusalem[2] prove that the Jewish cubit is symmetrical with the English foot, or, in other words, that the barleycorn is identical in the two systems. The same is the case with the unit of weight. We can verify this statement by actually weighing such barleycorns as are described. They will be found identical with the grains of troy weight. Moreover the Babylonian weights so very nearly coincide with the statement of Maimonides, when we come to a very large number of grains, that we are on safe and firm ground in asserting that the barleycorn of the Hebrew writers is substantially identical with the troy grain. We have to note a further and a very beautiful coincidence. The shekel of 320 grains troy contains exactly 100 carats, diamond weight.

The highest denomination of weight was the *talent*. As to this, we obtain the definite information, from the collation of two verses[3] in the Pentateuch, that it contained 3,000 shekels. This weight is equal to 960,000 grains, or 166⅔ pounds troy. The best preserved bronze Assyrian talent in the British Museum is stated by Mr. Madden[4] to weigh 959,040 grains troy. So close an approximation—bearing in mind the fact that the weights recovered are 2,700 years old—is most remarkable; and proves the permanence of the system of troy weight, as well as its derivation from, or close accordance with, the ancient Chaldean system.

With regard to the denomination of the *maneh* or *mina*, which is intermediate between the shekel and the *talent*, it must be approached with more hesitation, as several different weights are expressed by this word. The learned Buxtorff[5] states that there were two *manehs*; the one of them being double of the other. It is probable that the word rather implies in its original sense a *ratio* or *place* in a system than a definite quantity. In inquiring into a complex and highly detailed system such as that of Hebrew weights, which includes a number of terms, and descends to minute fractions, of which we have no examples in this country, sentences must be regarded rather than individual words, in order to ascertain the value of a term. Thus, if we regard a *maneh* as consisting of 50 shekels, which is one determination, the half of that would be a *maneh* of 50 *bekas*, or half shekels. This is not an imaginary illustration. Maimonides[6] states that when the second or *sela* coinage was introduced, although the Temple tax was still the half of the ordinary silver unit of currency—being raised from 160 to 192 grains of silver—the new shekel was often called the *sela* or *selang*, and the half *sela*, or *sela beka*, was called a shekel.

There is a passage in Ezekiel[7] which in the Hebrew is extremely obscure, but which evidently refers to the alteration in the weight of the shekel, and to the existence of more than one *maneh*.

Besides the *maneh* of 50, and that of 25, shekels as terms of weight, the same word appears to be used, in case of money told by tale, to mean a hundred. A comparison of the two accounts given of the golden spears and targets which were made by King Solomon for the use of the Temple guard,[8] shows that 100 *aurei* or gold pieces were called a *mina*. The word shekel has been improperly introduced into the translation of that passage.

The idea has found favour with eminent writers that different systems of weight existed at the same time, for different purposes, but under the same name. The reasons which have been adduced for applying this theory to the Hebrew weights do not, however, establish the existence of such an anomaly, with regard to the expressions used in the Bible. Assuming, first, that an *aureus* weighed a shekel, and thus that the gold *mina* of King Solomon, before referred to, was the equivalent of 100 shekels weight of gold; and, secondly, that reliance is to be placed on a not very perspicuous passage of Josephus,[9] to the effect that 100 *minæ* go to the *kichares*, which the Greeks call the talent, Mr. Poole[10] has arrived at a gold talent of the enormous weight of 229 lb. troy, which would coin eleven thousand sovereigns, and which is between 26 and 27 per cent. heavier than the silver talent. At the same time, in opposition to the general tendency of exchange, to denote the more precious metals by smaller aliquot divisions than the ruder minerals, this writer has propounded a brass talent of only 1,500 shekels, or the half of the established talent of Hebrew and Babylonian weight. This latter determination is certainly wrong; as the same passage which affords the data for the weight of the silver talent, shows that the talent of brass did not contain a smaller number of shekels than that of silver. The brass collected for the Tabernacle is stated in the Hebrew at 70 talents and 2,400 shekels, and in the LXX. (in the Alexandrine Codex) at 370 talents and 2,400 shekels.

The passages in the Bible which refer to the gold

[1] *Constitutiones de Siclis*, cap. 1, § 2.

[2] See plans Nos. 23 and 27 of series issued by Palestine Exploration Fund.

[3] Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.

[4] *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 267.

[5] *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, sub voce מִנָּה.

[6] *Shekalim*, v. 6, xi. 4.

[7] Ezek. xlv. 12.

[8] 1 Kings x. 17, cf. 2 Chron. ix. 16.

[9] *Ant.*, iii. 6, 7.

[10] *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 284, 287.

talent are inexplicable by reference to a weight so large as that cited by Mr. Madden. The golden lamp made by Moses for the Tabernacle was probably the same that is described so minutely by Maimonides, and that was finally destroyed by Antiochus Epiphanes. At all events, it could not have been any larger, as the dimensions of the Tabernacle and its instruments were usually much exceeded by the work of Solomon. This lamp was 48 inches high, and its branches were hollow (as they are called reeds), and the whole is said in the Pentateuch to be made of beaten work. The weight of 1,000 *aurei* of the first Jewish system we shall presently see reason to determine at 18·75 lb. troy; which is a weight consistent with the fabrication of such a piece of goldsmith's work as the golden lamp is described to have been. It is contrary to all experience of that ancient craft to suppose, that nearly two hundredweight of gold would have been employed for this object.

Again, of the crown of the King of Ammon it is said (2 Sam. xii. 30): "The weight whereof was a talent of gold, with the precious stones." This passage must be at once rejected by the advocates of the gold talent of 229 lb. Indeed, the weight of 1,000 *aurei* would have been far too heavy, even if the crown in question had been a helmet with a coronal. But this passage is one of those in which the word shekel implies, in our opinion, not weight, but value. We are without much indication of the price of precious stones in the Bible; but we may well consider that the value of this spoil of David was estimated at 1,000 *aurei*, in gold and gems.

The fact that the golden unit is occasionally, though rarely, called a golden shekel,[1] does not give any certain indication of its actual weight. There exists a Jewish silver coin, specimens of which weigh 54 and 57 grains, which bears on the obverse the words "Shekel Israel;" although its value cannot have been more than that of the *garmes*, or sixth part of the shekel, which no doubt it is. A gold coin struck from the same die would be almost exactly equal to the golden *daric*, and would be justly called a golden shekel.

In the Second Book of Kings (chap. v. 5) occurs the expression 6,000 golden *dinars* (or *denarii*). In the comments of Rabbi Solomon on the treatise Baba Kama (cap. 4, § 1) it is stated that the gold *dinar* was worth 25 silver *dinars*. This is the exact proportion between the golden and the silver Roman *denarius*, in the time of Herod. In the Targum of Jonathan (on Exodus xxx. 13), this proportion is carried back to the date of the Exodus.

The increase in the value of the coinage current in Palestine, after the return from Babylon, is as well-established a fact as any in ancient history. It is stated in precise detail by Maimonides, and referred to by the prophet Ezekiel. It is accepted by Bartenora, Buxtorff, Surenhuse, and the Mishnic commentators. The increase was a fifth part of the weight of the old shekel, which of course was a sixth part of that of the new or *sela* shekel; or from 320 to 384 troy grains. The reason of this change has not been indicated by any author whom we have consulted, but it will become apparent in the course of our consideration of the relations between the silver and the gold currency.

The difficulty which exists as to the weight of the *gera*[2] arises probably in consequence of the change of scale. This denomination, which is the equivalent of the *obolus* or *maah*, is stated in four places in the Bible to be the twentieth of a shekel, while the Talmud makes it the twenty-fourth. It is obvious that the twentieth of the shekel of Moses was the twenty-fourth of that of Ezra.

The gold coin mentioned in the Bible after the Captivity, is called *darkonoth* and *adarkonim*, and is identified with the gold *daric*, or money of the kings of Persia. Mr. M. J. Borrel[3] describes specimens of the double gold *daric*, averaging a little under 256 grains troy. A single *daric* of 128 grains would weigh exactly a third of the *sela* shekel, and would be struck from a die nearly identical with that of the silver *garmes* of that system. We are as yet without specimens of either the gold or the silver coinage of the first Jewish system. But it is a significant fact that among the money weights mentioned in the Talmud is one called the *hadres*, which is said to be the third part of a *gera*, and was thus of the anomalous weight of $5\frac{1}{3}$ grains. But this coin, if struck in gold, would weigh $10\frac{2}{3}$ grains, the former weight being the twentieth, and the latter the tenth, part of a gold coin, bearing the same relation to the first shekel, that the *daric* bore to the second. The earrings of Rebecca, of half an *aureus* each, would have weighed $53\frac{1}{3}$ grains—not an inappropriate weight.

[1] 1 Chron. xxi. 25, "Shekel of gold, by shekel 600." The former is not the ordinary phrase.

[2] Neither the *gera* nor the *omer* are to be found in the 30th edition of Eadie's *Cruden's Concordance*—an instance of the utility of popular books to the real student.

[3] *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 273.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

PARTRIDGE.

OUR common English partridge does not occur in Palestine, but the Greek partridge (*Caccabis saxatilis*) is very common in all the hill districts, whether woody or rocky. This species is very similar in plumage to the red-legged species (*P. rufa*), having its sides, flanks, and thighs richly barred transversely with fawn-colour, white, black, and pearl-grey; the legs and bill are also red, but the Greek partridge is a much larger bird than either the red-legged or the common partridge. Large coveys are often seen in the autumn, but in the winter

DESERT PARTRIDGE (*Ammoperdix Heyii*).

GREEK PARTRIDGE (*Caccabis saxatilis*).

they disperse. The ringing call-note of the bird may be often heard in early mornings "echoing from cliff to cliff, alike amidst the barrenness of the wilderness of Judæa, and in the glens of the forest of Carmel. The male birds will stand erect on some boulder, sending their cheery challenge to some rival across the wady, till the moment they perceive themselves detected they drop down from their throne, and send up the hill faster than any dog, screening themselves from sight by any projecting rock as they run" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 226). The Greek partridge is especially common in the wilder parts of Galilee. In Syria what is apparently a variety of the Greek partridge occurs; this is a very fine and large bird, resembling the red-leg of India and Persia, the *Caccabis chukar*. The Greek partridge has a wide geographical range from East to West, being found in West Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, Persia, and Northern India. There is another partridge that occurs in Arabia Petrea, the basin of the Dead Sea and its wadys, and in the east of the wilderness of Judæa. This is the sand or desert partridge (*Ammoperdix Heyii*), a small species, with plumage delicately pencilled, and bill and legs of a bright orange colour. Tristram says it is very plentiful near the Cave of Adullam, and lays its beautiful cream-coloured eggs in holes and caves and under the shelter of rock crevices, and runs with wonderful agility up and down the cliffs. The genus *Francolinus* is represented in the rich lowland plains of Gennesaret, Acre, and Phœnicia, by the *F. vulgaris*, a fine and handsome species, the plumage of the adult bird being very rich. In this bird, says Mr. Gould, "we trace, or fancy we trace, one of those unions through which the splendid coloured pheasants of the East are united to the sober-coloured quails and partridges of the European continent, its form and habits connecting it with the latter, while its colouring manifests a relationship to the beautiful Oriental genus *Tragopan*." The common francolin is as large as a grouse. Tristram speaks of its habit of concealing itself "in the dense herbage and growing corn of marshy plains, where its singular call can be heard as on Gennesaret, resounding at day-break from every part of the plain, while not a bird can be seen.

Several species of the extremely beautiful and interesting genus *Pterocles* (of the family of *Tetraonidæ*), sand-grouse, occur in the more arid parts of Palestine, as the *P. arenarius*, in the wilderness of Judæa, the *P. setarius*, the pin-tailed sand-grouse, the *Kata* of the Arabs, which Tristram's party saw passing over the barer parts of the Jordan valley and the Eastern Desert by thousands at a time. The *P. Senegalensis* and the *P. exustus* abound in the wilderness of Judæa and near the Dead Sea. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the delicately-marked plumage of this latter bird, of which a very pretty coloured drawing lies before us as we write.

Probably the bird more specially and generally denoted by the Hebrew term *Kôrê* is the Greek partridge, though francolins and sand-grouse may also be

SAND-GROUSE (*Pterocles arenarius*).

included. The partridge is mentioned twice only in Scripture. David speaks of Saul's persecution of him. "The King of Israel is come out to seek a flea, as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains" (1 Sam. xxvi. 20). In Jeremiah, we read, "As the partridge sitteth on eggs and hatcheth them not, so he that getteth riches and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool" (xvii. 11). In the former passage allusion is made to the mode practised in the East of hunting down partridges and killing them by throw-sticks, the *zerwattys* of the Arabs. The Greek partridge, perhaps even more than the red-leg, prefers to escape by running or concealing itself under rocks, &c., seldom taking to the wing. Thus they are chased from place to place, and at length killed by a well-directed cast of the throw-stick.

The passage in Jeremiah is more correctly translated in the margin, "Gathereth young which she hath not brought forth;" the Septuagint and the Vulgate ("Perdix fovet quæ non peperit") agree with the marginal reading; Gesenius, Maurer, Winer (who renders the passage, "brüte Eier, die er nicht gelegt"), Sharp ("As the partridge sitteth on eggs which she hath not laid"), Benisch ("A partridge hatching what it hath not laid"), Leeser (following Solomon Jarchi [Rashi], "As a cuckoo that sitteth on eggs which she hath not laid"), all support this rendering. According to Epiphanius, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, and the Arabian naturalist Damir, there was an old belief that the partridge took eggs out of other birds' nests, and that when the young were hatched, and were old enough, they ran away from their false parent; so a man who becomes rich by unrighteous means loses his riches as the fictitious partridge her stolen brood. Such a notion may have been held by the ancient Hebrews, and be here referred to by the prophet Jeremiah. If we adopt the rendering of the text of our version, we must understand it as referring to the loss of the birds' eggs by man's or other destructive agency.

The verse in Ecclesiasticus (xi. 30), "Like as a partridge taken (and kept) in a cage, so is the heart of the proud, and like as a spy watcheth he for thy fall," refers to a decoy partridge. The πέρδιξ θηρευτής of the LXX. is the expression used by Aristotle to denote a decoy partridge, and the context in Ecclus. clearly shows this is meant. The Hebrew *Kôrê* is from a root meaning "to call;" with this may be compared the German *Rebhuhn, i.e., Rufhuhn,* "the calling bird," "the partridge."

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

ELIJAH.

BY THE REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.

IT is generally admitted that the Books of the Kings were originally one work, first divided into two parts by the authors of the Septuagint version; and that while it has a distinct literary unity and independence, it was very largely compiled by its anonymous author, apparently in the latter part of the period of the Captivity, from at least three different sources, all of these probably public national annals—(1) the Book of the Acts of Solomon,[1] (2) the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,[2] (3) the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.[3]

The monographs of the two great prophets, Elijah and Elisha, probably derived from the third of these sources,[4] occupy a very prominent and extended place, and have very distinct literary characteristics, especially that of Elijah. The Chronicles of the Israelitish kings would almost necessarily consist of various documents, and the great character and mission of Elijah abundantly account for the disproportionate length and minuteness of the record concerning him, both in the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, and in the Canonical Book of the Kings.

The conception of the latter is the relations to Jehovah of the different kings. The incidents recorded concerning these, both biographical and historical, are manifestly selected for the purpose of illustrating the religious character of their reigns. Hence, at the close of each monograph, a formal verdict from a religious point of view is recorded. Harmony with this general character and purpose of the book, therefore, required that the reign of Ahab—in whom the idolatrous apostacy of the kingdom of Israel culminated—and the mission of Elijah, who next to Moses was the great prophet of theocracy, and whose mission it was to restore it, should be detailed at length.

Critics have affirmed that, in the use of his materials, the author of the Book of Kings has exercised a considerable degree of intellectual freedom, and by omissions, condensations, and relative prominence, has moulded them more or less to his own artistic construction and religious purpose.[5] This is probable; but the very distinctive style and character of the history of Elijah indicates that original forms of expression and construction were largely retained.

Ewald, with characteristic temerity, has carried his criticism so far as dogmatically to discriminate sections.

The monograph in the Book of the Kings is our only source of historical information concerning Elijah. The Book of Chronicles makes no mention of him, save that he wrote a letter to King Joram (2 Chron. xxi. 12, *et seq.*), which is not mentioned in the Book of the Kings. It has been suggested that as the Book of the Chronicles is occupied exclusively with the kingdom of Judah, and Elijah was exclusively a prophet of Israel, it did not come within the scope of that work to refer to him. As it is almost certain that the author of the Book of the Chronicles was acquainted with the Book of the Kings, this may be accepted as the probable explanation. The only other mention of Elijah in the Old Testament is in Mal. iv. 5. In the New Testament he is frequently referred to by our Lord and His apostles, and in a way which indicates the very important place in the development of the theocracy which he occupied. A lyrical passage of high eulogy in Ecclus. xlviii. 1—14 indicates the feeling towards him of the Jews of the second century before Christ.

The supernatural character of the history of Elijah, in which miraculous incidents are crowded in a very remarkable way, has naturally directed upon it the fiercest hostility of rationalistic critics. Ewald, and after him Bunsen, have summarily pronounced the narrative unhistorical. The latter, with characteristic impetuosity and intolerance, says, "Nothing but boundless ignorance, or where historical criticism has not died out, only an hierarchical-dilettanti reaction, foolhardy hypocrisy, or weak-headed fanaticism, would wish to demand the faith of the Christian community in the historic truth of these miracles, as if they had actually taken place."[6] His theory is that the narrative is a traditional myth, a popular epic poem, like the *Iliad;* the image of Elijah, like that of Hercules, being that of a fabulous hero, a "wonderful creative representation," as Ewald expresses it, "of the sublimest prophetic truths."

The primary question is the validity of the miraculous element in Old Testament history, which must be determined upon broader and more general grounds. All that can be said here is that, admitting the historic occurrence of miracles, those recorded in the history of Elijah are in singular harmony with the general plan and purpose of miracles, as the outward material sign and signal of prophetic character and mission; as also with the peculiar character of the crisis with which Elijah's mission was connected. The Old Testament history has naturally and necessarily its crises of miracle, as in the two great distinctive missions of Moses and Elijah. That these should be signalised by special miracle is only in harmony with the entire conception. All the miracles wrought by Elijah have a significant religious purpose. They are in harmony

[1] 1 Kings xi. 41.
[2] 1 Kings xiv. 29, and fourteen other references.
[3] 1 Kings xiv. 19, and fifteen other references.
[4] No reference to it, however, occurs in the course of the monographs.
[5] Bleek's *Introduction to the Old Test.*, vol. i., p. 410; Lange's *Bibelwerk*, Schaff's ed., p. 191.
[6] *Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde*, V. 2, s. 540, *et sq.*, quoted by Lange.

with their occasions, and they are incorporated in a history of remarkable simplicity, directness, and elevation. If the historic character of the miraculous be admitted at all, the miracles wrought by Elijah carry the presumption of singular congruity.[1]

The character and mission of Elijah cannot be intelligently estimated without a general knowledge of the state of the kingdom of Israel during the reign of Ahab.

After the division of the kingdom, the larger and more populous territory, and, notwithstanding the possession of Jerusalem by the kingdom of Judah, the greater prestige, remained with the ten tribes, who, without hesitancy or opposition, assumed the national designation, Israel—a name always given to it in the historical books. Some of the later prophets of Judah, however—Amos, Isaiah, Hosea, and Zechariah—designated it Ephraim. The possession of Jerusalem by Judah carried the immense advantage of the Temple and the theocratic throne. These proved the conservative strength of its patriotism and its piety, while the lack of them had a most disastrous influence upon the religious character of Israel. Vainly did Israel attempt to provide substitutes for these Divine institutions by the consecration of sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, where "houses of the high places" were erected; by the golden calves, which were probably intended as a coarse, sensuous form of Jehovah-worship; by the alteration of the great national feasts (1 Kings xii. 25—33); and by a prohibition against resorting to the Temple at Jerusalem. These expedients proved successful so far as that they diverted the worship of the people from the Temple at Jerusalem; but they had the disastrous effect of laying the foundations of the grosser idolatry which became so distinctively characteristic of the Israelitish kingdom. No institutions are more perilous or destructive than theocratic forms destitute of their inspiring Divinity. Men may work human institutions designed and adapted for human faculties; for men to attempt to work institutions demanding the exercise of Divine powers and prerogatives is simply to court destruction; and failure will be so disastrous as generally to discredit religion itself. While, therefore, the worship of Jehovah may have been contemplated by Jeroboam, the forms and institutions which he devised for it rapidly led the people into the grossest idolatry. Their idolatry began, as all idolatry begins, with sensuous images and symbols of true spiritual things. The worldly policy of Jeroboam has often been repeated in the course of history, and always with disastrous results. Jeroboam could supply only the mechanism of theocratic institutions; the Divine forces indispensable to them were wanting. Nothing, again, corrupts the religious life of men so rapidly as the unspiritual use of religious forms. Hence the profound wisdom of the interdict of the second commandment. Another cause of rapid religious deterioration was the large migration to Jerusalem and Judah of priests and Levites, and probably of the more pious people, who would not accept the dangerous religious revolution of Jeroboam. This compelled Jeroboam to make priests of the lowest of the people" (1 Kings xii. 31). Deprived of its religious teachers, and of its most pious and intelligent citizens, the nation rapidly relapsed into gross idolatry and semi-barbarism. This deterioration is strikingly illustrated by the visit of Jeroboam's wife, in disguise, to the old prophet Ahijah (1 Kings xiv. 1—18), who, just as Samuel renounced Saul, had probably renounced Jeroboam, as a protest against his guilt.[2]

Every successor of Jeroboam walked in his steps. While Judah had a pious king occasionally, there is no exception to the monotonous succession of the evil and idolatrous kings of Israel. Religiously and politically the condition of the kingdom waxed worse and worse. As in the Roman empire, military adventurers like Baasha and Zimri attained to the throne by treachery and murder; popular leaders like Omri were chosen by the people; civil war and anarchy became almost the chronic condition of the nation.

Omri was a very able ruler, although religiously he did "worse than all that were before him;" like Jeroboam his name became a proverb of evil omen (Micah vi. 16); he was perhaps the greatest of the Israelitish monarchs, and in many ways has graven his name upon the memorials of the nation. Ahab his son succeeded peacefully to his throne; and, in spite of his incapacity and his wickedness, he possessed it for twenty-one years. He was a weak and foolish monarch, easily led by crafty courtiers, and capable of the peculiar tyranny which so often characterises such rulers, and which, indeed, is the result of timidity urged to rashness. Utterly destitute of religious conviction, and of all feeling of religious responsibility, Ahab sought to establish his throne by politic alliances, and devoted himself strenuously to the commercial development of the nation. Influenced, probably, by the mercantile importance of Tyre and Sidon, he married Jezebel, the daughter of the King of Tyre, an idolatress, who had formerly been a priestess of Astarte. He was also a great builder of cities. He rebuilt Jericho, which from the conquest of Joshua had remained a ruin. He built a palace at Jezreel, on the western slope of Gilboa, overlooking the great plain of Esdraelon. The character of Ahab is portrayed by the religious historian in very dark colours. He "did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him." He became an open idolater, and "reared up an altar for Baal (the Phœnician sun-god) in the house of Baal, which he had built in Samaria" (1 Kings xvi. 30—33). This was a new sin; it was not only to introduce idolatrous symbols of the true God, like the golden calves of Jeroboam, a forbidden mode of worship; it was to introduce a new and

[1] See Keil and Berthean's *Comm. on the Book of Kings*, ch. xvii.; Lange's *ditto*, p. 191.

[2] The Septuagint, followed by Dean Stanley, represents this incident as occurring before the open act of insurrection against Rehoboam, while Jeroboam dwelt in his ancestral home; but the great mourning for the child clearly supposes that Jeroboam had come to the throne.

antagonistic deity. The sensual deities of Phœnicia, Baal and Ashtaroth—male and female—were set up to depose Jehovah. This seems to have been owing chiefly to the influence of his idolatrous and clever wife, who was his "fate,"—a Lady Macbeth to her weak and supple husband. Not only was Jezebel a worshipper of Astarte; she was a bold, clever, proud, ambitious, intriguing, unscrupulous woman, both licentious and cruel. Throughout she is represented by the historian as the evil genius of her husband. She suggested the murder of Naboth, projected that of Elijah, was the open, uncompromising patroness of the priests of Baal and of the groves, and the unwearied instigator of idolatry. The temple of Baal in Samaria was built at her instigation. Its 450 priests, with whom Elijah came into formal conflict on Carmel, were fed at her table. She built also at Jezreel the temple of Astarte, the goddess of the groves, and supported its 400 priests; and she so far influenced her despicable husband that he himself offered sacrifices in these temples. The religious life of the people became utterly demoralised; the struggle with the schools of the prophets, long and strenuous, which began with the withering of Jeroboam's hand (1 Kings xiii.), seemed about to end in their utter extinction. Obadiah and a few faithful men had to conceal their fidelity to Jehovah, and apparently Baal and Jezebel had triumphed.

In this state of things, Elijah, the greatest of all the prophets, appeared. His appearance is antecedently congruous. If ever it was necessary for a prophet of God to vindicate the honour of Jehovah, it was then. The effort was made to show that between the *cultus* of Baal and that of Jehovah there was no very great difference; the mission of Elijah was to show that the difference was fundamental, vast, and irreconcilable. Hence he became the formal, public, and uncompromising antagonist of the idolatrous king and queen. The protest of God's true prophets, which had begun with Ahijah's revolt from Jeroboam, and had gradually become stronger and more radical, culminated in him. It gathered into a formal and public antagonism—Jehovah or Baal—Elijah the prophet of God, or Ahab the votary of idolatry—to the issue of which the eyes of the entire nation were drawn. In the maintenance of his cause Elijah elevated the prophetic office to a position of moral grandeur that it had never before attained. By his personal greatness, and the dramatic picturesqueness of this struggle, as well as by the vital issues involved in it, and the lofty piety and fidelity with which he maintained the honour of Jehovah, he threw a lustre upon his age which is surpassed by that of no period of Israelitish history.

Such outbreaks of religious life and power as the mission of Elijah marks, are not uncommon in the history of the Church. Almost every national life has its great excitements and epochs, when the life which for generations has flowed quietly and unobserved, suddenly develops the forces which have been silently gathering, and elements and forms of power spring, almost magically, into historic greatness. History is a record of great epochs. An individual, a nation, or a church is estimated by what it is at its greatest. We judge Greece by the age of Pericles, Rome by the age of Augustus; they are not the common acts of a life, or the common lives of a nation, but their greatest acts and lives which determine its place and power. The age of Elijah was such an epoch in the history of Israel; it was part of a manifold development of which itself was the crown. His personality is as distinct, as great, and as influential as that of any character in the history of Israel, Moses only excepted. His individuality is so marked and unique that while there is but little in common between him and Samuel and David, he claims equal rank with both, and there is no other to be named with them. The dramatic character and conditions of his appearance and work make him in some respects a more remarkable personage than either. By his individual prophetic power he arrested the idolatrous course and revolutionised the religious character of the entire nation. He found Ahab and Jezebel bent upon the establishment of idolatry, and the theistic feeling of the people so utterly decayed that he thought it extinct. By his single word, lofty, uncompromising, and authoritative, he defeated the strenuous policy of the weak king and his able, subtle, and unscrupulous wife, and turned the entire tide of national feeling, recalling the people to sincere repentance, and to the renewed worship and service of Jehovah. The entire conception of the man, his grandeur of character, his heroic achievements, his dauntless fidelity, and the dramatic form and romantic colouring of his history, have no parallel in literature. We have only to recall the equally detailed histories of Samuel and Elisha, to realise how much deeper and more vivid the impression which Elijah makes, how much more heroic and potent his prophetic force.

His name is a compound of the two roots which supply the two chief designations of the God of Israel: *El* and *Jah—God Javeh*, "God the Jehovah."

He came probably from Tisbeh in Gilead, a trans-Jordanic part of Israel, separated from Syria only by the little kingdom of Bashan. It was therefore a part of the kingdom of Israel which suffered severely in the wars with Syria, especially with Benhadad. It has by some been inferred from this that Elijah was not of Israelitish blood; but inasmuch as Gilead was the portion of Reuben and Gad, the supposition is gratuitous; there is no reason why he should not have belonged to one of these tribes, or to the tribe of Levi; the Levites, who had no inheritance, being scattered through all the cities of Israel.

His mission to Israel and Ahab supposes, throughout this meridian period of Israelitish history, a state of things altogether different from that under which the later prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, prophesied.

The schools of the prophets were founded by Samuel, and the chief of them—Gilgal, Bethel, and Ramah—were in the Israelitish kingdom. Scarcely any of the prophets appeared in Judah until after the captivity of the northern kingdom. It was in Israel that pro-

phetism had its chief development and function. The religious condition of the kingdom from the time of Solomon to its fall made special demands upon the faithful servants of Jehovah. The incident concerning Ahab and the false prophets, mentioned in 1 Kings xxii., reveals a company of not less than 400 men, who continued to exercise the prophetic function, although in a very demoralised way. One of the great reformations of Elijah was to revive and restore the degenerate prophetical office. Not only had the priesthood become idolatrous, but the great spiritual function of the prophets, which was its natural corrective, had in the time of Ahab become so corrupt, that both on Carmel and in the wilderness, Elijah thought himself the last of the faithful prophets of Jehovah. The few who had remained faithful had been massacred at the instigation of Jezebel (1 Kings xviii.). This had naturally imperilled the true faith. Obadiah, however, Ahab's house-steward, had contrived to conceal in a cave 200 of them; and Elijah was entirely alone in the open avowal of himself as the servant of Jehovah, and in confronting the idolatrous tyrant. Strong in the truth of his cause, in the dauntless courage of his warfare, and in the Divine protection of Him whom he served, the utmost efforts to destroy him of Ahab and Jezebel were futile. When, bent upon his death, they sought him through all the land and through neighbouring countries, he could not be found. Apparently he was miraculously delivered from their hands.

Two things indicate the peculiar character and intensity of his prophetic consciousness: first, the avowal of a Divine communion, the formula of which is peculiar to Elijah and Elisha—the latter having probably derived it from his master—"the Lord God *before whom I stand;*" next, the conviction of miraculous preservation clearly possessed by the historian, which Obadiah so pathetically expressed, and which is indicated by the singular avowal of the sons of the prophets when they met Elisha (2 Kings ii. 16). When most urgently sought he was not to be found; when the least expected he boldly presented himself before Ahab, to denounce his wickedness and defy his power.

It is worthy of note that this is the first great religious persecution that history records; and of all the subjects of religious persecution Elijah is the most dramatic and heroic. Such persecution was the necessary condition of prophetic greatness, and Elijah was great enough to become its hero. Neither Polycarp, nor Huss, nor Luther, nor any subsequent reformer or martyr of the Church surpasses Elijah in his holy fidelity, and in the strenuous courage of his single-handed conflict with Ahab. The inspiration of this was clearly his intense religious spirit. Elijah was the first to teach the world the lofty duty of resisting organised wrong, even at the cost of martyrdom. He was the first of the great roll of confessors who, against kings and national systems, have witnessed for God and truth. The three Hebrew youths, Daniel, Stephen, the Apostles of our Lord, the early Christians, Wycliffe, Savonarola, Huss, Luther, the noble army of the reformers and faithful witnesses for Christ, down to the Malagasy martyrs, must recognise him as their illustrious prototype. He first vindicated the sacred rights of the religious conscience against all its persecutors in the world or in the Church.

Like the Baptist in a subsequent age, Elijah was a prophet of the wilderness. The conditions of his work necessitated his frequent seclusion in the desert, in some near exile, or in some secure hiding-place, whence he issued forth whenever occasion demanded it to deliver his lofty protest, and to offer his single-handed defiance to Ahab. Like the Baptist, too, he wore the primitive garb of a man of the desert—a mantle of skin thrown loosely over him, and secured round his waist by a leathern girdle; his own hair, black, long, and unkempt, flowing down his shoulders. He was of little account in an estimate of physical forces, but among the moral forces of the world he was one of the greatest. His temperament corresponded. A man of quick fiery impulses, extreme in his emotional fluctuations; bold as a lion in the hour of duty and conflict, and capable of intense excitement, and then giving way to corresponding depression. He who so grandly confronted Ahab on Carmel throws himself down under the broom, or "juniper" bush, and "requested for himself that he might die." Spirits capable of being strung to so fine a tension are relaxed to a proportionate despondency. The tide of nervous sensibility, so magnificent in its flow, is pitiable in its recession; the flood and the ebb are mutually causative.

The distinctive inspiration of Elijah was religious conviction and sentiment, and not mere patriotism. Against all the organised powers and social forces of his age, he stands in the simple might of his religious convictions. Through all history no inspiration has been so mighty. The impelling and sustaining force of patriotism, of natural affection even, gives place to that of religion. The sense of Divine supremacy, the depth and sanctity of religious feeling, and the strength of religious conviction, together with the consciousness of a Divine commission, and the involuntary reverence inspired by it, have over and over again made weak and solitary men revolutionary powers in society. Noah, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Peter, Paul, are among the instances in sacred story; Athanasius, Ambrose, Mahomet, Huss, Wycliffe, Savonarola, Luther—"the solitary monk that shook the world," Calvin, John Knox, are among those of later religious history. Among them Elijah, although not the first, is perhaps the supreme instance. No man ever fought the battle of God against greater odds or under more arduous conditions, or achieved a more signal and momentous victory. No inspiration that human experience knows is so noble and strong and irresistible as religious inspiration, and the purer the religious faith the greater is its power.

Elijah's one potent word was the supreme claim of Jehovah against every form of irreligious government, life, or power. Organised power, especially under conditions of imperfect civilisation, is very imposing, and

soon gathers sanction and tradition which overpower individual convictions. "The divinity that doth hedge a king" is felt by all nations, if not intelligently, yet superstitiously. Israelitish reverence for "the Lord's anointed" was exceptionally great. And it was Elijah's great work to convince the people that no office or function, however exalted, or sanctioned, or powerful, can demand obedience in opposition to the claims of God. If Ahab and his government will resist the Divine order, in virtue of which he reigned, he must be withstood, and the nation must be taught and led in true religious ways. There is no hint of civil rebellion, although this would have been justified by the peculiar conditions of the theocracy. But civil obedience to a ruler by no means involves religious submission to him, or an abnegation of the individual right to profess and propagate religious convictions. The victory was with Elijah; and it was a very signal one, not only in the public discomfiture of Ahab and the priests of Baal on Carmel, but in the humiliation of the king, in his enforced recall of Elijah to solicit his intercession for the termination of the drought.

This was the idea and end of Elijah's mission, and most triumphantly it was achieved. When Saul revolted from Jehovah, Samuel was commissioned to depose him from his sovereignty, and to anoint David king in his stead. Elijah had no such commission. His was the higher moral triumph of subduing Ahab to the repudiation of his own idolatry, and to the repentant acknowledgment of Jehovah as the true God. It is difficult to estimate the moral effect upon Israel. It recalled the nation to a Jehovistic faith and worship purer than they had realised from the time of Rehoboam. That this did not ultimately save it, is no detraction from the greatness of the achievement. No moral forces can save a people so corrupt and venal as the ten tribes had become. In the progress of national deterioration the very foundations of virtue and religion may be so destroyed as that whatever the Divine appeal and visitation, and the transient effect which they produce, the issue is only a question of time. It is enough for the vindication of Elijah that he gave the people an opportunity of expelling foreign idolatrous elements, and of beginning a new life.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

"And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."—ST. MATTHEW xvi. 18, 19.

THE difficulties connected with the interpretation of these words are mainly as follows:—

(1) What is the nature and extent of the personal application of the words to St. Peter?

(2) What is the rock on which the Church of Christ was to be built?

(3) What is the true meaning of the power of the keys, and wherein does its rightful exercise consist?

We will begin by considering the question of the application of these words to St. Peter. The argument employed by Maldonatus in support of the primacy of St. Peter is substantially this. St. Matthew wrote his gospel, not in Greek, but in Hebrew, or in the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, in which, as many think, our Lord spoke. In the latter case there would probably be no difference between the two words which are rendered respectively *Peter* and *rock*. Both would be represented by the same word—*Cephas;* and, consequently, the natural import of the passage would be, "Thou art a rock, and upon this rock (*i.e.*, upon thee) I will build my Church."

Before proceeding further, then, in the examination of the meaning of these words, we may observe that, whether our Lord spoke, and whether St. Matthew originally wrote, in Syro-Chaldaic, or in Greek, we must take the words as they have been transmitted to us, if we would avoid the substitution of mere conjecture, both here and elsewhere, in the place of a solid foundation on which to rest our faith. Now, Maldonatus is constrained to admit that *some* ancient interpreters understood the words, not of Peter, but either of Peter's confession of faith in Christ, or of Christ Himself; and it is not without interest and instruction to observe the manner in which he endeavours ("*reverenter*") to explain away the meaning assigned to these words by some of the most distinguished of the ancient fathers, and to reconcile their language with that later interpretation which has been assigned to the passage, on the supposition that when those ancient writers explained the rock as the faith, or confession of faith, of St. Peter, they meant to express their belief that the Church was built upon St. Peter, on account of his faith and its confession.[1]

Now whilst the natural interpretation of the words of our Lord, taken in their obvious import and connection, would lead us to infer that there was some special *personal* reference in them to that Apostle to whom they were addressed; and whilst the fact that it was St. Peter who, on the day of Pentecost, opened the door of Christ's Church to the Jews, and the same Apostle who, in the house of Cornelius, opened it also to the Gentiles, would lead to the same conclusion, it

[1] The words are deserving of quotation. We direct the special attention of our readers to those which we have printed in italics:—"*Commodissima* autem interpretatio mihi videtur, si dicamus eos dicere voluisse super fidem, et confessionem Petri Ecclesiam ædificatam, *id est, super Petrum propter fidem et confessionem quemadmodum et omnes alii senserunt auctores.*" (*In Matthæum Comment.*, cap. xvi.)

must be observed (1), as against the interpretation of Maldonatus and others, that the words so understood, so far from involving, as they allege, any special application to St. Peter's successors, as such, would seem rather to exclude it; and (2) that, however strong may be the reasons alleged in support of some allusion to St. Peter's personal ministry, there seem to be conclusive reasons against the interpretation of the rock as denoting that Apostle personally.

The former of these observations, when considered in conjunction with the two facts (1) that, in chapter xviii. 18, the same promise as to binding and loosing is given either to the Church collectively, or, at least, to the Apostles conjointly; and (2) that there is no proof whatsoever, but rather the contrary, of the existence of any successors of St. Peter as *the first Bishop of Rome*, will here demand no proof. The following considerations are advanced in support of the second:—

(1) The word *rock*, whilst frequently used figuratively, in the Old Testament, of God, as an emblem of strength and durability, is not applied, throughout the whole of it, to any particular man, except in a wholly different signification, as to Abraham, as the founder of the Jewish race. As instances of its application to Jehovah, as the Rock of Israel, we may refer to Deut. xxxii. 4, 15; 1 Sam. ii. 2; 2 Sam. xxii. 32; Isa. xxvi. 4; xliv. 8. Exactly corresponding to this Old Testament usage is that of the New Testament, in which, whenever the word πέτρα has a personal signification, it is invariably used of Christ. In addition to those passages, in which this word is figuratively used by our Lord Himself, with reference to the house built upon "the rock," it is used twice by St. Paul, and once by St. Peter with specific reference to Christ. St. Paul, in Romans ix. 33, renders Isaiah's "rock of offence" (Isa. viii. 14) by the words πέτραν σκανδάλου; and again, in allusion to the rock smitten by Moses at Rephidim, he expressly declares, "and that rock was Christ" (ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός). In like manner, and as regards our immediate subject, yet more significantly, St. Peter makes use of precisely the same words as St. Paul, and, having first described all believers as "living *stones*" (1 Pet. ii. 5), he declares, with reference to that "stone," which the Jewish builders rejected, that He had become "the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence" (καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου).

And (3), inasmuch as in Old Testament phraseology we read of "a stone," אֶבֶן, *eben*, being laid as a foundation in Zion (Isa. xxviii. 16), for which word πέτρος, in the compound form πετροβόλος is used in the LXX. in Job xli. 20, it may fairly be asked why, in the passage in question, if "the rock" denoted Peter, so marked a change of phraseology should here occur; and, instead of saying, as we should have anticipated, had such been the import of His words, "Thou art Peter (Πέτρος, *i.e.*, a *stone*), and upon this *stone* (ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέτρῳ) I will build my Church," our Lord, or the Evangelist, in recording His words, should have avoided the use of a word which would have made His meaning plain, and employed one which is calculated, by its invariable use in other places, to convey a signification altogether different.

These considerations, especially when taken in connection with the uniform declarations of Holy Scripture that Christ Himself is the one and only foundation (1 Cor. iii. 11), and the "chief corner-stone," once laid in Zion (1 Pet. ii. 6), appear conclusive on the point that the rock on which the Church was to be built was not Peter, but either Peter's confession of faith in Christ, as the Son of the living God, or rather, for the reasons already assigned, Christ Jesus Himself, compared, in accordance with that Old Testament phraseology which the name already assigned to Peter (John i. 42), and the rocky scenery of the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi would naturally suggest, to the immovable and imperishable rock, upon which a house, or a city, securely erected, might defy the assaults of violence and the ravages of time.

Some writers, having regard to the gates of an Eastern city as the seat of council, have interpreted the promise that the gates of Hades shall not prevail against the Church of Christ, as an assurance that no machinations of her foes shall be successful. Such, however, seems, at the best, an imperfect interpretation of the metaphor. The gates of an Eastern city were regarded, if not as constituting its fortress or stronghold, at least as the key of it, so that the "gates" of a city might be reasonably interpreted as a synonym for its strength. When thus interpreted, the meaning of the promise would be that, inasmuch as the keys both of Hades and of death were given to Christ, the most strenuous assaults of him who, for a time, had "the power of death" should be baffled, when directed against the people and the kingdom of the Prince of Life. Inasmuch, moreover, as the gates of a city formed its strength of defence against assault, the promise that the gates of Hades shall not prevail against the Church seems to imply, further, that the Church of Christ, in her offensive, as well as her defensive warfare, shall be finally victorious, and that she shall, in the end, vanquish the strongholds of Satan, and "possess the gate of her enemies" (cf. Gen. xxii. 17).

When the Church is viewed as "a city that is compact together," the gates of the city, with their "thrones of judgment," would, in accordance with the important purposes for which they were used in the East, occupy a prominent place in the picture. When regarded as the palace of the Great King, the necessity for the appointment of the various officers would naturally suggest itself to the mind of the speaker. Amongst these the post held in the household of Hezekiah by Shebna, who was "over the house," and afterwards by Eliakim, was one of the most important. To this officer was committed the custody of the keys; not as an indefeasible right, but by way of delegation, and as a trust which, as in the case of Shebna, he might be required to resign into the hands of another. And, just as in regard to the use of the other figure, though Christ is represented as the one foundation and the chief corner-stone, the city is represented as having "twelve foundations, and

in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb" (Rev. xxi. 14), so though Christ, "as a Son over his own house," retains to Himself the exclusive *right* to "the key of David," so that He alone "openeth, and no man shutteth; and He shutteth, and no man openeth" (Rev. iii. 7), nevertheless it is His will to delegate the power of the keys both to His Church, generally, and to the officers of His Church, specifically, and so to ratify and confirm their lawful use of them that "whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Much confusion of thought and misconception of the meaning of these words have arisen from ignorance or neglect of the received use amongst the Jews of the terms "binding" and "loosing." Thousands of examples might be adduced to show that to "loose" was commonly understood by the Jews as meaning to "allow," and to "bind," as meaning to forbid. The words used by our Lord, moreover, both here and in Matt. xviii. 18, and which are translated in both places in the Authorised Version "whatsoever," are in the neuter gender, ὅ, and ὅσα, *i.e.*, whatsoever thing, or things; not whatsoever person, or persons.

In like manner, then, as St. Peter on the day of Pentecost exercised the power of the keys by opening the door of Christ's Church to the 3,000 Jews who were on that day baptised into it, and again in the house of Cornelius, by opening the same door to the Gentiles, so also by teaching that it was no longer unlawful for a Jew to come unto, or eat bread with, those of another nation, he "loosed" what before was "bound;" and the Council of Jerusalem, in like manner, by commanding to abstain from blood; and St. Paul, by forbidding the intentional eating of things sacrificed to idols, "bound" that which, to the Gentile world, had hitherto been "loosed." As "the power of the keys," rightly understood, pointed to the *teaching* office of the Church, so that of "binding" or "loosing" pointed to her "*legislative* action."[1]

[1] See a sermon by Professor Plumptre, entitled, "Confession and Absolution," preached before the University of Oxford, Advent Sunday, 1873. With an Excursus on the Power of the Keys, p. 48. W. Isbister and Co.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE (*continued*).

THE STROPHE SYSTEM AND THE REFRAIN.

THE word *strophe*, now generally adopted to designate the divisions into which the Hebrew Psalms for the most part, and many of the prophetic odes, fall, is a term borrowed from the movement of the chorus of a Greek play. In the centre of the orchestra of a Grecian theatre there stood an altar round which the chorus of old men, young maidens, or soldiers, as the case might be, were grouped. From time to time, between the acts, were performed various complicated dances, illustrative of the emotions suggested by the play; and as they moved, marching or dancing, in time to the music of their chant, the chorus formed and wheeled with the regularity of a regiment. To correspond with these evolutions, the choral ode was composed in parts, called strophe and anti-strophe.[1]

The name is, for many reasons, appropriate to the divisions of Hebrew hymns. Like the lyrics of the Greek drama, they were intended for orchestral performance, with accompaniment both of music and dancing. Of the nature of these our knowledge is very slight. Enough, however, is contained in the few notices left, to show that the chants were many of them antiphonal, or arranged to be sung alternately by different choirs or parts of a choir. In very many instances a *burden* or *refrain*, chanted by the whole orchestra, or perhaps by the assembled congregation of worshippers, marks with precise indication the divisions of the ode.

The natural development of the Hebrew rhythmic system was traced in the last paper. The poet was guided rather than fettered by the laws which govern this development; and even when submitted to the requirements of the orchestra, his song was free to follow where lyric genius and inspiration led. Accordingly the strophe arrangement is generally determined by the subject of the poem. It is only in verse composed on an artificial system, deliberately assumed, that we find perfect regularity in the stanzas. The highest poetic genius of Israel asserts its freedom to violate its own rules.

It is not, however, impossible to trace the influence, on the composition of Hebrew odes, of the musical arrangements which prevailed at religious ceremonies and public festivals. The guide for this is afforded by the use of refrain or burden, or, as it is often called in connection with modern songs, the chorus.[2]

One of the earliest fragments of song preserved in the Bible exhibits the custom in its germ. The patriarchal blessing or curse contained in Genesis ix. 25—27 has the burden, "And Canaan shall be their slave," in which the subject and intention of the whole is summed up and repeated. The "Song of Moses"

[1] From στρέφειν, to turn.

[2] The use of the refrain was not unknown in classical poetry. See Catullus, *Nuptial Song of Peleus and Thetis.*

"Currite, ducentes subtemina, currite fusi."

exhibits the musical origin of the practice. We are told in verse 21 of Exodus xv., that "Miriam answered them"—

> "Sing ye to Jehovah, for He hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea."

Whatever be the meaning of this passage—whether it implies that Miriam took the verse first as a solo, and the band of maidens repeated it after her, or merely that the prophetess led off the song, the use of a refrain to embody the intention of the whole poem is plainly shown.

Of the ceremonies in which we can see the propriety of introducing songs so constructed as to allow a great number of people to combine their voices at marked intervals or as feeling dictated, the first to claim our notice is the funeral. A marked feature of Oriental mourning is its studied publicity, and, amid the various ways in which this was gained was the employment of hired mourners, to lament over the corpse and "go about the streets" (Eccles. xii. 5; 2 Chron. xxxv. 25). Some of the sad burdens have been preserved. They may sometimes have been very short, mere interjections and cries of woe (Amos v. 16). In such as these the friends or even the passers-by could join (Job xxvii. 15; 1 Kings xiv. 13; Jer. xxii. 18). How effective must such outbursts of feeling have been when they were controlled and directed by poetical genius like that of David! The burden of the "Lament over Saul and Jonathan" is woven with consummate skill into the texture of the poem. Immediately after the opening line, it bursts out as if with irrepressible feeling—

> "The beauty of the forest, O Israel, is slain upon thy heights:
> *How are the mighty fallen!*"

It is then silent for two short strophes, which speak of the bravery and renown of the dead, and appeal to the daughters of Israel to weep for the monarch whose favours they had so often received. They respond to the appeal by raising again their short sad wail, the poet taking their lament as the starting-point of a new "lyric cry"—a tribute of affectionate sorrow over the loved friend and brother Jonathan. This has hardly died away, when once more the loud lament rises from the chorus, and the elegy abruptly ends—

> "*How are the mighty fallen,*
> And the weapons of war perished!"

In the more formal and stately ceremonies of religion, the processional chants, festival hymns, or dedication odes, a more regular employment of the refrain was practised. These public services were directed by a leader of the choir, who acted as the coryphæus, or conductor. The names of several of those who had charge of the musical performances in David's reign have been preserved (1 Chron. xxv. 1—7).

Without conductors the performance of an elaborately constructed dramatic ode like Ps. xxiv. would have been impossible. In like manner the improvements of orchestral performances doubtless reacted upon the poets. It is in the compositions which may without doubt be assigned to this period that we see evidence of a wish to secure a regular arrangement of similar or equal strophes. The most beautiful of these, constructed with a refrain, belong, however, to later times. In these the burden has assumed its proper place, the close of the strophe, where the chorus naturally joins in with its confirmation or repetition of the verses just sung. In some of the hymns which, by their allusions, are shown to have been composed for the service of the Temple, and which would not have been perfect had not room been made for the voices of all the assembled worshippers, the prevailing arrangement is into *three* strophes.[1] What determined the preference for this number does not appear, but the influence of the custom adopted in the Temple songs is plainly visible in poetical compositions of another kind.[2] The most perfect examples are given by Ps. xlvi., xlviii. The burden in each of these has evidently dropped out from the close of the first strophe. In the former the refrain consists of a couplet, in which the parallelism is of the progressive kind. In the latter, one line, which is varied in the last recurrence, forms the chorus. Ps. xlvi. has been arranged by Ewald in strophes of four couplets each.

> I.—*God a refuge in storm and tempest.*
> "God is our refuge and strength,
> A very present help in trouble;
> Therefore will we not fear though the earth do quake,
> Though the mountains totter in the midst of the sea,
> Though the waters thereof rage and swell,
> And though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same.
> *Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, is with us;*
> *The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.*
>
> II.—*As the stream of Siloam, so hath been His presence to the besieged.*
> "There is a stream the waters whereof make glad the city of God,
> The holy places of the tabernacle of the Most High.
> God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved;
> God will help her, the morning draweth nigh:
> The nations raged, the kingdoms were moved;
> At the sound of His thunder the earth melteth.
> *Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, is with us;*
> *The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.*
>
> III.—*His wonders in destroying the Assyrians.*
> "Come hither and behold the work of Jehovah,
> What wonders He hath wrought upon the earth!
> He maketh wars to cease in all the world,
> He breaketh the bow and knappeth the spear in sunder, and burneth the chariots in the fire.
> Be still, then, and know that I am God:
> I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.
> *Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, is with us;*
> *The God of Jacob is our tower of strength.*"

Ps. xlv. affords an example of another kind. It seems to be a royal marriage song, composed to celebrate the entrance of a bridal procession into the palace. The strophes are of unequal length, and the refrain, which varies on every occasion of its recurrence, is introduced by the word *therefore*. "With the spiritual insight of the Hebrew poets, who saw the Divine element underlying all human joy and woe, the Psalmist cannot

[1] Cf. Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.*, i.

[2] See, for instance, Isa. ii. 1—8. Ps. xxix. is a beautiful specimen, but without refrain, and with the addition of a prelude and close.

look on the king's justice in the judgment-seat, his prowess in the battle, or even on his personal beauty and the happiness of the present hour, but as blessings sent from God, and as proof of the king's union with the Divine ruler of the world." What an emphasis was given to this faith by the uplifted voices of the chorus, chanting in unison—

> *"Therefore doth God bless thee for ever!"*
> *"Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."*
> *"Therefore shall the people give praise unto thee, world without end."*

For the longer Temple hymns a standard form of chorus was used, occupying in the old worship much the same place as that taken by the *Gloria Patri* in the services of the Christian Church. It is repeatedly referred to in the historical books (1 Chron. xvi. 34; 2 Chron. v. 13; vii. 3; Ezra iii. 11; Jer. xxxiii. 11), and is woven into four psalms (cvi., cvii., cxviii., cxxxvi.). In Ps. cxxxvi. it is repeated after every verse, an arrangement imitated in the "Song of the Three Children." In Ps. cvi. and cvii. this form occurs only as a prelude, being joined in the latter with another couplet, which is introduced in a new and striking manner into each strophe, so as to complete it, although it does not form the concluding verse.

From the services of the sanctuary and occasions of public rejoicing, the refrain passed into general poetic use to give prominence to the poet's leading feeling or idea. In compositions of a mournful kind a more plaintive tone is given by this arrangement. The refrain recurs with the same effect as in the elegies for the dead. Ps. xlix., xlii.—xliii. (these two are evidently one composition) are beautiful specimens. The latter is in three equal strophes, each one closed with the words on which the Psalmist, evidently an exile, tries to support his drooping courage by reciting his trust in God.

> *"Why art thou so heavy, O my soul,*
> *And why art thou so disquieted within me?*
> *O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give Him thanks,*
> *Which is the help of my countenance and my God."*

Ps. lvii. offers another good example. It belongs also to the Captivity, and expresses the hope of restoration, which was the only earthly consolation left to the Israelites at that time. This hope forms the burden at the end of each of the two strophes into which the psalm is divided.

> "Set up Thyself, O God, above the heavens,
> And Thy glory above all the earth."

In a still later psalm (lxxx.) the refrain, which consists of a pathetic appeal to God for mercy and restoration—

> "Turn us again, Thou God of Hosts;
> Show the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole,"

is beautifully changed at the end of the third strophe, and woven into the texture of the poem—

> "Turn Thee again, Thou God of Hosts;
> Look down from heaven, behold and visit this vine."

The prophets made a striking use of the refrain. It gave an awful solemnity and force to the woes which fell from their lips, tolled forth like nature's funeral knell; and it served too the prophetic aim, which was to create a succession of vivid images, all bearing on the same moral truth and pointing to the same end. The Book of Isaiah affords some magnificent instances of the value of the refrain to preserve this unity, and bring back the attention to the dominant thought. In chapters ix. and x. there is a fine ode of regular strophes, with this chorus four times repeated.[1]

> *"For all this His anger is not turned away,*
> *But His hand is stretched out still."*

Other instances will be found in chapters ii., xlv., li.

[1] Chap. v. 25 would seem also to have formed part of the same prophecy.

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

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CHAPTER V.

THE RISE OF THE MACCABEES.

AT no period in their history did the Chosen People, and the holy religion they professed, appear so near to extermination. But as the darkest hour always precedes the dawn, so it was at this crisis in their fortunes that the Divine Providence interposed, and by the patriotism, valour, and self-devotion of a single family, raised the nation from its condition of prostrate misery to a height of power that excelled the days of David and Solomon. There was living at this time at Modin, a town situated on an eminence between Jerusalem and Joppa, a priest of the course of Joarib,[1] named Mattathias. He was himself advanced in years, but his sons were in the prime of life, and were five in number, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan.

The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes had already roused his utmost indignation, when a royal commissioner, named Apelles, came to Modin, and required the people to offer idolatrous sacrifice. The old man not only declared his own resolution to live and die in the faith of his fathers, but when a Jew approached an altar, which the commissioner had erected, to renounce his faith, struck him down, and then, aided by his sons and the inhabitants of the town, slew Apelles himself, and tore down the altar.[2] Thus the first blow was struck for national freedom, and many of his countrymen rallied round the aged priest, who now fled with his sons to the mountains of Judæa, B.C. 168.

Here their number rapidly increased, but a large

[1] The first of the twenty-four courses, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

[2] 1 Macc. ii. 15—29.

force having been sent against them by the Phrygian Governor of Jerusalem, they suffered a serious shock, and upwards of a thousand were slain. The attack was made on the Sabbath-day, and Mattathias saw that the patriot forces would be rooted "out of the earth,"[1] if he did not sanction defensive warfare on that day.

Accordingly this relaxation of an over-scrupulous observance was made, and the war was continued with signal success. Their ranks recruited by zealous adherents of the law, the forces of Mattathias lay hid for a time in their mountain retreats, and thence poured down upon the towns, destroying the heathen altars, and punishing all apostates who fell into their hands. But Mattathias was old and grey-headed. He was unfitted for the fatigue of active service, and having exhorted his followers to constancy and devotion, and delegated the command of his little army to Judas, his third son, died B.C. 166, and "was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin."[2]

Though young in years when called to lead the war of independence, Judas was at once prudent and discreet. He had already distinguished himself as a leader, and now being called to the chief command, he devoted himself to the task of uniting for common action all who were zealous for the national faith. "By night attacks, by sudden surprises, he taught his people how to conquer. Alert of foot and quick of brain, yesterday in the mountains, to-day in the plain; now marching on a fort, now storming a castle; in a few months of service he changed his rabble of zealots into an army of solid troops, capable of meeting and repelling the royal hosts commanded by generals trained in the Macedonian school of arms."[3]

He first unfurled the banner of the MACCABEES. The origin of the name is uncertain. Some derive it from the combination of the initial letters of the Hebrew sentence, Mi Camo Ca Bahlim, Jehovah, *i.e., Who is like unto Thee among the gods, Jehovah?*[4] Others would derive it from the banner of the tribe of Dan, which is said to have been inscribed with the three last letters of the names Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. More probably it was a personal appellation of Judas himself, meaning the *Hammer*, just as Charles *Martel* derived his name from his favourite weapon.[5]

Whatever may have been the precise meaning of the term, the Syrian chiefs soon felt the weight of the arm of the new general. Apollonius marched against him, but was signally defeated and slain.[6] Seron, deputy-governor of Cœle-Syria, bent on avenging the disaster, attacked him at Bethhoron with a large force, but only to be repulsed as disastrously as the Canaanites before Joshua on the same battle-field.[7] Stung to the quick by the news of this double defeat, Antiochus Epiphanes, while himself undertaking an expedition against Persia in the hope of recruiting his impoverished exchequer, entrusted the command of the Palestinian provinces to Lysias, one of his nobles, with instructions to destroy utterly and "root out the strength of Israel and the remnant of Jerusalem." Eager to carry out his orders, Lysias dispatched upwards of 48,000 troops into Judæa under the command of Gorgias and Nicanor. But Judas was not daunted. After keeping a solemn fast at Mizpeh,[9] and making a public confession of the national sins, the Jewish leader fell upon the Syrians at Emmaus, and attacking them by night defeated them with great slaughter. In the following year Lysias himself marched to meet him at the head of 60,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. The battle took place at Bethsura or Bethzur,[10] and again, the Maccabæan chief, though at the head of a far inferior force, gained a decisive advantage.[11]

Mortified and disgraced, Lysias now withdrew to Antioch, and Judas was enabled to enter Jerusalem, and occupy the whole of it except "the Tower."[12] A sad scene of desolation met his eyes when he once more set foot in the precincts of the Holy Temple. The gates were destroyed, the priests' chambers were in ruins, shrubs grew in the courts as in a forest, as on one of the mountains;[13] the sanctuary itself was empty and exposed to the eyes of all. Judas at once cleared the sacred enclosure, removed the altar to Zeus Xenios, which had replaced the brazen altar of burnt-offering, restored the priests, rekindled the sacred flame, and exactly three years after its profanation by Apollonius, celebrated the re-dedication of the Temple on the 25th of the winter month Chisleu, B.C. 165.

CHAPTER VI.

JUDAS MACCABÆUS.

THE year succeeding the re-dedication of the Temple was spent in border wars, and Judas carried his victorious arms into the territory of the Idumæans and Ammonites, while his brother Simon fought many battles in Galilee, chased the Syrians to the gates of Ptolemais, and recovered many Jewish captives.[14] Meantime Joseph and Azarias, who had been left in Judæa, in direct violation of orders they had received, had attacked Jamnia, a seaport, but had been signally defeated by Bacchides, the most skilful of all the Syrian generals. Judas avenged the defeat, but not without considerable loss, and, removing all the Jews beyond the Jordan, confined the boundaries of his kingdom to the more defensible ground of Judæa.[15]

Meanwhile Antiochus Epiphanes, the terrible oppressor of the Jews, had passed away. Struck with an incurable disorder, while engaged in an expedition against the rich temple of Nanea, at Elymais, he died at the

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1 1 Macc. ii. 40. 2 Jos., *Ant.*, xii. 6, 4.
3 Hepworth Dixon's *Holy Land*, i. 64. 4 Exod. xv. 11.
5 Compare the "Malleus Scotorum" and the "Malleus Hæreticorum" of the Middle Ages.
6 1 Macc. iii. 10—12. 7 1 Macc. iii. 13—24; Josh. x. 10, 11.
8 1 Macc. iii. 35. 9 1 Macc. iii. 46—53.
10 Bethsura or Bethzur, *house of rock*, was a strong position commanding the road from Benohaba and Hebron (Josh. xv. 58; 2 Chron. xi. 7).
11 1 Macc. iv. 29, 34. 12 1 Macc. vi. 18, 19.
13 1 Macc. iv. 38. 14 1 Macc. v. 21—23.
15 Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 8.

villlage of Tabæ, near Mount Zagros, on the road to Babylon, B.C. 164. Before his death he had appointed his foster-brother, Philip, regent of Syria, and guardian of his son Antiochus V. But Lysias, who was himself of the blood royal, no sooner heard of his death, than he assumed the reins of government as guardian of Antiochus Eupator, and the son of the deceased king.

His first act was to invade Judæa, and, having captured Bethzur, laid siege to Jerusalem. But the stronghold of Zion resisted all his efforts. Attack after attack was made in vain, and Lysias hearing that Philip had been appointed regent, and had succeeded in capturing Antioch, hastily concluded a treaty with the Jews, guaranteeing to them the use of their own laws, and full liberty of worship, and returned to Syria, while Judas was recognised as governor of Palestine, B.C. 163.

Shortly afterwards Lysias fell into the hands of Demetrius, the lineal heir to the throne of Antioch, who had escaped from Rome, and landed at Tyre.[1] The accession of the new king brought with it fresh troubles to the Jews. Lysias had conferred the priesthood on one Jakin, or Joachin, of the stock of Aaron, but not of the pontifical family.[2] The new high priest assumed the Grecian name of *Alcimus*, and proved a zealous adherent of the Hellenising faction.[3]

In him Demetrius saw a fitting instrument for sowing discord amongst the Maccabæan patriots. He confirmed him in his new dignity, and sent him, accompanied by Bacchides, to claim his sacerdotal rights. With a large force the two appeared before Jerusalem, and the zealots for the law, attracted by the title of high priest, admitted Alcimus within the walls. But no sooner had the high priest got his enemies into his power, than he basely murdered sixty of them, while Bacchides also resorted to cruel severities. So long as the Syrian general was by his side, Alcimus was able to assert his authority. But no sooner had Bacchides withdrawn his troops, than Judas quickly regained his old influence, and succeeded in compelling the high priest to fly to Antioch.

By dint, however, of large bribes, he succeeded in inducing Demetrius to assist him in recovering his authority, and Nicanor was sent with a large army into Judæa. Taught by past experience to respect his dreaded adversary, Nicanor at first tried to get the Maccabæan chief into his power by treachery. Failing in this, he attacked him first at Caphar-Salama, and afterwards at Adasa, about thirty stadia from the glorious field of Bethhoron. In both engagements he was utterly defeated, and in the last fell himself amongst the slain, B.C. 161.[4] This signal victory restored peace for a short time to the Jewish patriots, and Judas resolved to improve the interval by concluding a treaty with the Romans, of whose fame he had heard much. But before the ambassadors he had sent to the great capital of the West could return, the Syrian king had sent Bacchides, with the entire force of his realm, into Palestine to avenge his recent defeat.

Never was Judas in more perilous circumstances. His attempted alliance with the Romans had alienated the more extreme Jewish party from him. Consequently he was able to bring but a small force into the field, and of these a considerable number deserted him on the eve of battle. With eight hundred men, however, he ventured to attack the Syrians at Elusa, not far from Ashdod, and actually succeeded in discomfiting one wing of the enemy's army. But the odds against him were desperate, and the Lion of Judah fell, fighting bravely, at this Jewish Thermopylæ. His body was recovered by his brother, and buried in the ancestral tomb at Modin, B.C. 161.[5]

CHAPTER VII.

JONATHAN MACCABÆUS.

THE death of Judas was a sad blow to the aspirations of the Jewish patriots. The Syrians were everywhere triumphant, Alcimus was reinstated in the priesthood, and Bacchides wreaked a terrible vengeance on the followers of the Maccabæan party.[6]

At length the patriot forces rallied, and offered the command to Jonathan, surnamed Apphus (*the wary*), the youngest of the sons of Mattathias. In view of their present circumstances, the new leader did not venture on maintaining himself in the open country, and retired to the lowlands of the Jordan, and the wilderness of Tekoa, where the Syrian general in vain attempted to surprise and capture him. Thence he crossed the Jordan, and employed himself in carrying on a guerilla war, while Bacchides strengthened his garrison in the Acra at Jerusalem, and the fortifications of several important towns in Judæa. Before long, however, Alcimus died B.C. 160, and the Syrian general, losing the active support of the Hellenising party, returned to Antioch.

Thereupon Jonathan quitted his hiding-place, and reappeared in Judæa, and for two years was left unmolested by his foes, who had by this time been forbidden by the Roman senate to molest their new allies.[7] But the Hellenising faction opposed the reforms of the Maccabæan chief, and Bacchides was invited to return and crush him. Bacchides came, but was feebly supported. His successes were insignificant, and at length, wearying of a campaign which brought him no glory, he acceded to terms which Jonathan offered, and promised to abstain from invading the land again. Jonathan was now formally recognised as deputy governor of Judæa, and establishing himself at Michmash, gradually extended his power over the country, though Jerusalem and many of the stronger towns were still held by garrisons of Syrians or apostate Jews.[8]

Before long, however, a revolution took place in Syria, which produced a marked change in his fortunes.

[1] 1 Macc. vii. 1—14.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* xii., 9, 5.
[3] 1 Macc. vii. 14; 2 Macc. xiv. 3.
[4] 1 Macc. vii. 40—49.
[5] 1 Macc. ix. 19—21.
[6] Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 324.
[7] Ewald, v. 325.
[8] 1 Macc. ix. 73.

Apollonia
Joppa
Caphar-saba
Pharathon
Ashdod
Ashdod-Jamnia
Jamnia
Accaron
Gadara
Lydda
Adida
Thamna
Modin
Bethoron
Jethel
Modiim
Hagiphthis
Bethanaphthis
Iazer
Iscebon
Medaba
Galgala
Jerusalem
Masephe
Bethzacharia
Tochoa
Bethzur
Hebron
Teyhon
Idoma
Maresa
Ascalon
Gaza
Raphia
Characa
Phasaelis
Jericho
Ashdod
Ashdod-Jamnia
Ashdod
Ashdod
Ashdod

Demetrius, having given himself up to pleasure, had become extremely unpopular with his subjects, and a young man, named Alexander Balas, was persuaded by some of the neighbouring kings to give himself out as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and claim the Syrian throne (B.C. 153). Roused from his lethargy, Demetrius prepared to defend his rights, and as both princes had an equal interest in securing the friendship of the Maccabæan chief, they began to outbid each other in their offers to secure his support. Demetrius offered to make him commander-in-chief over Judæa, and empowered him to raise an army, a concession which was followed by the evacuation of all the outposts occupied by the Syrians except Bethzur. Though thus enabled to extend his power and influence, Jonathan did not turn a deaf ear to the offers of Balas. The latter wrote to him, saluting him as his "brother," conferred upon him the priesthood,[1] and sent him the purple robe and the crown of an *Ethnarch*, or independent prince. Without openly espousing either side, Jonathan assumed the pontifical robes at the Feast of Tabernacles,[2] and the purple insignia, and thus inaugurated the reign of the priest-kings of the Asmonæan line, B.C. 152.

At first the efforts of Balas, as aspirant to the Syrian throne, were unsuccessful, but in the end he succeeded in defeating the forces of Demetrius, and on being acknowledged as monarch, B.C. 150, raised the Maccabæan prince to the rank of *Meridarch*, and invested him with regal honours.[3] Before long, Jonathan laid his patron under fresh obligations, by completely defeating Apollonius, a general of Demetrius Nicator, and received still more ample rewards. But the usurper was not destined to retain his power for long. Defeated in battle, he was forced to give way to Demetrius II., on whose accession the hopes of the faction opposed to Jonathan were again raised.

The Maccabæan chief had gathered his forces, and laid siege to the Syrian garrison in the Acra.[4] This was at once reported to Demetrius, who instantly summoned the priest-king to meet him at Ptolemais. Undeterred by the risk he ran, Jonathan left his troops to press the siege, and set out for the Syrian capital. A solemn embassy of elders and priests accompanied him to Ptolemais, and such was the effect with which he pleaded his cause before Demetrius, that in consideration of an annual present of three hundred talents, he was confirmed in well-nigh all the liberties and rights which had been conceded by Demetrius I. six years before.[5]

Successful beyond his utmost hopes, Jonathan now returned to Jerusalem, and pushed on resolutely the siege of the Syrian garrison. But all his efforts were useless, and, though promised the possession of the fortress in return for putting down a rebellion in the Syrian capital, he was deceived by Demetrius as soon as he was once more secure upon the throne.

But he did not despair of obtaining possession of the height which commanded Jerusalem, and before long his hopes were rewarded. Demetrius II. had made himself hated at Antioch, and Tryphon, a Syrian noble, repaired to Arabia, to fetch thence a son of Balas, named Antiochus, who was living there in concealment. The pretender was crowned at Antioch, and at once sought to ingratiate himself with Jonathan and his people. He offered the priest-king new honours, remitted all arrears of tribute, and named his brother Simon commander of all Palestine. Jonathan had every reason to resent the ingratitude and fickleness of Demetrius, and speedily subdued the whole country, as far as Damascus, to the power of Antiochus, while Simon captured the fortress at Bethzur, and placed there a garrison of Jewish soldiers.

Strong in the confidence of the new king, Jonathan now pushed forward his schemes for emancipating his native land. He strengthened many of the fortresses in Judæa, built a wall to separate the Acra (still held by the Syrians) from the city, and renewed the treaty with Rome, and with Lacedæmon.[7] But his prosperous career soon received a serious check. Tryphon, who had placed Antiochus *Theos* on the throne, resolved to usurp the crown himself. The main obstacle to his success was the fidelity of Jonathan to his Syrian lord. With pretended offers of peace, he invited Jonathan to meet him at Beth-sheân, on the southern boundary of Galilee. The priest-king repaired thither at the head of forty thousand men; but, persuaded by Tryphon that he only wished to confirm him in the possession of Ptolemais, he disbanded his army, and suffered himself to be allured into that town. Once within the fortress, the gates were shut, and he was made prisoner, while his retinue were butchered to a man.[8]

CHAPTER VIII.

SIMON MACCABÆUS.

THIS unexpected blow filled the Jews with alarm and sorrow. The perfidious Tryphon was preparing a large army to invade their country, and every hope would be crushed by his success. But in this crisis Simon, the last remaining brother of the Maccabæan family, placed himself at the head of the patriot party, and prepared to lead them against the foe.

Out of his private fortune[9] he equipped and paid a powerful army; and having finished the walls and fortifications of Jerusalem, went forth to meet Tryphon, who had moved up from Ptolemais with a large army, and encamped at Adida, a town situated on an eminence

[1] "What the position of the priesthood was after the death of Alcimus we do not exactly know. Probably it was left vacant at the court, as the whole situation was uncertain."—Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, v. 327, &c.

[2] 1 Macc. x. 21. [3] 1 Macc. x. 65. [4] 1 Macc. xi. 20.

[5] Comp. 1 Macc. xi. 30—37; x. 25—45.

[6] 1 Macc. xi. 65, 66.

[7] Comp. Ewald, v. 332; Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 18, &c.

[8] 1 Macc. xii. 37—52.

[9] 1 Macc. xiv. 32.

overlooking the low country of Judæa. Perceiving that the Maccabæan chief was resolved to oppose him, he began to negotiate, and offered to yield up Jonathan for one hundred talents of silver and two of his children as hostages. The money and the hostages were sent, but his prisoner was not restored.

For some time the two armies watched one another, and at length the Syrians, unable to relieve their garrison at Jerusalem, retired across the Jordan into the land of Gilead. Here, at the city of Bascama, he had the heroic Jonathan executed; then, hurrying to Syria, dealt out the same measure of treachery to the toy-king Antiochus, and seized the supreme power. As soon as the traitor had retired from the country, Simon sent to Bascama, and recovered the body of his brother, whom he laid with great pomp in the ancestral tomb at Modin, and erected over it a magnificent monument.[1]

His continued cruelties had now alienated the Syrians from Tryphon, and Simon, openly espousing the cause of Demetrius II., sent an embassy offering to acknowledge his supremacy. Demetrius received the overtures with joy, agreed to recognise Simon as high priest and prince of Judæa, and to renounce all claims for tribute, custom, and taxes. It was in the year B.C. 143 that the country thus regained its complete freedom, "under an hereditary vassal of the King of Asia;"[2] and it was resolved henceforth to reckon this year as the first year of "the freedom of Jerusalem."[3]

Secure from all immediate danger of foreign interference, Simon now devoted all his energies to provide for the internal security of his kingdom. He fortified Bethzur on the frontiers of Idumæa, and Joppa on the sea-coast. He then reduced Gazara on the west of Jerusalem, and at last made himself master of the fortress at Jerusalem, which he not merely dismantled, but so levelled with the hill whereon it stood, that it no longer commanded the hill of the Temple.[4] Simon was now able to pass several years of tranquillity and peace,[5] during which, in spite of his advanced age, he superintended assiduously the internal affairs of his people, and entrusted the guardianship of the frontier to his three sons. Moreover, he encouraged agriculture, protected commerce, established a free fort at Joppa, and strengthened the alliance with the Romans, to whom he sent as a costly gift a golden shield of a thousand pounds weight.[7]

Thus he at once strengthened his country and made himself honoured and beloved. On the 18th of September, B.C. 141, a great popular assembly was held in the fore-court of the Temple, to testify to the general appreciation of his eminent services. He was solemnly declared commander-in-chief and prince of the nation; his person was pronounced inviolable, and he was invested with the right of conferring all offices in the state, and of superintending all sacred functions.[7] The dignity was made hereditary, and a public record of it was put up in the sanctuary.

But in the midst of these successes he fell a victim to domestic treachery. Ptolemy, his son-in-law, the Governor of Jericho, under a secret understanding with Antiochus Sidetes, King of Syria, aspired to usurp the supreme power. Taking advantage of a visit of Simon to Jericho, during a circuit to investigate the condition of the country districts, he enticed him with his two sons into the fortress of Dôk, and murdered him and his elder son at a banquet, B.C. 135.[8]

Thus perished the last survivor of the five great Maccabæan brothers, the calmest, the most discreet and prudent of them all. One of the great proofs of the internal prosperity of the country during his reign was afforded by the new coinage which he instituted.[9] It was natural that the Judæan coins should follow the Greek type, but they avoided not only the figures of gods and men, but even the effigy of the prince. They were stamped sometimes with cups, in allusion to the libations used in the Temple; sometimes with three almond or lily blossoms on one stalk, in allusion to Aaron's rod; sometimes with tokens of the fruitfulness of Palestine, the vine, the grape cluster, palms, baskets of fruit.[10] Stamped with these figures, the whole, half, and quarter shekels also bore the names of the "Priest" or "Prince of Israel," or "Jerusalem the Holy," while the years are dated from "the redemption of Israel," or "the deliverance of Sion." This coinage is an important testimony to the new order of things, which had grown up under the Asmonæan dynasty.

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[1] 1 Macc. xiii. 27.
[2] Ewald, v. 334.
[3] 1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42.
[4] Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 6, 7.
[5] 1 Macc. xiv. 4.
[6] 1 Macc. xiv. 24.
[7] 1 Macc. xiv. 27—44.
[8] 1 Macc. xvi. 14—16.
[9] 1 Macc. xv. 6.
[10] Ewald's *History of Israel*, v. 339, 340.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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QUAILS.

QUAILS are mentioned only in the narratives giving the account of the enormous quantities of these birds which suddenly appeared on two occasions in the wilderness during the wanderings of the Israelites: on the first occasion the people were in the desert of Sin (Exod. xvi. 13), when "at even the quails came up, and covered the camp;" on the second they were at the station, which, in consequence of the judgment which befell them, received the name of Kibroth-hattaavah, *i.e.*, "graves of lust," a place which has not yet been identified (Numb. xi. 31, 34). "And there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth." The Psalmist (lxxviii. 27), also refers to the appearance of countless multitudes of these birds. "He rained flesh upon them as dust, even feathered fowl as the sand of the sea." Compare also Psalm cv. 40.

The Hebrew word *Sĕlâv* undoubtedly denotes a quail, and authorities now are agreed on the point, though all sorts of explanations have at various times been advanced, as that of Ludolf, adopted by Bishop Patrick, that the *Sâlvîm* (pl.) were locusts, or that of Rudbeck that they were flying-fish of the genus Exocetus, or that of Ehrenberg, who, noticing a number of fish of the genus *Trigla* (Oken)—*Dactylopteros* of modern ichthyologists—lying dead on the shore near Elim, imagined these to be the Biblical *Salvîm*. Red geese (*Casarca*), rose-coloured starlings (*Pastor roseus*), white storks (*Ciconia alba*), sand grouse (*Pterocles*), have all found advocates.

QUAIL.

The Hebrew word is identical with the Arabic *Salwâ*, "a quail," from the root meaning "to be fat," the etymology admirably suiting the round plump body of the bird. The expression "as it were two cubits (high) upon the face of the earth" does not mean that the birds were heaped so deep one upon another, as Bishop Patrick thought, but refers to the height at which the quails flew above the ground, as explained by the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and Josephus. The Scrip-

tural account here is quite accurate, for the quail often flies close to the ground, especially when fatigued from a long flight. Quails migrate in immense numbers; the islands of the Archipelago are at certain seasons covered with them. Yarrell records that such quantities of these birds used to be taken in Capri, near Naples, as to have afforded the bishop—hence called "Bishop of Quails"—quite a revenue. The same writer mentions that 160,000 have in one season been netted on the small island of Capri. Recently Tristram writes: "I have myself found the ground in Algeria, in the month of April, covered with quails for an extent of many acres at daybreak, where, on the preceding afternoon there had not been one. They were so fatigued that they scarcely moved till almost trodden upon, and though hundreds were slaughtered, for two days they did not leave the district, till the wind veered, and they then as suddenly ventured northwards across the sea, leaving scarcely a straggler behind." The time of year when the quails appeared to the Israelites was in spring, at which period the birds would naturally be on their spring journey of migration northwards; they would perhaps start from Southern Egypt, cross the Red Sea near Ras Mohammed, up the Gulf of Akabah, into the Sinaitic Wilderness. Quails migrate generally at night; hence we observe that it was "at even" when they appeared to the Israelites. We are told that the people "spread the quails round about the camp" (Num. xi. 32)—this was for the purpose of salting and drying them in the sun, just as Herodotus tells us the Egyptians used to "prepare quails and small birds, salting and eating them uncooked" (ii. 77).

The flesh of the quail was, by ancient writers, supposed to be very unwholesome, in consequence of the bird feeding on hellebore and other poisonous plants. Thus, Lucretius writes—

> "Præterea nobis, veratrum est acre venenum
> At capreis adipes et coturnicibus auget."
> *De Rer. Nat.*, iv. 642.

"To us the white hellebore is an acid poison, but goats and quails grow fat upon it." The food of the quail consists of grass and other seeds, herbage, and sometimes insects; and though its flesh is by some considered very heating food, the bird does not become poisonous from eating poisonous plants.

The daily consumption of quails for the space of a whole month, in a hot country, by a people that rarely tasted animal food, would undoubtedly be productive of much disease, and cause many deaths; that the people did eat immoderately, is probable from their circumstances, as well as from the Biblical narrative and the meaning of the name, Kibroth-hattaavah ("graves of greediness") which the place received.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MALACHI (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

SECOND PART.

SINS AGAINST THE HEBREW LAW OF MATRIMONY.

CHAP. II. 10—16.

THERE is probably no race in Europe of so pure and unmixed a strain as the Jews who are scattered through every country of Europe. With every temptation to immorality, they are singularly chaste; with every temptation to ally themselves with the superior races among whom they sojourn—superior, at least, in social repute and political power—they regard such alliances with loathing and scorn. Their religion is little more than a tradition and a form, and yet their domestic life is exceptionally pure. Aliens and outcasts in every land, they hold intermarriage with the ruling races to be a contamination of their blood. We may be sure that a feeling so deeply rooted, and of such a force, is the growth of centuries, that it results from a peculiar training and discipline carried on age after age. And, indeed, we learn from the Hebrew annals that this training commenced more than three thousand years ago, that it is coeval with the national life.

Before the Exodus the progenitors of the Jews married women of alien blood unblamed, though even in the early patriarchal ages there seems to have been a feeling of dislike, and even of moral disapproval, to such alliances. Joseph's marriage with the daughter of an Egyptian priest, the marriage of Moses with the daughter of a Midianite sheikh and shepherd, called forth no censure. But no sooner was the confused multitude of slaves which went up out of Egypt formed into a nation than such marriages were denounced as a snare to Hebrew faith, an inducement to idolatry. Then, as now, men were largely ruled by their wives; and, lest the Hebrew men should be led away to the service of strange gods, they were forbidden to marry strange women. "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them: thy daughter thou shalt not give to his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take to thy son; for they will turn away thy children from following me, that they may serve other gods: so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly."[1] The Children of Israel were to be a *holy, i.e.*, a separate people, a people marked off and set apart to Jehovah; not because He did not love other races, but because He did love them, and chose one race to be the channel through which his truth and mercy should

[1] Deut. vii. 3, 4.

flow to all races. But if this one family or tribe was to be a blessing to all the families of the earth, it must, at least for a time, be set apart from and raised above them. Hence the laws forbidding intermarriage with the heathen. Hence, too, the sacred chroniclers are careful to note how, even in the most illustrious instances, when these laws were broken, evil came of it: they show us Samson befooled and betrayed by the daughters of Philistia, David brought to shame by the wife of Uriah the *Hittite*, and Solomon perverted and corrupted by a multitude of strange women. Thus there grew up that intense abhorrence of intermarriage with non-Hebrew men and women which survives to this day, and even now surmounts the lures of gain, and even, at times, the claims of natural affection.

From the very beginning, too, the Hebrews were taught that the marriage tie was a permanent union; and that, save for the gravest cause, those whom God had joined together should not be put asunder. Even in the pre-national ages, the times of the patriarchs, we read of no instance of divorce; and though, as our Lord explains, owing to their "hardness of heart," Moses was compelled to write a precept of divorce,[1] nevertheless his legislation marked an immense advance on the common morality of the time. He taught them that marriage, in place of being a merely natural and temporary alliance, was a solemn covenant to which God Himself was witness; and, instead of permitting them to break the conjugal bonds on any whim, and without any legal act, he allowed divorce only in cases of flagrant infidelity, and enjoined that a formal bill, or writing, be given into the hand of the offending wife.[2]

It is to this legislation, and to the influence of it age after age, that we attribute the domestic purity and the aversion to alien marriages which characterise the modern Jews. The influence of their code and history has been about them generation after generation like an atmosphere; they have breathed it unconsciously; it has entered into their very blood. But it was long before they learned their lesson. For many centuries the ancient Hebrews found it almost as hard to be content with one wife as it was to be content with one God, almost as difficult to refrain from the daughters as from the deities of their neighbours, nay, they found it harder and more difficult. For during the Captivity they did learn that there is but one God over all, and for ever renounced their idolatries; but long after the return from the Captivity, Ezra saw, with indignation and dismay, that both people and priests had taken to wife the daughters of foreign races, and that thus "the holy seed had been mingled with the people of strange lands." When he "heard this thing," Ezra rent his clothes, plucked out the hair of his head and beard, and sat down, dumb and astonished, till the time of the evening sacrifice.[3] Then, all who "trembled at the words of the God of Israel" having gathered round him, he arose, spread out his hands to God, and poured out his soul in a passionate and almost hopeless confession of the national sin. The people at large soon heard of his agony. They came up to the Temple, and saw him weeping and casting himself down on the Temple pavement. They caught the infection of his grief, and "wept a great weeping." So moved were they, that they also confessed their sin, and entered into a solemn covenant to put away their strange wives. The separation was effected, the vow performed. And yet, only twenty years after this impressive and pathetic scene, Nehemiah found so many Jews married to wives of Ashdod and Ammon and Moab, that the children could not speak Hebrew, but chattered together in the tongues of their mothers.[4] Worse still, in order to ally themselves with these strange women, many of them had violated the law, divorcing their Hebrew wives without cause. Worst of all, the high priest, Eliashib, was allied to Tobiah the Ammonite, and his grandson was married to the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; so that the very men who were most straitly bound to set an example of patriotism and devotion were breaking the commandments and secretly favouring the most bitter and unscrupulous foes of the Hebrew commonwealth. For once Nehemiah, the blameless governor, lost all patience. He "contended" with these sinners—"sinners above all men"—and cursed them, and smote them, and plucked out their hair, and made them swear by God that they would keep the law they had broken. "Did not Solomon," he cried, "King of Israel, sin by these things? Yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God. Nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin. Shall we then hearken to you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God in marrying strange wives?" Once more the land was "cleansed from all strangers," the Jews being as much terrified by the strange transport of indignation into which the gentle Nehemiah was thrown, as they were moved by the tears of the brave and resolute Ezra.

But while Nehemiah, carried out of himself, was storming and cursing and smiting the sinners, Malachi was arguing and remonstrating against their sin. The shameless and disloyal alliance with aliens, and the shameless and illegal divorce of the Hebrew wives, were as offensive to him as to Nehemiah. But if a governor may swear and strike, a prophet must preach and rebuke. Malachi does preach, making his hearers and their sins his text. And though he adheres to the somewhat formal and scholastic method which was habitual with him, yet in this, as in the previous Section, he relieves it with dramatic and picturesque touches.

He opens the second as he opened the first Section of his Prophecy with an accepted maxim, a mere truism; and here, as there, he infers a rebuke from it. The maxim is that the Hebrews had *one* Father, *one* Creator; that they were all chosen and loved by one God. They were all brothers and sisters, therefore; and they could

[1] Matt. xix. 8; Mark x. 5. [2] Deut. xxiv. 1.
[3] Ezra ix., x.

[4] Nehem. xiii. 23—31.

not sin against each other without also sinning against their common Father, and violating the family compact. This is Malachi's opening maxim, and the inference he draws from it. But he makes both maxim and inference more emphatic, he puts a certain tone of indignation into them—an echo, as it were, of Nehemiah's indignation—by throwing them into an interrogative form :—

> "Have we not *all* one Father ?
> Hath not *one* God created us ?
> Why, then, are we treacherous one to another,
> Profaning the covenant of our fathers ?"

"The covenant of our fathers" is, of course, the covenant God made with the Hebrew fathers—a covenant of which, out of many versions, we may select this: God, speaking to Israel by Moses, says, "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation."[1] The covenant was that, if they kept the Divine Law, they should be an elect, a separate, a priestly race, blessed *above* all people that they might be a blessing *to* all people. And in so far as any Israelite broke the Divine law, he broke the national league and covenant; if he allied himself with the nations whom God had placed apart from him, he cast away the very privilege of the covenant, or, in other words, he *profaned* the covenant of his fathers. And thus he acted *treacherously* toward his brethren, or *betrayed* them, since their welfare was bound up in the maintenance of the covenant; not only did he step down from his high place of privilege, he also helped to drag them down.

This charge the prophet repeats in verse 11 with growing indignation, hurling it in direct terms against the whole people. *Judah*, the impersonated type of the Jewish race, has dealt treacherously. In *Israel* (the sacred name of the nation suggesting its sacred vocation), and in *Jerusalem* (the capital and centre of the nation, the very city and seat of God), *an abomination* has been found—a thing so vile and offensive as to render any place, however holy, hateful and polluted. This abomination has profaned, *i.e.*, made common and unclean, the one thing which was specially holy to Jehovah, which He loved and treasured as his *peculium*, as his most sacred and precious possession, viz., "the holy nation, the kingdom of priests," through whom He designed to manifest his saving goodwill to all men. Take *that* from Him, and what has He left? Profane that, and you vitiate that which was to sanctify the world—the very salt of the earth will have lost its savour.

If we ask, What is this terrible abomination, that Malachi should be so moved by the mere contemplation of it? the answer is twofold. The sacred people have married idolatresses—the strange women of strange gods—and to do this they have divorced their Hebrew wives without cause, putting away from them the daughters of God. We need feel no surprise that the Prophet should be deeply moved by these sins; nor shall we, if only we remember that the sanctity of the Hebrew race, its separation from the heathen world, was essential to the revelation of that Mercy by which the world was to be saved. That He might speak to all races, and save them all, God selected one race to be his priests and ambassadors, and patiently trained them through long centuries for the high vocation to which He had called them. If they fell from their privilege, and lost their sanctity, his purpose would be defeated—He would have laboured for nought. Hence the immense stress which Malachi, in common with all the prophets, lays on the separateness, or holiness, of the selected nation. And he could hardly have been more earnest and emphatic than he is, though his earnestness is a little veiled from us by the proverbial and picturesque forms in which it is clothed.

In dealing with the first sin, that of marrying strange women, he uses a form of words which in the Hebrew expresses both a wish that Jehovah may, and a threatening that Jehovah will, inflict on the man who is guilty of it that curse which of all curses the Hebrews most feared, the curse of childlessness. But this wish and threatening—this *im-precation*—is conveyed in a proverbial saying that must have come down from the antique times in which Israel dwelt in tents. From the man guilty of this sin, may Jehovah cut off, Jehovah will cut off,

> "*Him that watcheth and him that answereth out of the tents,*
> And him that offereth a sacrifice to Jehovah of Hosts."

The commentators are agreed that the first of these lines is a proverb, though they interpret it very differently. In all probability the original meaning or allusion of the phrase was of this kind :—In an Oriental city to this day the watchers at the mosques "cry" at certain hours of the night, partly to announce the hour, and partly to remind men that "it is better to pray than to sleep." Their shrill "*Allah, il Allah*" sounds far and wide through the stillness, and those who chance to wake and hear it mutter some sacred invocation before they turn to sleep again. And so, in the ancient time, during the camp life of Israel, the sentinels went their rounds, watching over the safety of the camp, crying the hours perhaps, and using, as they would be sure to use, some formula which included the Sacred Name. To their cry those who were awake within the tents would respond with some muttered response, some brief devotional ejaculation. In after generations this tent custom gave birth to a proverb. "Him that watcheth and him that answereth" came to mean the whole people, all the inhabitants of a city or land; just as in our poetical moods—the moods of which proverbs are born—we often take two opposite states or conditions, and make them stand for the whole round of human life. Sometimes we take the two extremes of social condition, as "king and peasant," and use them to include all the social grades that lie between them; sometimes two varieties of condition, as "the sleeping

[1] Exodus xix. 4—6.

and the waking," or "the busy and the idle," or "rich and poor," and use them to include the entire circle of human conditions. In like manner, "him that calleth and him that answereth" was used to denote and include the sum total of persons in a family, a tribe, a country. The Arabs, indeed, have an exactly similar or identical proverb to this day, and describe a city abandoned of its inhabitants by the phrase, "There is not in the city one who calls, nor is there one who responds." On Malachi's lips the full meaning of this antique and picturesque proverb—which recalls the camp in the desert with its watchful patrols and sleeping myriads—is an imprecation and a menace that God may, and will, cut off the posterity of the man who violates the marriage law of Israel, so that he shall have no representative in the congregation. Nay, more, not only shall the sinner have no descendant, but also there shall be none who will "offer a sacrifice" in expiation of his sin.

In dealing with the second offence, Malachi sketches a pathetic little picture from cotemporary life. Those who married outlandish women showed so much respect to the law as to divorce their Hebrew wives. But they kept the law at one point only to break it at another, for there was no legal or sufficient reason for these divorces. By this crying injustice they "*covered the altar with tears, with weeping, and with sighs*" (ver. 13); that is, they drove the wronged and insulted women to the Sanctuary, that they might pour out their complaints before the Defender of the wronged and helpless. The sighs and tears and plaints wrung from these miserable but innocent women rose above the sacrifices and the smoke of the incense, so that Jehovah, looking down on his table, no longer saw aught on it that he loved—saw nothing, as it were, but a canopy woven of the tears and sighs of the divorced and afflicted wives; therefore He no longer regarded the daily offering, nor accepted anything, however well-pleasing in itself, at the hands of those who had wronged them.

It is long, in this Section, before Malachi arrives at his sceptical "but"—at the objection which he was sure would be started—but at last we hear it (ver. 14), "*And ye say, Wherefore?*" "Why should God be so angry with us as all that?"

To this objection Malachi replies; so that in this, as in the other divisions of his Book, he abides by his usual methodical arrangement of thesis, objection, and argument, though he is a little longer than usual in reaching his objection. His reply or argument is, that Jehovah is moved to a profound anger against the sin which seemed so venial to them, the sin of divorce, because He, Jehovah, was present at the marriage, a Witness between husband and wife; because to break the marriage vow was to break a solemn "covenant" sanctioned and attested by Him. To break that covenant was to "deal treacherously," to betray—and betray whom? No one less than the woman who was "the wife *of thy youth*," no less than "the wife of thy covenant," to whom thine heart went out when its affections were fresh and pure and strong, and who has been "*thy companion*," sharing the blended sorrows and joys of maturer years.

Having thus, by the very choice of his language, appealed to the heart of the Hebrews, and striven to make them sensible of their baseness, the prophet proceeds quietly to demolish the one defence behind which they were sure to take shelter from his reproaches and their own:—

> "*And that no man doeth who hath a remnant of the Spirit.*
> *And what did the One?*
> *He sought seed of God.*
> Therefore take heed to your spirit,
> And deal not treacherously with the wife of thy youth."

But this 15th verse is, even in the original, so elliptical, so confused, capable of so many readings, and, as I cannot but think, so defective and corrupt, that it is impossible to arrange it in any satisfactory order, or to decide how its clauses ought to run. Happily, however, the general sense is tolerably clear, if we remember that the word "spirit" is used here, as often elsewhere, to denote, not the intelligence and understanding, but that moral faculty which God has breathed into man, in virtue of which he is capable of moral rectitude and religion. With that distinction in our minds we may read this difficult if not corrupt verse thus:—First, the prophet indignantly affirms that no man, or at least no Hebrew man, who has "any remnant of the Spirit," any sense of right and wrong, any conscience, any moral sense, would divorce his wife without adequate cause. Then, knowing that his hearers would remember, if not allege, the one solitary case in their annals which seemed to sanction that sin, he asks, "What did *the One?*"—that is, "What did Abraham, of whom you are all thinking? He sinned against Sarah, the wife of his youth, in taking Hagar to wife, and then sinned against Hagar by sending her away for no legal fault. Was Abraham without any remnant of the spirit when he did that? Had *he* no conscience, no moral sense, no power to discriminate right from wrong?" So the people might speak, hiding their sin, as the manner of men is, under a great man's cloak. How shall the prophet rebut and confute them? He does not, as he might, reply: "But Abraham lived long before the law was given; how then could he be bound by it?" for he does not seek a mere logical victory. He looks rather for a lever by which he may lift his brethren out of their sin. And so, in effect, he replies: "God had promised Abraham a seed—a child who should be the hope and benediction of the world in being the father of the elect race; mistakenly following his wife's counsel instead of God's, he sought that seed by marrying Hagar the Egyptian. He did not get the seed *so;* the promise was fulfilled in God's way, not in his. But with what show of reason can you plead this solitary example in your defence? Have you any such promise as Abraham had? And is the hope that it may be fulfilled your sole motive in divorcing your Hebrew wives and marrying strange women? Even if it be, *that* is not the way in which the promise will be fulfilled, for, as you well know, the God of Israel hates divorce, and that a man should bespatter himself

with sin. Take heed, therefore, to your spirit; beware of defiling your conscience, of confusing your sense of right and wrong, by light thoughts of the sin God hates, or by seeking to excuse your vileness by appealing to the faults and errors of great men."

Now Malachi's argument in defence of Abraham may not carry much force for us; but neither was it addressed to us. And to the men to whom it was addressed it had a very special force. They had simply followed "the lusts of the eye and of the flesh" in discarding Hebrew for heathen wives. They knew they were breaking the Divine law; and they also knew that to break a Divine law was not the way to inherit a Divine promise. They had such a promise. Any one of them might be, or thought he might be, in the line of the Messiah's ancestry. The true Hope and Blessing of the world was to come of them. But no one of them thought that the Messiah would be born of an outlandish woman and an idolatress; and, therefore, they could not plead even Abraham's poor excuse for marrying out of the sacred and elect strain. They were sinning against their own hope as well as against their own convictions. And, probably, the argument of Malachi would be very cogent for them, and would do as much as the curses and blows of Nehemiah to "cleanse the land from strangers."

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

ELIJAH (*continued*).

BY THE REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.

THE points in Elijah's history during the struggle with Ahab that demand special comment are—

1. His abrupt appearance before Ahab in the full power of prophetism. The first record of him is a word which Moses or Samuel might have spoken in the fulness of their prophetic reputation: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand." Of the growth of this conscious power we know nothing. Moses in his cradle among the bulrushes of the Nile, Samuel in the Temple, David among his sheep at Bethlehem, are depicted for us; not a word is told us about the calling or antecedents of Elijah, nor how his prophetic consciousness and character had been formed. Like a lightning flash he blazes for a moment before Ahab, and disappears. It is the simile of the author of Ecclesiasticus: "Then stood up Elias the prophet as fire, and his word burned like a lamp." In his burning force and progress he respected nothing. Ahab the king was simply a rebel against Jehovah, and was smitten by him as if he had been the meanest in the land. All that we know about Elijah is that, amid national and religious apostacy, extending even to the schools of the prophets, he maintained his faith and fidelity, and such a consciousness of his prophetic mission, that he did not fear so to speak to Ahab, and to challenge such a test as the withholding of the rain and the dew. He stood before the Lord God of Israel; and in the consciousness of that presence to stand before Ahab was as nothing. His word is abrupt, pithy, terrible—a bolt suddenly and unerringly shot—and it was the manner of speech of his entire ministry. Whenever he and Ahab met, they met thus—like two thunder-clouds—a sudden flash, a crash, and no more. And it is characteristic of Elijah that he neither fears nor falters. His word is as bold as it is momentous.

His well-chosen word affirms the very heart of the theocratic faith. He stood before the Lord God the prophet of repentance, the restorer of the covenant; he knows no reserves, he admits no compromise. It is surely one of the most audacious words ever spoken. No word of Moses to Pharaoh is bolder. With one stroke he breaks down the bridge behind him. It is one of those conjunctions of king and prophet, physical force and moral, armed power and dauntless faith, of which the religious history of the world records so many instances—Moses before Pharaoh, Christ before Pilate, the apostles before the Sanhedrim, Paul before Felix, Luther at Worms. There is no reason to doubt that this was the absolute beginning of Elijah's public career. It is in harmony with all the dramatic movements of his history, and is incompatible with any supposition of quiet preparation. It was a bold challenge to Ahab, as of an ambassador sent, not to debate a treaty, but to deliver an ultimatum.

The punishment declared was that which the Mosaic law attached to apostacy (Lev. xxvi.; Deut. xi.; xxviii.). If ever the retribution of violated law was imperative, it was surely now. The merciful qualification, "but according to my word," implies his prophetic authority, and his mediation in the event of national repentance; at the same time it is clearly a defiance of both the power of the king and the priests of Baal. He declares both dependent upon him.

Concerning the miracles that follow we here remark only, that the argument with those who deny their possibility on the ground of the uniformity of natural law must be maintained on the more general ground of the possibility of the supernatural. Here it must be assumed. It is enough to point out that these miracles have a close connection with the times and experiences under which they occur. They are not *mere* miracles, arbitrary puttings forth of power; they are perfectly congruous with their occasions.

2. His hiding-place, the traditional Cherith, is a deep and well-wooded ravine, flowing eastward from the central ridge of Palestine into the Jordan. Thenius and others think that it flowed easterly from the Jordan,

which would be a miracle indeed. A stream flowing from the east into the Jordan is possible enough, but it is difficult to conceive a stream flowing from the deep bed of the Jordan up the almost perpendicular sides of Gilead. Some think Cherith flowed into the Jordan from the east a few miles below the ford near Bethshan. But there is no reason for questioning the traditional stream flowing from the west a few miles south of Jericho. When the writer crossed it in the early summer of 1865, it was nearly dried up, but its steep terraced wooded banks afforded abundant provision for hiding. Whatever the personal reasons for such a retreat, it seemed fitting that Elijah should disappear during the interval between his bold announcement to Ahab and its fulfilment; *then* he could present himself again to Ahab with manifest effect. The miracle by which he was sustained while hiding by the brook Cherith has been much debated, rejected with scorn by foes, and unwisely extenuated by friends, who have suggested untenable and gratuitous explanations—as, for example, that the ravens themselves were Elijah's food; or that, instead of ravens, the interpretation should be "merchants" or "Arabians"—explanations which not only put a forced construction upon a very obvious miraculous meaning, but which are embarrassed with peculiar difficulties of their own.

The removal to Zarephath, on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the north-west of Palestine, necessitated the traversing of the whole breadth of the land—no very formidable distance, however, inasmuch as the greatest breadth of Israel from the Jordan to the Mediterranean is not more than forty English miles. Zarephath was in the Phœnician country of Jezebel, between Tyre and Sidon.

The picturesque narrative of the straits of the widow woman, her pious hospitality, the miraculous multiplication of her resources, and the restoration of her son, must again be referred to the general ground of the supernatural upon which the entire history of the Bible rests. Elijah recognised her as a pious worshipper of Jehovah in the land of Baal and Ashtaroth, and she recognised Elijah as a prophet of Jehovah. Possibly she was an Israelitish woman who had married a Phœnician man. Her faith is seen in her implicit obedience to the injunction of the prophet, to prepare for their common eating her last morsel of meal.

It is to be remarked, however, that the original Hebrew does not explicitly affirm the death of her son, only his dying condition. He was rescued by Elijah from the death about to seize him, rather than recovered from the death which had seized him. Hence attempts have been made to eliminate the miraculous, and to represent his restoration as effected by animal magnetism or mere natural restoratives, rather than by Elijah's faith and prayer; which is simply to traverse the entire spirit and significance of the narrative. Manifestly some conscious sin—perhaps her marriage with the Phœnician—quickened afresh in her consciousness by the presence of the "man of God," prompted the language of peculiar distress with which she invoked him. The spirit of humble trustfulness in Elijah's prayer in the chamber with the dying boy is to be noted, as also the natural means for restoring warmth in a state of syncope, which he besought God to bless.

The incident is valuable as exhibiting the element of deep tenderness which there was in this stern prophet of the Restoration, and which is so often found blended with great severity. It is the principal instance in which this obverse of Elijah's character is presented. Obedience, tender sympathy, terrible severity, heroic courage, deep despondency—what wonderful elements were blended into this magnificent character!

The duration of the drought is not to be confounded with the duration of the famine. The first year of the drought would pass before the famine began to be felt. According to our Lord (Luke iv. 25) and the Apostle James (v. 17), the tradition of the drought was that it continued three years and six months. According to the history (1 Kings xviii. 1), Elijah showed himself to Ahab in the third year (probably of the famine). To rest adverse criticism upon an apparent discrepancy such as this is worse than childish, for with the Old Testament history in their hands, our Lord and the Apostle James can scarcely be imagined to have contradicted it in ignorance. Under such conditions the very discrepancy is a presumption of truth.

Elijah's character and prediction were doubtless well known, and would be much commented upon when the extremity of the famine began to be felt. Hence the familiar knowledge of him which the intercourse with him of Obadiah evinces.

3. It is to be noted that it is Elijah who summons Ahab to the interview which follows; and that under the pressure of terrible necessity, as well as of the awe which the prophetic and religious character of Elijah produced upon him, and urged by Obadiah, he at once complies. Elijah's lofty message is, "Behold, Elijah is here." "And Ahab went to meet Elijah."

Again the characters of the two men are presented in striking and dramatic contrast. No religious change has come over Ahab during this period of manifest retribution. There is no recognition of God's prophet; no acknowledgment of his sin; no request for the prophet's intercession, or for Jehovah's mercy. Where there is shame there is virtue, for there is still a living conscience. Ahab greets Elijah with a proud, defiant, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" Elijah, undaunted, uncompromising, and imperious, proffers him no obeisance, but replies with the counter-charge, "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house." He then demands that the 450 priests of Baal and the 400 priests of Ashtaroth be summoned to meet him. Ahab obeys, and gathers them together to Mount Carmel, a long precipitous ridge from 1,500 to 1,800 feet in height, and about twelve miles in length. Carmel runs from near Jenin, not far from Gilboa, upon the slopes of which Jezreel stood, to the Mediterranean, into which it projects as a bluff promontory, and divides Samaria from the great plain of Esdraelon.

Its sides are covered with shrubs, and in spring-time with flowers, which still constitute the "excellency of Carmel." The traditional site of Elijah's conflict with Baal's priests is at the eastern end of the ridge—a shapeless ruin, still called El-Maharrakah, "the burning," to which the Druses come annually to offer sacrifice, perpetuates it. Near to this is a well of water, said to be perennial, from which the water to fill the trenches of the altar was probably obtained.[1] Next to Sinai it is one of the most signal scenes of sacred history. The purpose of Elijah in summoning the assembly, and in making such stipulations for the conflict, was clearly to bring Israel publicly and formally to decide between Jehovah and Baal. The answer by fire was a well-known and ancient tradition. The altars of Abel, Noah, Abraham, the Tabernacle, and the Temple, had been so kindled. It is a sufficient indication of the pass to which things had come, that Jezebel fed these priests of Baal and Ashtaroth at her own table, while she murdered the prophets of Jehovah.

The loneliness of Elijah in this great conflict—which implies not that no other prophet of Jehovah existed in the land, but that all who had not been massacred by Jezebel were too frightened to avow themselves—brings out the supreme heroism of his character. Never were combatants more unequally matched, for although the 400 priests of Ashtaroth do not appear to have come, the 450 priests of Baal were there. It would seem, however, that there were still two parties among the people; they had not all gone over to idolatry. Some were probably faithful in heart to Jehovah, and others hesitating in opinion.

The act of sacrifice was Elijah's chosen test, not only as being the best known expression of worship, but as affording occasion for the most demonstrative result. The consuming of the flooded victim by fire from heaven was a miracle that could not be mistaken; and inasmuch as Baal was the sun or fire-god, the test was obviously congruous and conclusive. All that depended upon preference was somewhat scornfully conceded by Elijah. The scene described is one of the most dramatic and magnificent representations of lofty defiance, withering sarcasm, and tragic result, to be found in literature. Baal resisted not merely the entreaties but the blood-invoking power of his own priests; and as their raving was intensified into mania, the scoffing provocation of Elijah was increased, until the excitement of the entire scene becomes altogether unimaginable. The calm sublime simplicity of the offering of Elijah which followed must have been in the highest degree impressive.

The public reconstruction of the ancient altar, and the soaking of the sacrifice with water, were clearly intended to demonstrate the impossibility of any imposition, for the water ran over the altar and filled the trench. Twelve stones were used, the ideal number of the tribes of the kingdom. Elijah sacrificed in the name of all Israel. And the fire of the Lord fell, and was so intense that it not only licked up the water, but calcined the stones of the altar and the surface of the ground.

The slaughter of Baal's priests is to be justified only on theocratic principles. Thus, Moses more than once put idolaters to death. Elijah demanded their death in the name of the Mosaic law (Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 6—10; xvii. 1—7). They were not merely false teachers and impostors, but traitors and rebels against the national government. It was part of Ahab's guilt that he had not done the same. Probably the excitement of the people would have made it impossible to save them, even had it been lawful to do so. It is freely admitted that under any other than a theocratic government such a slaughter of the priests of a false religion would have been both a crime and a blunder—according, that is, to our modern notions; but then, in fairness to those who have done such things, it should be remembered that such notions are scarcely three centuries old. Neither Christendom, paganism, nor infidelity has long learned how much greater and more effectual moral victories are than physical extermination. The imputation that this slaughter of Baal's priests was mere revenge for the murder of the prophets of Jehovah does not merit refutation, it is a misrepresentation of the entire feeling of the history.

Leaving Ahab in his tent, Elijah goes westward along the summit of Carmel, to some loftier eminence commanding a view of the Mediterranean. There takes place another scene, as picturesque and dramatic after its kind as the more tragic scene of the sacrifice. He prays while his servant watches the formation of the storm-cloud upon the sea—a phenomenon mentioned by many travellers. Then he returns to Ahab, and hastens his departure to Jezreel, some sixteen miles distant on the western slope of Gilboa, the one being fully visible from the other. Having thus publicly humiliated the idolatry of the king, Elijah thinks it meet to do him a signal honour. Girding himself after the fashion of the *Syce* or fore-runner of the East—as may be seen in Cairo or any other Oriental city to this day—Elijah runs before the chariot of Ahab to Jezreel. The triumphant prophet of God is still the respectful servant of his king.

This day on Carmel was the culminating point of Elijah's career. Baal-worship received that day a fatal blow, and the worship of Jehovah its most signal triumph. Next to the law-giving at Sinai it is the most signal epoch in the history of Jehovah-worship that the Old Testament records. Two or three remarks upon it may be added.

(1) The struggle was not an argumentative one; there was neither affirmation of doctrine nor promise nor threatening—it was simply a manifestation of living power. The true God practically revealed himself as such. He manifests himself as not bound by natural laws, but supreme over them, "doing wonders." Moral necessities must, according to any philosophy, dominate mere physical sequences. To bind the

[1] Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 353.

supreme Deity to uniformity of physical law, whatever the moral exigency, is, on any theory of the universe that recognises God at all, to subordinate the lower to the higher, the supreme end to instrumental means. The test, "the God that answereth by fire, let him be God," is virtually applicable to all systems; while it was a test palpably congruous to one who was ostensibly the God of fire. It is a symbol of the highest tests that can be applied to any religious system. The supreme test of any theology is its practical religious power. That must be the true and supreme religion which elevates and inspires men the most nobly. The Jehovist ideas in Elijah's time, Christian ideas in our own, independently of all historical or philosophical evidence, may fairly claim, on empirical grounds, to be the noblest, purest, and most inspiring ideas that the world possesses.

(2) As an instance of moral courage and power it is almost unique in its grandeur. At God's command, Elijah, the solitary prophet of Jehovah, unhesitatingly and intrepidly shows himself to Ahab, and challenges the issue. Before the king, and Jezebel, and the representatives of the entire nation, he confronts the army of Baal's priests, and submits the entire question of the rival religions to this test of miraculous fire. He sternly rebukes the people for their indecision, and exasperates to the utmost the idolatrous priests by his terrible sarcasm. Moses before Pharaoh, and Luther at the Diet of Worms, are only distant approaches to it.

(3) The place of sarcasm in religious reformation is not only legitimate, but often of the greatest potency. It is intensity of religious feeling finding arousing and exciting expression, with vehemence proportionate to the provocation. While humorous banter is often the best corrective of mere folly, keen ridicule, incisive sarcasm, is often the most effective weapon for dealing with religious infatuation or self-complacency. Its use is abundantly justified by Isaiah, our Lord, Paul, Luther, Latimer, Pascal, and almost all great religious reformers. Its object is to quicken the burning power of the man's garment of thought or ritual.

(4) In its contrast with the greatness and depth of Elijah's character, the weakness and shallowness of that of Ahab here culminates. Throughout the whole transaction there is not a single intimation of religious sensibility. He is moved only by impotent necessity. He had weakly yielded to Jezebel his conscience and his kingdom, and he as weakly submits himself to Elijah, the solitary helpless prophet, pusillanimously obeying his bold word to convene the assembly, and then as ignominiously accepting the result. All the real antagonism and revenge are left to his bold bad wife. The robbery of Naboth's vineyard, the establishment of idolatry, the slaughter of Jehovah's prophets, the determined vengeance with which Elijah is still pursued—all are hers. Ahab throughout plays the part of a feeble blustering conscienceless coward.

(5) If the miracle of the answer by fire be denied, there is absolutely nothing to account for the extraordinary and undeniable effect produced by the day on Carmel. Clearly the people believed in its occurrence, as clearly deception was impossible. The whole national movement demands its recognition. Either it really occurred as the history narrates it, or in some inconceivable way Elijah achieved a supreme imposture, which is a psychological as well as a physical impossibility. The people who had gone over to Baal-worship were at once recalled to Jehovah-worship. Elijah preached no sermon, employed no argument or persuasion. His one indignant question, "How long halt ye between two opinions?" is the whole of his recorded address to the people. And to this there was no response. Unless, therefore, the whole history be discredited, the entire result must be attributed to the answer by fire. Hence, nothing is more characteristic of the majority of the attempts to explain away the miracle than their inherent incoherence.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

THE earrings worn by the Midianites,[1] if we compare the number of 15,000 men with the weight of 1,700 *aurei*, would have averaged 36 grains per pair, or a little under the weight of a gold five-franc piece each, which is also a very satisfactory approximation.

The cause of the change in the monetary system now becomes very plainly apparent. During the Captivity, in which period this change occurred, took place also the capture of Babylon by Darius, and the substitution of a Persian for a Chaldean empire. That a change in the money of the state should have been introduced by the victors, is consistent with the general course of history. In China, on more than one occasion, the calendar itself was altered on a change of dynasty. Further, while we have good ground for attributing the first Jewish system to a Chaldean origin, the second is associated, through the *daric*, with the Persian[2] system. Thus the cause of the change becomes perfectly intelligible.

We are now able, with a very close approach to certitude, to illustrate the weight of the money of the Bible by existing coins.

The silver shekel, from the time of Moses down to the Captivity, was the exact equivalent of the Spanish or Neapolitan ducat of the present day. The gold shekel

[1] Jud. viii 10—26.

[2] Raschi calls it "Sela Tyria." See Esger's *Notes on Constitutions de Siclis*, p. 16.

of the same period was about one-sixth heavier than the louis d'or, or gold piece of 20 francs.

The silver shekel, from the return from Babylon to the Roman rule, was the equivalent of the Neapolitan piastre, or of the French five-franc piece. The gold shekel or *daric* was within a grain of the weight of the English guinea of 1734.

The thousand *aurei* or golden *dinars* (sometimes, we are of opinion, called the talent of gold) were thus worth nearly £900 in the first period, and £1,066 in the second. If a talent of gold of the same weight as that of silver existed, the value in either case would be twelve and a half times that stated.

The talent of the first system weighed 166·6 pounds troy, being of the value, at 5s. per ounce, of £500; the *sela* talent weighed 200 pounds troy, being thus of the value of £600.

The large figures which have been attributed to the gold employed in the Tabernacle and in the Temple, and to the annual revenue of Solomon, are brought nearer to the experience of modern times by the foregoing determination, than as they are usually stated. Thus, the amount of the ill-omened number of 666 *cicars* of gold, received year by year by the great king, was hard upon 600,000 sovereigns of our present coinage. The gold employed to make the spears and targets for the Temple Guard was of the value of £286,000. The gold employed in the Tabernacle was equal to a little more than 26,000 sovereigns. We are not attempting in this calculation to show the value of this amount, as money, but to fix its weight, expressed in terms familiar to every one at the present day. But as we find that a war-chariot cost £100, and a troop-horse £25, by the same method of calculation, it does not appear that the purchasing power of the precious metals in the time of Solomon differed very widely from that which prevailed in this country early in the present century. These prices, moreover, have to be increased in the ratio of sixteen to twelve and a half, if we regard gold, and not silver, as the standard of secular comparison.

Tables of weight are subjoined, which show the divisions of the two systems of the *shekel* and the *sela*.

The *assarion* and the *pondion* usually occur as copper coins, but we have here expressed their value as subdivisions of weight, estimated in silver.

HEBREW WEIGHTS.

FROM THE EXODUS TO THE CAPTIVITY.

Anno Sacro.	In Silver.	Carat.	Gera.	Garmes.	Beka.	Shekel.	Maneh.	Cicar.	Value Sterling.		
3269	Carat	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	£	s.	d.
	Gera	5	1	—	—	—	—	—			2
	Garmes	16·6	—	1	—	—	—	—			$6\frac{2}{3}$
to	Beka	50	10	—	1	—	—	—		1	8
	Shekel	100	20	6	2	1	—	—		3	4
	Maneh	5,000	1,000	—	100	50	1	—	8	6	8
4233	Cicar	300,000	60,000	18,000	6,000	3,000	60	1	500	0	0

Aureus (in gold) = $33\frac{1}{3}$ carats . . . . . 17 $9\frac{1}{3}$

FROM EZRA TO MAIMONIDES.

Anno Sacro.	In Silver.	Assar.	Pond.	Maah.	Zuza.	Righia.	Sela.	Carat.	£	s.	d.
4349	Assarion	1	—	—	—	—	—	1·25			1
	Pondion	2	1	—	—	—	—	2·5			2
	Maah	4	2	1	—	—	—	5			4
	Zuza	24	12	6	1	—	—	30		2	0
	Righia	72	36	18	3	1	—	90		3	0
5940	Sela Shekel	96	48	24	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1	120		4	0

Darcon (in gold) or Daric = 40 carats . . . 1 1

THE COINS OF THE BIBLE.

(A.) JEWISH MONEY.

The Law of Moses prescribed the annual payment, by every male Israelite who was not a minor or a slave, of half a shekel of silver, for the support of the Sanctuary and its services. The Oral Law has added great precision to the primary injunctions of the Pentateuch; specifying not only the days of payment, but the specific character of the coin which it was necessary to employ. From the comments of the Mishnic doctors, from those of the Tosaphta, and the later great Jewish writers, and from the examination of the specimens of Jewish money in collections and museums, we are thus enabled to speak with considerable certitude as to the Jewish money; at least from the establishment of the Asmonean dynasty by Hyrcanus the Great.

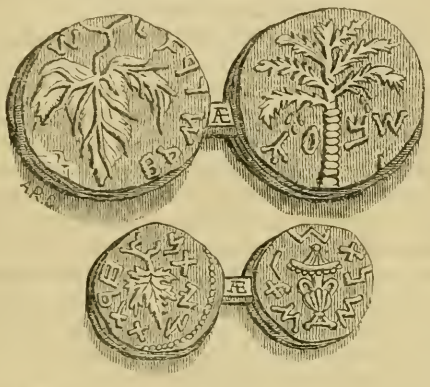
The *Constitutions* of Maimonides present, in a summary and precise form, the outcome of Hebrew learning on the important question of the tax of the half-shekel, or, as it is called in the Gospel of St. Matthew, the *didrachma*. After the return from the Captivity, the cited authorities agree, the legal *siclus* of 320 grains weight was replaced by the *sela* (or second) shekel of 384 grains. It was decided by the Sanhedrin that the weight of the sacred *beka*, or half-shekel, should not fall below either the original weight, or the half of the current silver money of the day. Thus under the second Temple, the annual tax was paid in coins weighing 192 grains of barley.

The *sela*[1] shekel was divided into 4 *zuzæ*, 24 *main*, 48 *pondia*, or 96 *assaria*. Of the original shekel of Moses, as we learn from four references in the Bible; the *maah*, or *gera*, was the twentieth part. There were also coins, as we shall presently show, that represented three-quarters, three-eighths, one-quarter, and one-sixth part of the shekel.

The question has been much discussed, among learned men, whether the Jews possessed *moneta signata* (signed, or coined, money) before the Captivity. The erudite Reland has opposed the view, following the opinion of Conringius. But Esgers[2] shows that Maimonides and Bartenora both explain the Law, oral as well as written, to denote the existence of coined money from the date of the Pentateuch itself. In the tract of the Mishna, *De Decimis Secundis*, the use of *moneta non*

[1] *Constitutiones de Siclis*, i. 3.
[2] *Idem*, Notes by Johannes Esgers. *Editio Lug. Batav.*, 1718, p. 16.

signata for the sacred tax is forbidden. The reference to the silver of the goldsmith,[1] in the Book of Deuteronomy, is held to be conclusive on this point. The Hebrew word employed in the Mishna[2] is transliterated by Bartenora into ἄσημον, or unsigned money, on which no κόμμα, or stamp, was struck. It was forbidden[3] to pay the half-shekel tax otherwise than in pure silver, and that coined. But the firstborn, and the sacred offerings, were redeemable either in silver or in the value of silver. The word *asemon* is of the more interest from the fact that one of the words on the Jewish coins, hitherto unexplained, is *shemo*, the substitution of the *shin* for the *samech* being the only change.



We have engraved and inserted above two copper coins of undetermined date, which appear to have formed a portion of the *maaser sheni* money, or of that used for the *korban*.

The larger coin is an *assarion*, or quarter *gera*. So many varieties of this coin exist, differing only in minute particulars, that it is evident that the type must have been permanently employed, as sacred money, for a long series of years. The beauty and force of the treatment of the vine-leaf on the obverse, are remarkable, and point to a state of art not very far removed from that of the time of Alexander the Great. The legend is הרת ירושלם (*Hereth Irusalem*), "stamp of Jerusalem." On the reverse, is the seven-branched palm, with the word שמנו (*shemou*), "coin."

The smaller coin is a *shemun*, which bears the marks of very remote antiquity. It is extremely rare. Around the vine-leaf, on the obverse, is the legend הרת זין (*Heruth Ziun*), the letter *zain* being used instead of the ordinary *tsaddi*, and the letter *vau* being used as a *mater lectionis*, or pronounced vowel, which indicates a period of history long before the introduction of the "points." The use of the word Zion, instead of Jerusalem, is also rare on the coins, although it is of frequent occurrence in the First Book of Maccabees. On the obverse is a vessel which may be identified as the *kupha*, or covered vase, in which the incense used for the offering was carried into the Sanctuary by the priest. It was made of gold, and held a *tarcab*, or three *cabi*. Only two out of the sacred vessels are said to have been provided with *opercula*, or lids. The legend שנת שלוש (*Shenoth Shelush*), "third year," indicates a year of the week on which the second tithes were given to the poor, and the money in which they were paid was not sacred. The coin in question, therefore, probably was part of the *korban*, or Temple money.

With regard to this *shemo* money, to which there are some important references in the Mishnic writers, one of the most distinguished modern writers on Jewish money, Professor Levi, of Breslau, has been betrayed into a palpable anachronism. The work of Dr. Levi, called *Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen*, published in 1862, is cited by Mr. Madden, in his history of Jewish coinage; and reliance on its statements—which entirely ignore the valuable information from Maimonides, Bartenora, and other writers, cited by Esgers, in his notes on the *Constitutiones de Siclis* of Maimonides—has led that excellent English writer into serious errors. Dr. Levi argues that certain obscure expressions in the *Tosaphta*,[4] as to money that was illegal for sacred dues, denote coins that were struck during the last two years of the Jewish war, and during the short-lived revolt of Barcochebas. Thus, in spite of the extreme improbability of the issue of a complicated coinage by leaders who were little more than bandits, more than thirty per cent. of the extant coins of Jewish origin have been ascribed to personages who can only be termed imaginary coiners, and limited to eight or nine years, out of a period of more than two centuries.

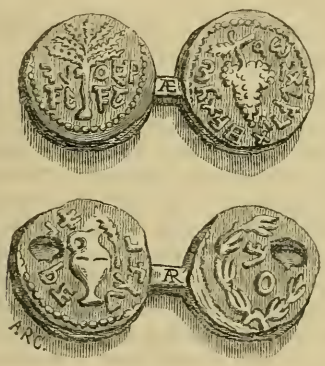
That the interpretation thus given, which dislocates the entire series of Jewish money, is erroneous, is clear from the consideration, that neither the half-shekel tax, nor the *maaser sheni*, or second tithe, were enforced, except while the Temple was standing;[5] and while the annual festivals were observed. It is thus impossible that coins issued after the interruption of the ritual can have been spoken of by Rabbi Chija, or the Amoraim, as illegal for these payments. Maimonides justly observes[6] that the Mishna does not speak of coins that were openly illegal, but of such as were specially unfit for the sacred tribute, the former being *ipso facto* rejected.

Of the coinage of Jewish money before the Captivity, we have, as yet, neither relic nor reliable description. In the treatise *Baba Kama*[7] of the Talmud, we find it stated, "The tradition exists. It is asked, What was the money of Jerusalem? David and Solomon was inscribed on one side, but on the other, Hierosolyma." The learned Wagenseil, in his commentary on the tract *Sotah* of the Talmud, figures two coins[8] which he possessed, and which, he says, exactly correspond to the description of the Ghemarists. But as (in the engraving, at least) the letters are in the square Hebrew character, the coins cannot be accepted as genuine.

The earliest known Jewish coins, however, so far tally with the account of the Talmud, as fully to confirm

[1] Deut. xiv. 25, "turn it into money," A. V.
[2] *Codex de Decimis Secundis*, cap. i. mis. 4.
[3] *Cod. de Primogenitis*, cap. viii. mis. 7.
[4] *Cod. de Decimis Secundis*, cap. i. mis. 5.
[5] *Constitutiones de Siclis*, i. 8.
[6] In *Berachoth*, c. vii. m. 1.
[7] *Baba Kama*, fol. 97, G.
[8] *Sotah*, cap. iv. mis. 3.

its substantial accuracy. They bear on the obverse the name of a high priest, and on the reverse a symbol of the Temple or of the city. The words Jerusalem, Israel, and Zion, occur on other coins, and on one, bearing the name of "Eleasar the Priest" on the obverse, occurs the word "Israel," on the reverse. The only sovereign pontiff who bore the name of Eleasar, after the time of the son of Aaron, was the 44th in the series, who was the brother of Simon the Just, and the high priest under whose authority the Septuagint version of the Law was made. Eleasar was not what the Mishna calls the "Messiah," or anointed priest, but the "priest clad with many garments," or acting high priest, during the minority of his nephew, or, more probably, grand-nephew, Onias II. This explains why the word "high" does not occur on his coins, as it does on those of the Asmonean pontiffs. It is impossible to suppose that either Eleasar, the son of Boethus, or Eleasar, the son of Annas, who were two of the high priests so readily made and deposed by the Idumean monarchs and the Roman procurators, would have been allowed to exercise the royal prerogative of stamping his own name on the coin. Thus there seems no reason to doubt the age of the coins of Eleasar, the spelling of which is also of an extremely ancient and obsolete character.



We figure two coins bearing the name Eleasar. The upper one is a copper *shemun*, bearing on the obverse the seven-branched palm-tree, with the legend אלעזר הכהן (Eleasar the Priest) inscribed in Phœnician, or old Hebrew letters, but read in the Greek method (from left to right) on the field. On the reverse is a cluster of grapes, with the legend, in letters of the same type, "First Year of Release, Israel."

The lower coin is a silver half *righia*, or three-eighth part of a shekel. On the obverse is an *œnochoe*, one of the sacred vessels used for libations, with the legend, in old Hebrew, "Eleasar the Priest." On the reverse is the word שמע, *shemo*, "coin." The occurrence of this word on an eponymous coin, or piece of money, bearing the name of a sovereign, is inexplicable according to the views of those who suppose this ancient word to mean the name of a man.

There is, indeed, in the British Museum, a Jewish coin which appears to bear a date only two years posterior to that of the Rosetta stone, an engraving of which piece of money we subjoin.

It is a small copper coin, with the word *chalcous* (meaning copper money) written in Greek letters on one side and an anchor-like emblem on the other, with the Greek letters E. T. P. K. The coin has been assigned by Cavedoni to Agrippa II.; but P. K. certainly stands for 120, and it does not seem possible to refer such a date to any era but that of the Seleucidæ. The year 120 of that reckoning was the thirty-third year of Antiochus the Great, who was then supreme in Syria and Palestine. Onias II. was then high priest. Whether this be the actual date of the coin in question or not, it possesses extreme interest from the fact of bearing the name of those coins which St. Mark says that Christ watched the crowd casting into the treasury,[1] when many wealthy persons cast in many.

The most ancient name for a piece of money in the Bible, is so old, that its meaning had been lost by the time of Christ. It occurs in the Book of Genesis,[2] as the unit of the price of the land purchased by Jacob of the children of Hamor; and also in the Book of Job.[3] From the resemblance of the word to one that signifies lamb, it is conjectured that it indicates a piece of silver which bore the form of that animal. On a tomb at Thebes is a representation of the weighing of gold and silver, in which one of the weights employed has the form of an animal. In the British Museum are bronze Babylonian weights in the form of lions, and others in that of ducks. Rabbi Akiba says in the Talmud,[4] that he had heard the name applied to a piece of money in Africa. It seems to have been the silver unit used before the shekel. Another obsolete word, as it is usually pointed, occurs in the Book of Samuel (ch. ii. 36), under the name of *agora*. This is probably only the silver *gera*.

It is in the 175th year of the Seleucidæ (139 B.C.) that the first positive mention of a Hebrew coinage occurs. The right to strike money in his own name was then conceded, or confirmed, to the High Priest, Simon Maccabæus, by treaty with Antiochus VII.[5]

The earliest Jewish coins that have been positively identified are those of John Hyrcanus, who established the independence of Judæa in the year 199 of the Seleucidæ. Four different coins of this prince are described by Mr. Madden.[6] They are all of copper, and bear a Hebrew inscription, containing the name of "Johanan, High Priest," covering the field, on the obverse,

[1] Mark xii. 41. [2] Gen. xxxiii. 13. [3] Job xlii. 2.
[4] *Rosh Hashana*, c. iii. fol. 26. [5] 1 Macc. xv. 6.
[6] *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 51—61.

and a device which has been called a double cornucopia, on the reverse. Of the successor of Hyrcanus I., Aristobulus I., who reigned for a single year, there is a copper coin very similar to that of his father, bearing the name of "Judas, High Priest." Of Alexander Jannæus, the brother and successor of Aristobulus, coins of two kinds exist. Three specimens closely resemble the foregoing pieces; they bear the name of "Jonathan, High Priest," and the same device on the reverse as before. But there are four coins of a very different type, bearing the words "Jonathan the King," in Hebrew, with a flower or a palm, on the obverse; and the words "Alexander the King" (in the genitive case), in Greek letters, with an ornament which may be intended to represent either a lamp, or an anchor, on the reverse.

A coin very similar to one of the bilingual pieces of Alexander I., bears the name of "Alexandra the Queen," his widow. This coin is extremely rare, having been considered unique, till Canon Tristram obtained a second in 1872.

Of Hyrcanus II., who succeeded his mother Alexandra, and reigned, or held the high priesthood, for five years, and again for a second period of three years, neither the coins nor the Hebrew name is known; and the same remark applies to Aristobulus II., the brother and successor of this Hyrcanus.

Two copper coins, very similar to those of Alexander I., are attributed, by Mr. Madden, to Alexander II., son of Aristobulus II. The legend on these coins is in Greek letters.

The last of the Asmonean princes was Antigonus, brother of Alexander II. Three coins of this prince exist. They bear the name "Mattathias, High Priest," in Hebrew letters, on the obverse, and "King Antigonus," in Greek letters, on the reverse. None of the above-named Asmonean coins have been ascertained to bear any date.

Thus the coinage of the Asmonean dynasty, as far as it has yet been recovered, consists of eight Hebrew and ten bilingual coins, struck by six princes, during a period of seventy-seven years.

The specimens which we have of the Asmonean coinage have the field covered with letters which are too small and indistinct to be suitable for reproduction in our pages.

BIBLE WORDS.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

SERIES I.—OBSOLETE WORDS AND PHRASES (*continued*).

BRIGANDINE (*subst.*). This word occurs twice in the Authorised Version, both times in Jeremiah; chap. xlvi. 4, "Stand forth with your helmets, furbish the spears, and put on the *brigandines*;" and chap. li. 3, "Against him that bendeth let the archer bend his bow, and against him that lifteth himself up in his *brigandine*." In each case it is the translation of שִׁרְיוֹן (*siryōn*) "a coat of mail." *Brigandine* is defined by Wedgwood and Richardson as a kind of scale armour, made of many jointed plates, very pliant and easy for the body, so called from being used by the light-armed foot soldiers known as *brigands*. It comes to us from the French, in which language it was in use as a "habergeon, or coat of mail." It was not an unfamiliar English word in the sixteenth century, as is witnessed by the following passages: "Besides two thousand archers, and *brigans*, so called in those days of an armour which they wore named *brigandines*, used then by footmen" (Holinshed, ii., N.n. 5, b);[1] "They have theyr *brigandyne*, theyr soldiers girdle, and to be short al that complete harnes which that valiaunt warriour Saincte Poule describeth unto them in sondry places" (Udal, *St. Mark Pref.*); "They have also armed horses with their shoulders and breasts defenced, they have helmets and *brigandines*" (Hakluyt, *Voyages*, i. 62).

It is also adopted by Milton:—

> "Then put on all thy glorious arms, thy helmet
> And *brigandine* of brass, thy broad habergeon."

[1] Holinshed is of course in error here. The armour took its name from the wearers, not the wearers from the armour.

The history of this word is singular. The derivation of the Italian *brigante* is obscure. Mr. Isaac Taylor thinks that a not impossible origin of the word may be found in the tribe of the Brigantes, "who served as mediæval mercenaries," "or perhaps from Briga, a town near Nice" (*Words and Places*, 255, 445). A far more likely derivation is to be found in the Italian *briga*, and the old French *brige*, strife, quarrel, contention, which is found also in Chaucer, "Ye knowen wel that mine adversaries have begon this debatt and *brige* by his outrage" (*Tale of Melibeus*). But whatever its origin, that which at first meant no more than a "light-armed soldier," by that process of deterioration of which all language furnishes so many examples, when disbanded troops began to roam the country robbing the peaceable inhabitants,—that curse of the Middle Ages,—took the meaning of "a robber," "a brigand" in the modern sense. Then we find the word transferred from the land to the sea, *brigante* became a *pirate*, while a pirate's ship assumed the name of a *brigantine*, of which the modern "brig" is merely an abbreviation.

Bruit (*subst.*). The French *bruit*, "noise," "report," "rumour," naturalised in English down to the middle of the seventeenth century, has now dropped out of common use, though the verb and participle "to *bruit* abroad," "*bruited* abroad," are still not unfamiliar. Our translators have given it twice: Jer. x. 22, "Behold, the noise of the *bruit* is come, and a great commotion out of the north country;" and Nahum iii. 19, "All that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee." Bacon (Essay liv., *On Vain Glory*) quotes the French

proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit*, and Englishes it *much bruit, little fruit*. The word is of frequent occurrence in Latimer. "He (the Pope) shall send forth his thunderbolts on these *bruits*" (*Sermons*, p. 153); and is found in Shakespeare :—

> "Fearless minds climb soonest unto crowns.
> Brother, we will proclaim you out of hand;
> The *bruit* thereof will bring you many friends."
> (3 *Hen. VI.*, iv. 7.)

The obscurity of the word was not unfrequently increased by the omission of the *i*.

> "A rumour roase . . . that peace was . . . concluded; which *brute*, as it was pleasant and mellifluous to the Frenchmen, so it was to the English nacion bitter, sour, and dolorous." (Hall, *Hen. VII.*, anno 6.)

But (*conj.*). This conjunction, derived from two prepositions, *be* = *by*, *out*, corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon *butan*, "without," "except," is once used in our Prayer Book Version of the Psalms—taken, as is generally known, from the old translation of the Bible by Tyndale and Coverdale (1535), and Rogers (1537), revised by Cranmer (1539)—in a sense now unfamiliar, though formerly exceedingly common, and usually much misunderstood. The passage is Ps. xix. 3, "There is neither speech nor language, *but* their voices are heard among them." The ordinary reader naturally interprets this in a sense most true and beautiful, but not that contained in the words—viz., that the heavenly bodies in their silent march through the sky, declare the eternal power and Godhead of the Most High (cf. Rom. i. 20); and he is confirmed in his mistake by the exquisite poetry of Addison's Hymn. But the true meaning is that given more clearly in the Authorised Version, "There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard;" the familiar little word *but* being here used in the old sense of except, without, "without their voices being heard." Of this usage we have an instance in the proverb, "Touch not the eat, *but* (without) a glove;" and in the following passage of Chaucer, which may be sufficient for our purpose :—

> "*But* meat or drinke she dressed her to lie
> In a dark corner of the house alone,
> And on this wise weeping she made her mone."
> (*The Testament of Cresseide.*)

By (*prep.*). No passage in the Authorised Version is more open to misconception, and is, we believe, more generally misunderstood than St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. iv. 4, "I know nothing *by* myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord." St. Paul is often supposed to assert the Divine origin of his knowledge; that "by," or "of himself" he knows nothing, the Holy Spirit being his Teacher in all things pertaining to God. A thoughtful reader perceives that this sense does not harmonise with the context, especially with the words that immediately follow, but he can give no other meaning to the first clause of the verse, and his perplexity is naturally great. A reference to the Greek removes the difficulty, by showing that St. Paul's words may be properly rendered, "I am conscious to myself of no failing in duty; yet I am not justified through that consciousness of rectitude, inasmuch as I am subject to a higher and more searching judgment, that of God." The word *by*, therefore, must mean in this passage "with reference to," "against," a sense it formerly bore extensively in our language, and still, we are told, retains in provincial dialects. Dean Alford *in loc.* tells us that "I know no harm *by* him" is still a current expression in the midland counties. As examples of this force of *by* we may quote :—

> "Al the wikkednesse that I wote *bi* any of owre brethren."
> (*Piers the Plowman*, v. 180.)
>
> "I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved *by* the queen." (Cranmer, *Let. to Henry VIII.*)
>
> "If so be thou hast spoken to or *by* thy neighbours."
> (Latimer, *Serm.*, p. 17.)
>
> "For all the wealth that ever I did see,
> I would not have him know so much *by* me."
> (Shakespeare, *Love's Labour Lost*, iv. 3.)

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS :—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

"But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."—ST. MATTHEW xxii. 31, 32.

IT would carry us far beyond our prescribed limits were we to enter in this place on the discussion of the general question to what extent the doctrine of a future state, as including both the soul's immortality and the body's incorruption, formed a part of that revelation which was given of old to the fathers "in many portions, and in divers manners." Our present task is restricted to the answer to the single question, How is the doctrine of the resurrection involved in the words spoken to Moses out of the burning bush, and recorded in Exod. iii. 6? To this inquiry we shall now endeavour to reply.

On turning to Exod. iii. we are at once struck by the numerous indications which that chapter affords that we are reading the record of one of the great epochs of Old Testament history. The narrative, which has hitherto been studiously brief, now enters into minute details.[1] Its unity, notwithstanding the attempts (based on the occurrence throughout it of both the Divine names), to break it up into fragments, is

[1] See Canon Cook's note on the chapter, in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

apparent. It is indicated by the sectional division of the Jews, and it is established by the strongest internal evidence. Moses, who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," had doubtless acquired all that they were able to teach respecting the soul's immortality, and had considered well the attempts—by means of their costly process of embalmment and their more costly places of sepulture—to preserve those bodies the continuance of which they seem to have associated, in some mysterious manner, with the sustained existence of the soul.[1] He had thus become prepared for the reception and for the communication, in whatever degree that communication might be consistent with the promulgation of a law which was to be enforced only by temporal sanctions, of such a revelation of a future state as can alone form a secure foundation on which to engraft any system of legislation. It was under these circumstances—whilst feeding the flocks of Jethro, on that part of the Sinaitic range near to Horeb, which is here designated by anticipation "the mountain of God"—that the attention of Moses was arrested by the appearance of "*the* bush," or *seneh* (probably the thorny acacia)—that bush which must doubtless have been often mentioned to the Israelites in after days, burning yet unconsumed, and thus presenting not only a fitting type of the present condition and future destiny of his people, but also of the great truth of which he was at this time to receive a revelation—that the body, though subject to death, is yet destined to incorruption.

It will be freely admitted that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead does not lie upon the surface of the words spoken to Moses out of the bush, "I am the God of thy father (a collective plural, apparently), the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." It is equally true that, upon a closer examination of their import, that doctrine will be found to be essentially involved in them. Without pausing to inquire how far the revelation thus communicated was apprehended by Moses in particular, and by the Old Testament saints in general, we will now endeavour to point out how the doctrine of the resurrection is contained in the words spoken out of the bush, premising only that a deep lesson for the right understanding and application of Old Testament history is conveyed in the assurance given by our Lord to the Sadducees that the words spoken by the angel out of the bush to Moses were spoken by God to *them*—"Have ye not read that which was spoken by God to *you?*"

In the interpretation, then, of the words spoken to Moses, we must observe, first, that the assurance given to him that God was still the God of his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, involved in it the assurance that they were still His people; in other words, inasmuch as God is "not the God of the dead but of the living," that those patriarchs still existed, though their bodies had been long dead. And, further, the assurance that God was *their* God was an assurance that He would supply all their wants, and fulfil all that He had promised to do for them. It would carry us far beyond our limits to inquire into the *manner* in which the promise given to Abraham personally, as well as to his seed after him (Gen. xiii. 15), is yet destined to receive its accomplishment. It is manifest, however, on the very surface of Holy Scripture, that the promise which God gave to Abraham, and for the fulfilment of which we are expressly assured that Abraham looked (Heb. xi. 10), was not fulfilled during his earthly history (Acts vii. 5; xi. 9). And, further, we are taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the reason why God is "not ashamed" to be called the God of the patriarchs, is because He will perform His own covenant promises, of which those patriarchs received in their bodies the seal and pledge, and that "He hath *prepared* for them a city."

Inasmuch, then, as the very names given to them—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—belong to them not as incorporeal spirits, but as human beings;[2] inasmuch, further, as promises were given to them, as such, which have not yet received their fulfilment; inasmuch as God cannot be unmindful of His own promises, and, in the words spoken to Moses He conveyed to him the assurance that He would still do for the patriarchs that which He had promised—it follows, of necessity, that the promises, which they saw afar off and embraced, shall be fulfilled in their experience; that they shall inherit, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—*i.e.*, in their re-animated bodies—the "country" which on earth they "sought" but did not receive; and hence, that to whatever extent the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments was designedly veiled for ages and generations from the gaze even of those to whom "the oracles of God" were committed, even Moses did plainly signify (ἐμήνυσεν),[3] in that section of the Pentateuch which contains the account of the burning bush, and which received its designation from it (ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου), that the dead are raised, "when he called the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, for he is not a God of the dead but of the living: for all live unto Him" (Luke xx. 37, 38).

[1] Herodotus (ii. 123) says that the Egyptians were the first to teach the immortality of the soul; and Diodorus Siculus (i. 60, 61) says that whilst they regarded the dwellings of the living as temporary habitations, they looked upon the tombs of the dead as eternal abodes.

[2] "For Abraham himself," says Bengel, "the whole man, and all that is included under the name Abraham, that is, not only his soul but also his body, which also received the seal of the promise, *possesses God.*" (*Gnomon* on St. Matt. xxii. 32; i. 398. T. and T. Clark.)

[3] This word, which occurs only in three other places, is used to denote not a mere intimation, but a distinct declaration. Cf. St. John xi. 57; Acts xxiii. 30; 1 Cor. x. 28.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

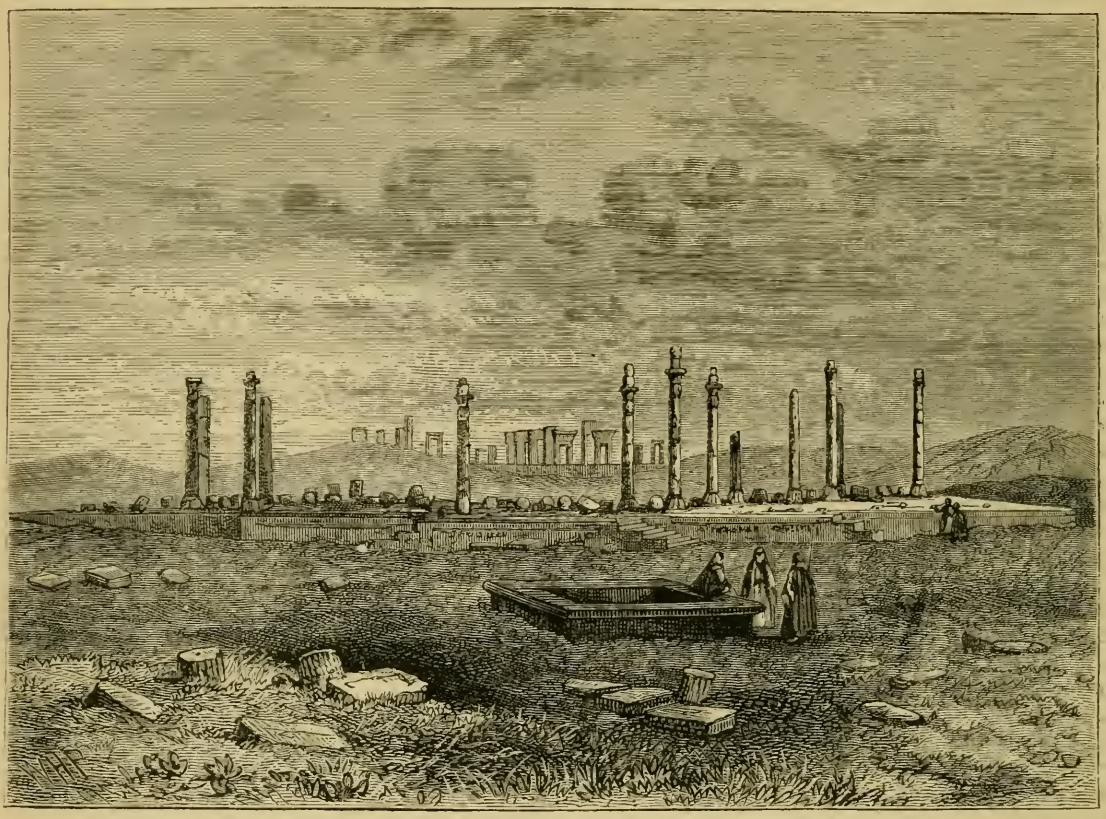
MEDIA AND PERSIA (*continued*).

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

PERSEPOLIS AND SUSA.

OF Persian cities, the only one mentioned distinctly in canonical Scripture is *Shushan* or *Susa*, which is always spoken of as "Shushan the palace." But there was another city, probably of later date than Susa, which is mentioned by name, not in canonical Scripture, but only in the Book of Maccabees (2 Macc. ix. 2.), whose remains, if not more extensive, are perhaps more remarkable than those of almost any other Eastern city, and which serve to illustrate some of the Scripture descriptions, especially those in the Books of Kings and Esther; which last contains a history whose events were, in great probability, contemporaneous with a part, at least, of its existing structures. This is Persepolis, situate nearly in long. 53°. lat. 33°., about 35 miles N.E. of Shiraz, on the road to Ispahan, in the plain of *Merdusht*, a little below the confluence of the rivers *Bend-amir* (Araxes) and *Pulwan* (Medus). The word *Bend-amir* denotes properly "royal dyke," from a dyke made by a Persian prince in the sixth century, A.D., but it is now used as a name for the river itself. Among the natives the ruins bear the name of *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, "Throne of Jemsheed," a Persian prince, of apocryphal date and legendary exploits. The most important portion of them now remaining is called *Chehel Minar*, the "Forty Columns;" the number forty being, in Oriental language, as we sometimes see in Scripture, symbolic, rather than descriptive, of their actual amount. In the word *Minar*, "column," we easily recognise the origin of the word "minaret," our name for the buildings attached to Mohammedan places of worship, which are used as stations for the criers, *muezzin*, whose duty it is to summon the people to prayer.

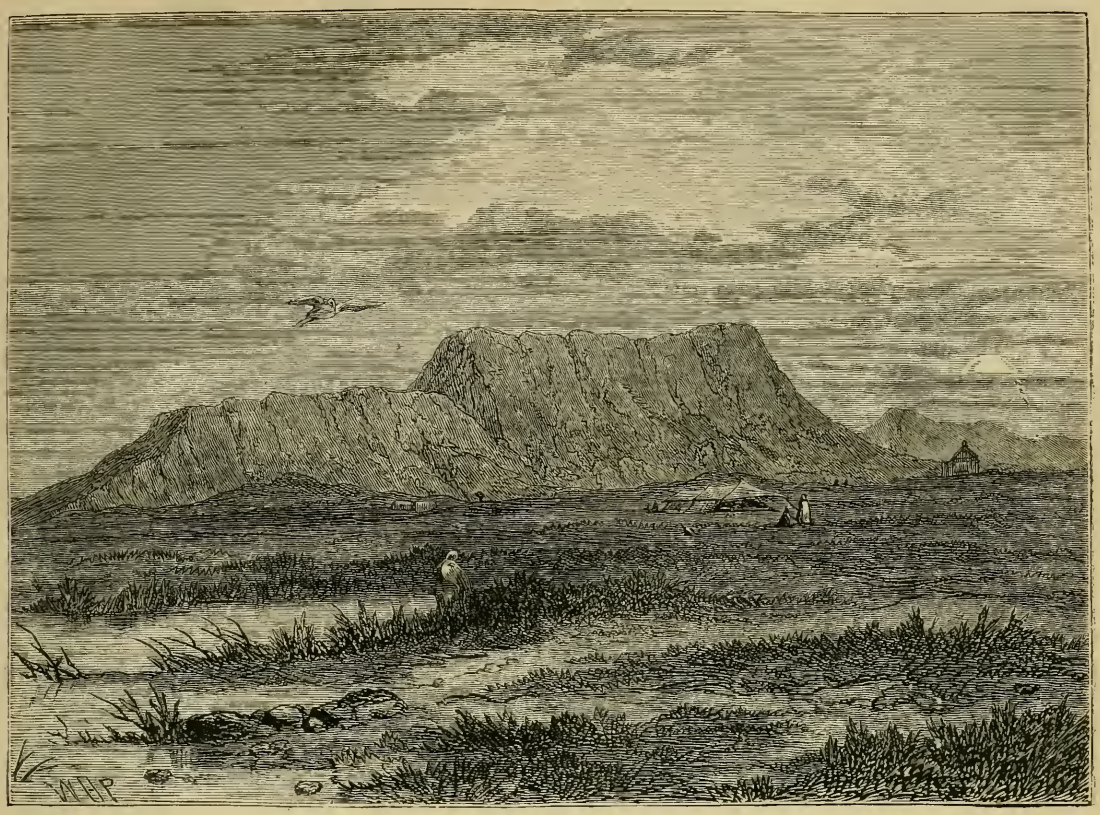
Of the city in general, as is so commonly the case, no traces exist. The ruins, which are so well known, and have been so often described, are those of the palatial buildings, begun, no doubt, by Cyrus (Ælian, *H. An.*, i. 59), enlarged during the reigns of successive Persian kings, and at last destroyed by fire by Alexander the Great. Diodorus tells us that Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus (B.C. 528—521), after his conquest of Egypt, brought as captives many workmen from that country to build his palaces at Persepolis, Susa, and other places (Diod., i. 46). The inscriptions on one of the platforms contain the name of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521—485), and show that this part of the buildings was erected by him, as was also, most probably, a great hall in its immediate neighbourhood. From similar evidence we learn that other portions are due to his son Xerxes, probably the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther (B.C. 485—465). Other portions were perhaps added by later kings, but no evidence exists to identify them. The palace is described by Diodorus as surrounded by a triple wall; and at the distance of 400 feet on the eastern side he says there is a mountain, called the "Royal Mountain," in which are the sepulchres of the kings. The rock had been cut away to form chambers, in which their coffins were deposited; but the only access to them was by means of machinery (Diod., xvii. 71). The ruins have been often described, especially by Pietro della Valle, Sir John Chardin, Niebuhr, and Sir R. K. Porter; but it may, perhaps, be worth while to transcribe a portion of the description of them given by Mandelslo, a Danish traveller, who saw them in 1638. "They are," he says, "the ruines of an old castle . . . and the Persians say that their king *Tzemschid Padschal*, grandfather by the mother's side to Alexander the Great . . . was the founder of that castle; though others say King Solomon built it, and some would have it done by Darius, the last king of Persia. The religious men of *Schiras* told me, that the learned were clearly of opinion that the ancient Persepolis had stood thereabouts, and that they were the ruins of Cyrus' palace. . . The ground-work of it is twenty-two geometrical feet in height, having at each of the four corners a pair of stairs of white marble, consisting of ninety-five steps, which are very flat, and so broad that twelve horse may go up together abreast. Upon the square of it, before you come within the structure, may be seen the ruines of a wall, as also what is left of two great gates, which have carved upon them each a horse, with harnesse and saddles very antique; and in the other two pieces two creatures, whereof the hinder part hath some resemblance to the body of a horse, but the head, which is carved, resembles that of a lyon, and both have wings of each side. On the one side there are nineteen pillars of black and white marble, whereof the least were eight, the biggest ten ells (37 feet 6 inches) high, without the bases. They told us that not long before there were forty pillars standing; but it cannot be well judg'd whether they had been design'd for the ornament of some great hall, or set there in the aire purely for show. . . All is of marble, so smooth and polish'd, that it might serve for a looking-glass. On both sides of the doors there are several figures of men carved, whereof some are sitting, others stand, but much exceeding the natural proportion. They have all their hair so long, that it falls down over their shoulders, great beards, and habits falling down to their heels, with very wide sleeves, and a girdle about their garments. They have all round caps upon their heads; which, being much different from the ordinary habit of the Persians at present, argues a great antiquity." Our traveller proceeds to mention the inscriptions which, he thought, "contain some secrets which time will discover." And then he says, "There is also a great court, upon the same ground-work, which is ninety paces square, having on each side two gates, whereof some are six, others but three paces wide, all



PERSEPOLIS.

built of a very well-polished marble, whereof the several pieces are eight foot in length and three in breadth . . . 'Tis a thousand pities that nobody hath yet had the curiosity to have a graven;[1] had it been onely out of this motive, that the barbarous people thereabouts ruine it dayly more and more, and convey away the stones to carry on private buildings." (Mandelslo, *Trav.*, transl. by Davies, pp. 4, 5.) Turning to the accounts given by Niebuhr and Sir R. K. Porter, but especially the former, we find them informing us that the artificial plain, on which the ruins of this palace stand, is of irregular shape, but that it nearly faces the four cardinal points. The southern face is 802 feet in length, the northern 926, and the western 1,425. It was evidently cut down from the slope of the adjacent hill, on the eastern side, the one which Diodorus calls the "Royal Mountain," and in many places beyond the platform the rock protrudes in vast abrupt cliffs, which show traces of the pickaxe. This spacious artificial plain is not entirely on one level, but may be said to consist of terraces, whose real height from the ground is now much diminished by the accumulation of sand and rubbish, but which may be stated as on the south side from 18 to 20 feet, on the north at from 16 to 26 feet, and on the west at from 30 to 40 feet. On the east side the rock has been scarped away to form the boundary of the platform, but on the other sides the retaining walls are built of marble blocks of the same kind as that of which the mountain consists. The access to the platform is obtained by two staircases on the western side, beginning at a distance of 208 feet from its northern end. They ascend in a direction parallel to the western face, but in opposite directions, and form a magnificent approach to the stately structures which once crowned the summit. The lowest pair of flights have each of them 54 steps. Then comes a landing-place, and a second flight of 49 steps, which lands the traveller on the floor of the first terrace. The steps of this veritable "giant's staircase" are each only three inches and a half in height, and so wide that ten (or, as Mandelslo said, twelve) horsemen might ascend abreast of each other. Sir R. K. Porter remarks that whenever he visited the ruins, he always rode up and down without difficulty. On the terrace thus reached the traveller beholds in front a vast portal guarded on each side by bulls of colossal size, looking west, and raised on pedestals of about five feet in height. Then two columns; two more, which existed in Sir John Chardin's time, having since fallen, and another portal whose guardian bulls look towards the east. From this terrace rises from north to south another noble set of staircases, which, though not so lofty, are even more magnificent than those described above. There are four flights of steps, one at each end of the projecting

[1] The translator no doubt means a "graving," *i.e.*, an engraving.



SUSA.

face of the wall against which they are built, and two in the middle, meeting in a landing-place. Each flight consists of thirty steps, and the whole face of the wall and of the staircases is ornamented with elaborately sculptured figures, in three tiers, while vertical compartments, closing the angles of the staircases at each end, are covered with cuneiform inscriptions, whose secrets time has at last been enabled to discover. The sculptured figures represent trees, animals, and men dressed in the Median and the Persian fashions, and forming a procession of a festive character. There are also figures in angular spaces in the middle and at the ends, representing lions seizing bulls, executed with great spirit and truthfulness.

On the terrace reached by these staircases are the remains of the great hall of Xerxes, represented by the celebrated columns which were not, as Mandelslo thought, intended to stand in air, but which once supported a roof, with, perhaps, another storey above it.

The platform on which they stand is 350 feet from north to south, and 380 from east to west. The columns themselves were in four groups, one central one of 36, one on each side of 12 each, and one in front of the same number, facing the staircase. There were thus, as the reader will observe, not 40 but 72 in all; of which, in the time of P. della Valle (1621) 25 were standing; in the time of Mandelslo, seventeen years later, only 19, which by the time of Niebuhr (1765) had diminished to 17. Sir R. K. Porter (1818) saw 15 still standing complete, but these are now reduced to 13. They are 60 feet in height[1] and 16 in circumference. Though scarcely to be called beautiful in themselves, their size and position, the beauty of their material, and excellence of the workmanship, render them very remarkable and impressive. The whole building must have been one of the largest, and probably one of the most splendid halls that the world has ever seen; covering more ground than any Grecian, Roman, or Egyptian temple, and more than most Gothic cathedrals. Besides this great hall, there are four principal blocks of building, ornamented in many parts with interesting and well-preserved sculptures, which formed respectively parts of the great palatial structure, but whose details it would take us too long to describe. We have dwelt thus long on the subject because Persepolitan buildings, their columns and grand staircases, and general arrangements compared with those of Nineveh, enable us to understand (1) the design in general of a Persian or Assyrian palace-temple, such as is mentioned in the Book of Esther, as adopted at Shushan, its pavement of coloured marble, and the hangings suspended between the pillars (Esth. i. 6); (2) the gates of justice in which, as we so often read in Scripture, the king sat for this

[1] The columns of the portico of St. Paul's Cathedral are 40 feet high; those of the Madeleine Church at Paris 50 feet in height.

VIEW OF SUSA (FROM A SCULPTURE AT NINEVEH).

purpose, and (3) some of the descriptions of the temple of Solomon, the "ascent by which he went up to the house of the Lord" (1 Kings x. 5), the upper storey of his palace supported on cedar beams, and the "porch of pillars" which he attached to it. The upper storey of the Persepolitan palace, if not consumed at the time when

"The king seized a flambeau, with zeal to destroy,"

has long since perished, but enough of the rest remains to illustrate the construction, arrangement, and ornamentation which appears to have prevailed in Eastern architecture, of which this was, beyond doubt, one of the most splendid examples.

The other great Persian city which has been mentioned above is "Shushan the palace," or SUSA, as it was called by Greek writers. We all remember its importance in the history of the Book of Esther, and in the prophecies of Daniel; but what place was the true representative of Shushan was not, until a recent period, quite certain. Some authorities wished to place it at *Shuster*, on the *Kárún* river (the Pasitigris); a few at *Súsan*, higher up on the same river: but the discoveries of Mr. Loftus have proved beyond doubt that its true site is at *Shush*, on the little river *Shaour*, an affluent of the *Kárún*, and between it and also between the *Kherkah* (Choaspes) a little more to the west than the *Shaour* and the Eulæus, called in the Book of Daniel *Ulai* (Dan. viii. 2). The same passage tells us that Shushan was in the province of ELAM. We hear of Elam first as a son of Shem, and then in connection with Chedorlaomer's invasion of Canaan, and also in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. In the Book of Ezra, and also in that of the Acts, we read of a people called Elamites, who in the former of these

books are mentioned in close neighbourhood with the Susanchites, the people of Susa (Ezra iv. 9; Acts ii. 9). There is no doubt that by Elam is meant the province called Elymais, the people of which, the Elymæans, are mentioned, and also their king, in the Book of Judith. Elymais is spoken of as a province in the Book of Tobit, and as a city in that of Maccabees. It appears at one time to have been independent of Babylon, if not even superior to it, but to have come in later times under the power of Persia (Gen. x. 22, xiv. 1; Isa. xxi. 2; Jer. xlix. 34; Ezek. xxxii. 24; Judith i. 6; Tobit ii. 10; 1 Macc. vi. 1). This province, which in later times formed a part of Susiana, was originally occupied by a Cushite race who gave way before the Elamites, a race of Semitic origin, who, as Strabo says, thus confirming the words of Scripture, "were skilful as archers" (Isa. xxii. 6; Jer. xlix. 35; Strabo, xvi. 744). The so-called city, Elymais, probably means Susa, whose wealth, so well known, tempted the cupidity of Antiochus (Her., v. 49; Diod., xix. 48). Susa was a place of great antiquity. Its name occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions, which record the defeat of the Susianian king by the grandson of Sennacherib. The monuments also exhibit a figure of the city placed between two rivers, exactly as is in fact the case (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 452). In this representation a remarkable confirmation is found of the Scripture narrative, as well as an explanation of a geographical difficulty as to the river Eulæus. The prophet Daniel speaks of himself as standing on the banks of Ulai, and shortly after as hearing a man's voice "between[1] Ulai" (Dan. viii. 2, 16). Pliny says that the Eulæus, which rises in Media, runs round the citadel of Susa, and that it divides Susiane from Elymais, while Strabo, quoting Polyclitus, says that Susa is situated on the Choaspes, and further, that the Choaspes and Eulæus both run into a certain marsh, and afterwards join the Tigris (Plin., vi. 127; Strabo, xv. 728, 729). The only way of untying this geographical knot is to suppose that the Eulæus and Choaspes are identical. This is now shown to be the case in the following way. At a distance of some twenty miles above Shush, the Kherkah (Choaspes) once either broke out or was artificially conducted into a new channel, though without abandoning its original course. It thus formed a branch, now nearly dry, but distinctly traceable, to which the name Eulæus was given, which, after a time, at a point below Shush, was combined with the small river Shapur, and eventually joined the *Kárún* (Pasitigris), which last has commonly been identified with the Eulæus, and which runs into the Shat-el-Arab, a little below Mohammerah. Thus the Kherkah (Choaspes) and Ulai (Eulæus) may be said to have been branches of the same river, so that their names were sometimes interchanged; the latter may be said truly to rise in Media and to run round Susa. Daniel, standing near Susa, would truly be standing "between Ulai," *i.e.*, between its two streams; and lastly both Choaspes and Eulæus may be fairly said to have run into the Tigris, a statement which is literally true of the Choaspes, which loses itself in a marsh connected with that river, and not improperly of the Eulæus, which, falling first into the Diz (Coprates) and then into the Kárún, must eventually have run into the Shat-el-Arab, the estuary of the Tigris (Loftus, *Chaldea*, pp. 425—430).

[1] The words "the banks of" are not in the original.

We learn from Pliny, that Darius Hystaspis built a palace at Susa, and from Xenophon that the Persian kings were accustomed to reside there for three months in the spring (Plin., vi. 133; Xen., *Cyrop.*, viii. 6, 21). The researches of Mr. Loftus have discovered the remains of a great hall which beyond all doubt belonged to that palace, for inscriptions on some of the pedestals of the portals, engraved in three languages, record additions made by Artaxerxes (Mnemon, B.C. 405—359) to the temple, which he said had been built by his ancestor, Darius, father of Xerxes. The hall thus discovered is similar in dimensions to the one at Persepolis, viz., 343 feet 9 inches × 244 feet, and the style of architecture must have been equally similar. No columns remain standing, but the bases were found of a number sufficient to determine the plan of the building, and fragments enough of shafts and capitals to indicate the style. It stands on a mound 119 feet above the level of the Shaour, an elevated site from which the "great king Ahasuerus," as he sat in his hall of columns, shaded from the sun by "white, green, and blue hangings, fastened . . . to pillars of marble," might behold with satisfaction the fertile plain below, backed in the distance by the snowy mountains of Lúristán, clothed with the verdure of early spring, and enriched with the blossoms of the sweet-scented iris, from whose name (Shushan) the name of Susa itself is supposed by some to have been derived. It was here that he gave his feast of 180 days, and within these precincts the principal scenes of the Book of Esther were enacted (about 488 B.C). Here also, in the month Nisan, a month during which the king of Persia would usually be at Susa, Nehemiah received from Artaxerxes Longimanus his permission to rebuild Jerusalem, B.C. 444. The extent of ground occupied by ruins is about three miles and a half in circumference, and consists of four separate platforms, of which the western is the loftiest, and probably contained the citadel. The palace probably stood on the one to the north. On the low ground near the river Shaour, below the citadel mound, is a building believed by the natives to be the tomb of Daniel, which is much visited by pilgrims, and concerning which various legends are recorded. Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, mentions the remains of Shushan, "the metropolis and palace of king Ahasuerus. It has 7,000 Jewish inhabitants, with fourteen synagogues; in front of one of which is the sepulchre of Daniel, who rests in peace." Daniel is said by Josephus to have erected a palace or castle at Susa, and it is very probable that he was buried there; but the building now called his tomb is of much later date than this. (Neh. ii. 1; Esth. i. 3, 6; Joseph., *Ant.*, x. 12, 1. *Early Trav.*, p. 105; Sir R. Porter, *Trav.*, ii. 412; Loftus, pp. 339—389; Fergusson, *Handbook of Arch.*, 187, 198.)

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MALACHI (*continued*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

THIRD PART.

THE DAY OF THE LORD.

CHAP. II. 17 TO CHAP. IV. 4.

AMONG the Hebrews who returned from the Captivity there soon appeared that marked division, that fatal rift, which had been the bane of Israel from its youth up. At first, we may reasonably suppose that all who were brought back to the land of their fathers were of one mind and one heart, that the sacred fires of patriotism and of devotion to their Divine Redeemer and King burned in every breast. But within a single century after the Return we once more find an Israel after the flesh and an Israel after the spirit. In the historical books which bear the names of Ezra and Nehemiah, the nation is represented in the main as violating the Divine law, priests and people growing weary of the service of the Temple, intermarrying with the heathen, grinding each other down even to bondage with usurious loans, buying and selling on the Sabbath; only recovered to obedience under the pressure of extreme calamity, backed by the appeals of brave men in whom patriotism and devotion rose to enthusiasm; relapsing into their old sins the very moment they were left to themselves. So far from emerging from the Captivity "a band of puritans," we have to search carefully before we can find any traces of the faithful remnant which clave steadfastly to God and set themselves to do His will. Only from brief hints thinly scattered do we learn that Ezra, who had "prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it," found a few "that trembled at the words of the God of Israel" to sustain him in his quest;[1] or that Nehemiah was aided by fellow-labourers who had "separated themselves unto the law of the Lord . . . to observe and to do all the commandments of the Lord."[2] On the whole the view presented to us by the sacred chroniclers is a gloomy one, overcast by many shadows, pregnant with many omens of change and disaster. We see little of the true life and strength of the nation, of its salt and light. For these we must go to the Psalmists of the time. From the songs they wrote we gather that there were at least some in Israel who, amid all the calamities and temptations of the age, put an unwavering trust in God, and would not suffer their hearts to be driven, by any wind of change, from their rest in Him. They were sure that God would do good to them that were good, that He would destroy, with the wicked, those who turned aside to crooked ways; and that He would not suffer "the rod of wickedness to *rest* on the lot of the righteous," though it might pass over it.[3] They held fast the conviction that, though they might sow in tears, the just should reap with songs of joy;[4] while the wicked, green and flourishing for a moment, should nevertheless be "as the grass on the housetops, that withereth before it can be plucked up."[5]

We need to remember these facts in our study of Malachi, and especially the fact that, amid the many perverse and rebellious offenders, there was yet a company of faithful men in Israel, steadfast in their fidelity to Jehovah, and of an approved devotion. For the prophet, like the chroniclers, paints but a gloomy picture of his age. Already he has shown us, in Part I., the priests lounging wearily and contemptuously through the services of the Temple, despising the altar they served, "snuffing at the sacrifices" they offered, refusing so much as to open a door or to kindle a fire for nought. In Part II. he has shown us the people dealing treacherously and bringing an abomination into the land, by driving their divorced wives to shroud the altar of Jehovah in their tears and sighs. And, in this Third Part, we are to be presented with still new forms of the national infidelity and ungodliness, an infidelity so rooted as to have given rise to popular adages and well-worn proverbs. In our haste we might conclude that *all* the men of Israel were "sinners," all "fools" who said in their hearts, "There is no God," and wonder why the prophet should be at the pains to reason with them and seek to recover them to faith and righteousness. But in thus judging them we should misjudge them. Even Malachi, dark as his picture is, gives us one sketch which reminds us of the existence of that company of good men, faithful among the faithless, which the Psalmists of the time depict more at large—a company of saints who "feared Jehovah and spake often one with another" of the things that pertain to the kingdom of God.[6] Let us bear this faithful remnant in mind, then, as we consider the prophet's description of the faithless many.

The third section of his prophecy divides itself easily and naturally into three brief scenes, or acts, in each of which Malachi pursues his constant method of statement, objection, and refutation.

1. In the first scene (chap. ii. 17—iii. 5) we hear the scepticism of the people breaking into murmurs of distrust. "*Ye weary Jehovah with your words;*" here is the statement or charge. "*Wherein do we weary Him?*" here is the sceptical "but" of the people, their challenge of the statement. "*In that ye say, Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of Jehovah, and He delighteth in them; or, Where is the God of justice?*" and here is the reply, or rather the commencement of the reply to the objection.

Now the scepticism indicated by the questions Malachi puts into the people's mouth is as old as time, and as

[1] Ezra ix. 4. [2] Neh. x. 28, 29. [3] Ps. cxxv. [4] Ps. cxxvi. [5] Ps. cxxix. [6] Mal. iii. 16.

new as to-day. It is common to all ages, and to every heart. The prosperity of the wicked and the delay of Providence are roots out of which doubt for ever springs afresh. In our turn we all ask, "If there be a God, and He is just and good, why does He permit good to be overcome of evil? why does He not come, at once, to make our life simpler and easier to us—to us who are trying to do His will?" In our turn we are all tempted, since He is long in coming, to doubt whether He will ever come, or even to doubt whether He *is*, and is a Rewarder of them that seek Him. And Malachi does not throw much light, or much direct light, on this dark, doubt-breeding, pain-breeding problem.

Instead of attacking the general problem—and on *that* course few have won honour—he addresses himself to the partial aspect of it which was perplexing the Jews of his own generation. There is no greater mistake in argument, we are often told, than to lay down larger propositions than you require, and so to furnish your opponent with infinite loopholes of escape. This mistake Malachi, like a prudent and thrifty logician, avoids. The Jews were saying, "For aught that we can see, it is just as good to be bad as to be good. God does not care which we are, if there be a God. If there be a God, and He is good, why does He not come down and shew Himself to us, and reward us for serving Him, and punish our enemies—the base plundering Samaritans, for example—according to their deserts?"

"Say you so?" replies the prophet. "Well, He *will* come; *He is coming*. I, Malachi the Messenger, am sent before Him to prepare His way, just as the herald is sent before the great Persian King, to bid cities and provinces he is about to visit make a smooth wide road before him. The Lord whom ye seek, of whom ye say, 'Where is He?' will be here suddenly and soon. He will visit this Temple which you have reared in His honour. He Himself will be the Angel, the Messenger, the Mediator of a new covenant with you. But are you ready for Him? Am I? O, who can stand before *Him* unblamed! You doubt and mock because He does not come to punish your foes and to reward your loyalty and obedience. But have you been loyal? have you been obedient? Can you, dare you, meet His pure and awful eyes? Judgment will begin, not on your foes, but on you; not in foreign lands, but in the household of God. He will come to thrust you as into a smelting furnace, in which all dross is consumed; to plunge you as into the lye of the fuller, in which all stains and filth are separated from the fabric and washed away. Nay, He will come first of all to *you*, O ye priests, ye unworthy sons of Levi who say, 'The table of the Lord is despicable and polluted,' and offer the blind and the lame and the sick for sacrifice, and make many to stumble at the law, and depart from the way of integrity and peace. Only the true sons of Levi, only the true children of Israel, will emerge from that awful trial unscathed, that the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem may once more be pleasant to Jehovah your King, as in the days of old and as in the former years. You who have allied yourselves with the heathen and have caught the infection of their vices, who pollute yourselves with magical arts and with the lusts of the flesh, and with broken oaths, and with the dishonesties of the market, pressing down the wages of the hireling and the foreigner, the widow and the orphan, to starvation point, taking advantage of the necessities of the destitute and the unfriended—the God whom you do not fear because you think Him so far off, whom you reproach for His delays, will be with you or ever you are aware, to bear witness against you, to judge and punish you. And here I stand—I, the Messenger—to announce His advent and to summon you to repentance."

This I take to be the substance of Malachi's first argument, his reply to those who questioned the rule of God because He was patient with them and delayed to deal with them according to their deserts. It was an appeal to conscience rather than to reason, to that sense of sin, to that fear of a Divine judgment, which underlay all their braggart and sceptical talk about the non-existence or non-interference of the Divine Judge and Ruler of men. That there is another and a deeper meaning in the promise of this passage we shall soon see; but *this* I take to be the first meaning.

2. In his first act, or argument, Malachi had hinted his doubt whether the murmurers in Israel were prepared to meet the Divine Judge of whose delays they complained. In the second (chap. iii. 6—12), he shows them how unprepared they were, how utterly unable to endure the day of His coming. As in chap. i. 6, and again in chap. ii. 10, he prefaced his charge with a general and indisputable maxim, so here, before hurling another charge at the people, he lays down a general principle. This principle is but an ancient version of that enunciated in St. Paul's fine sentence, "The gifts and calling of God are *without repentance*"—that is, they are irreversible. Malachi states it in his most impressive manner:

> "Because I, Jehovah, *I* change not,
> Therefore, ye sons of Israel, *ye* are not consumed."

To us it might seem that the premiss would bear, if not necessitate, precisely the opposite conclusion. We might argue, "God has always threatened to destroy the wicked; the Jews were wicked: and therefore, since God cannot change, He will destroy the Jews." But Malachi reaches the opposite conclusion, and reaches it fairly. God had made a covenant with Israel; He had chosen them for the good of the world. His purpose must stand; even their faithlessness could not make it of none effect. And, therefore, in all ages God had corrected instead of consuming them; He had destroyed the wicked out of Israel in order that He might not destroy Israel itself, in order that He might shape the true Israel to His mind and bend it to His purpose. It *was*, therefore, because He did not change, because He would not forego His purpose of mercy to mankind, that Israel was not consumed.

Malachi expresses his sense of the immense value of this principle, this master-key to the history of his race, not only by the emphatic construction of his sentence, but also by his selection of names. He so places the

name "*Jehovah*," and the name "ye sons of *Jacob*," as to call attention to their moral significance. Now, "Jehovah" means "I am that I am;" it is the name which conveys the absolute and independent existence of God, His superiority to change and time. And the title "ye sons of *Jacob*" recalls the covenant made by God with the father and prince of Israel, the purpose of mercy and redemption which He had announced from the first. So that, in effect, by his choice of names the Prophet redoubles the force of his sentence: "It is because I am *Jehovah*, the changeless, that I change not; it is because ye are the sons of *Jacob*, and are therefore heirs of my covenant with him, that ye are not consumed."

This is why God judges, but does not destroy: He purges out the wicked, and refines the good from their dross, in order that, in His unchanging compassion, He may carry out His purpose of redemption and grace. Thus "the covenant is equipped at all points and sure;"[1] for if the unfaithfulness of man cannot annul it, what can? And that man's unfaithfulness cannot annul it is evident; for "*from the days of your fathers ye have departed from my statutes, and have not kept them.*"

This, too, is why God has delayed His coming. It is not that He is slack concerning His promises, but that they will not fulfil the conditions of the promise. Generation after generation they have shown themselves to be a disobedient and gainsaying people. How can He come to them, while they still depart from Him? How can He come bringing salvation, while they do not keep His statutes? The blessing of the obedient cannot be given to the disobedient. Let them return to Him from whom they have departed, and then see whether He will keep them waiting for Him.

But "wherein shall we return?" they object. In what have we departed from Him, that we should retrace our steps? Are not we the chosen race, the holy nation?

"Dare a man defraud God?" replies Jehovah. "Yet ye have defrauded me."

"We!" respond the people; "We defraud Thee! Pray, how?"

"Ye have defrauded me," answers Jehovah, "even in that in which ye pride yourselves as being most exact, in the least things; how much more, then, in the greatest? Even the tithes and offerings have not been duly paid, although your neglect has been rebuked by a curse, the curse of famine."

That the Jews of this period could flatter themselves they were punctual even in the outward observances of their religion almost passes belief, their disregard of them being so flagrant. More than half a century before Malachi, the prophet Haggai had to rebuke them for their indifference to the building and service of the Temple; to tell them that the "blasting and mildew and hail" which then fell "on all the labour of their hands" was a Divine judgment on that indifference; to assure them that from the very day of their amendment God would bless them in barn and field and orchard.[2] In the book of Nehemiah we read[3] that, on his return from Babylon, the indignant governor "perceived that the portions of the Levites had not been given them," that the Levites and singers had been driven, by sheer destitution, to abandon the service of the Temple, and to "flee every one to his own field." And Malachi has told us how the people brought blind and lame and sick —nay, even stolen, beasts for sacrifice; how they offered ewes on pretence that they had no rams in their flocks, and vowed their choicest oxen and sheep, and then, when the moment of pressure was past, brought "that which was corrupt;" how the priests offered "polluted bread" and "unclean sacrifices," and cried, as they discharged their function, "What a weariness it is!" Now even the Hebrews knew that "to obey is better than to sacrifice;" but they also knew that to sacrifice *was* to obey; and so often as they neglected the lesser obedience of sacrifice, they still more neglected the larger obedience of moral conformity to the Divine Will. In His mercy God only puts them to the lesser test. For the present it shall be enough if they bring "*all* the tithe" into the store-chambers of the Temple. Let them but do that, and He will open the sluice-gates of heaven, and pour down on them the blessing of copious rain; He will rebuke the devouring locust; the fruit of the earth shall no longer be destroyed before it can be gathered in, nor shall the vine miscarry of its grapes. So happy shall be their condition, so fertile their land, that all nations shall call them blessed.

Thus the Lord whom they seek will come to them so soon as they are ready for Him, so soon as He can come in benediction. He will come, not only in His Temple, but also in their barns and homesteads and fields.

3. In the third scene or act of this dramatic dialogue (chap. iii. 13—iv. 3), in which the Prophet is the mouth-piece alternately of Jehovah and of the people, we once more hear the sceptical murmurs of distrust. First comes the charge: "*Your words do me wrong*, saith Jehovah." Then follows the "but," the objection: "And ye say, *What do we speak against Thee?*" And then comes the rejoinder, which gives us a sample of the common talk of the day. Wherever men met for converse they might be heard saying, some, "*It is vain to serve God!*" others, "*What profit is it that we keep His ordinances, and go about with sad faces and in mourning weeds as those who lament the national sins?*" some, "*We see that the proud are blessed rather than the humble!*" others, "*The wicked flourish rather than the just!*" and still others, "*Those who tempt God by their presumption and impiety are nevertheless delivered from peril rather than the meek and the devout!*" In short, the general sentiment of the time was that the very blessings promised to the meek, the humble, the sorrowful, were bestowed on the heedless, the proud, the self-confident; and the general mistake of the time was that because they, the Jews, fasted and observed certain outward forms, and these

[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 5.

[2] Haggai ii. 15—19.

[3] Neh. xiii. 10—12.

not always the forms ordained by Jehovah, they therefore possessed that piety which He had promised to bless and reward.

Now just as in chap. ii. 5—7, Jehovah had rebuked the false and corrupt priests by placing before them a charming picture of the true priest, the ideal Levi, so here He rebukes the foolish and profane talk of the multitude by contrasting with it the conversation of the faithful remnant, the little community of saints, who feared Him and thought on His Name. Unhappily, however, *their* talk is not reported, at least by Malachi, though, as we have seen, that of the ungodly is. All we are told of it is, that it was full of the fear of Jehovah, and that it was held to be of such value in heaven that, just as the Persian monarch kept a book in which the heroic deeds of any of his servants were recorded,[1] so the King of Heaven "hearkened and heard" when His servants spoke well of Him in evil times, and had *their* names written in a book of remembrance. When we read—

> "Then they that feared Jehovah spake often one with another
> And Jehovah hearkened and heard,
> And a book of remembrance was kept before Him
> For those that feared Jehovah,
> And that thought on His Name,"

we are not only charmed with the stately music of the lines; we long that we could stand in that happy company of saints, if only for a few moments, and hear what they had to say to each other, and learn what it was that drew them so often and so close together. Is it altogether impossible to recover the words which Malachi has failed to report? It is by no means impossible. Our wish may be fulfilled. We *may* hear of what they that feared the Lord spake one to another; we may give, on the best authority, some of the very words they used. While the nominal Israel said, *It is vain to serve God*, the true, the elect Israel said, *Happy is every one that feareth Jehovah, that walketh in His ways.*[2] While the former said, *What profit is it that we serve Him?* the latter said, *They that put their trust in Jehovah are like Mount Zion, which cannot be moved, but standeth fast for ever.*[3] While the degenerate majority said, *The proud are blessed, the wicked flourish, the boldly bad are saved from all peril!* the pious few said, *Though the ploughers plough our back, and draw long furrows, God will cut in sunder the traces of the wicked; though the proud are green and flourishing for a time, they are but as the grass on the village roofs wherewith the mower filleth not his hand, nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom:*[4] *though we go forth weeping, sowing a mere handful of seed with tears, through the mercy of Jehovah we come back to the homestead, bearing many sheaves, with songs of joy.*[5] That these words and the like were used by the faithful few we know, for God kept a book of remembrance in which they were written, not only in heaven, but also on earth; and in the "Pilgrims' Psalm-book" we may read them to this day, knowing that they are the very words sung by the inspired poets of Malachi's time, and familiar on the lips of as many as feared Jehovah and hated evil.

[1] Esth. vi. 1—3. [2] Ps. cxxviii. [3] Ps. cxxv. [4] Ps. cxxix. [5] Ps. cxxvi.

Those who thus thought on Jehovah should be thought of by Him, affirms the prophet. In the new day which He was about to create, the day of His coming, they should be a peculiar and choice possession to Him; on that day, while He punishes the ungodly, who distrust and contemn Him, He will spare the faithful even "as a father spareth the son who serves him," and has been true to his service in dark and perilous times. Then, once more, the difference between the righteous and the wicked, the obedient and the disobedient, shall be made plain, so plain and obvious that even the wicked themselves shall discern it, and wish that they too had been true to the ordinances of Heaven.

For that day will be a day of separation and judgment. It will "burn like a furnace," in which the proud and the evil-doers will be as stubble; they will be utterly destroyed, destroyed "root and branch:" while, to the righteous, that day will be as a day of which Righteousness is the Sun; the perfect absolute Righteousness will shine down upon them, transforming them into its own likeness, and bringing on its wide-spread wing-like rays healing for all their wounds and griefs. At its summons they will "come forth" from the hiding-places in which they took shelter during the hour and power of darkness, skipping "like stalled calves" led forth into the pasture—creatures than whom, I suppose, none are more gay and frolicsome. Yea, the wicked who tormented them shall lie, and be trodden down, "like ashes under the soles of their feet," having first been consumed in the furnace into which they were cast.

Like Joel, like Zephaniah, Malachi foresees "the day of the Lord." With him, as with them, that day is to be marked by prodigies of judgment and terror as well as by Divine wonders of mercy and grace. But, still like them, even as he predicts the terrors of that day, he reveals the tender mercy and loving-kindness of the God in whose Name he speaks. That great "day of the trumpet and the trumpet-blast" is not to take even the sinners at unawares. He is sent to announce it to them. He is the Messenger of the coming King; and he is sent to prepare a way for Him, to call even the scoffers who challenge God and the priests who despise Him to repentance and amendment. The present judgments which go before that final judgment, and are of one substance with it, have a most compassionate design; they are designed to correct, not to destroy. And even that final judgment itself is designed only to eliminate from Israel the incorrigibly wicked, that the offering of the true Israel may be once more pleasant to Jehovah because "an offering in righteousness:" it is but a night out of which a new happy day is to dawn, a day the Sun of which is to be the Righteousness which heals all sorrows and redeems from all pain. In so far as Malachi paints the men of his time, his picture is dark with the stains of corruption and the clouds of retributive justice. But in so far as he handles the Divine purpose and aim, his picture is beautiful with the tender light of a compassion which is ever evolving good from evil, and a purer happier life from the very corruptions of death.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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STRUCTURE OF THE VERSE (*concluded*).

BEFORE we dismiss the subject of Hebrew versification, there are two points remaining of great, though exceptional, interest, which demand some notice at our hands.

Many readers of the English Bible have learnt the names of the twenty-two Hebrew letters from their employment to mark the divisions of the 119th Psalm. But few, perhaps, are aware that this poem is only one, the longest and most elaborate, of a considerable number of works composed on a uniform and peculiar plan. This is known as the Acrostic or Alphabetical system. Acrostics, in which the initial letters of the verses go to compose a name or sentence, are probably familiar to every one. They form a common amusement in modern days as they did in ancient Greece and Rome.[1] In the Biblical acrostics the arrangement of the initial letters is invariably alphabetical, and, as will presently appear, is capable of many varieties. It must have been of favourite use at one period of Hebrew literature, since there are extant a considerable number of examples. There are eight poems composed on this principle in the Psalter—if we count Psalms ix. and x. as one. Four out of the five chapters of Lamentations, and part of the last chapter of the Book of Proverbs, are alphabetical, and the fact that the concluding chapter of the Lamentations consists of twenty-two verses, has led to the probable conjecture that it is but the unfinished draught of a poem projected on the same plan with the rest of the book.

Many Biblical critics regard this artificial structure as a mark of inferiority and of the decay of the poetic spirit. They point to the history of other countries to prove that when inspiration and genius decline, literary toys, like anagrams and acrostics, come into fashion. Such elaborate trifles may demand a great expenditure of skill and labour, but are inconsistent with the possession of a genuine poetic faculty.[2] In like manner the alphabetical poems of the Bible are referred to "an age no longer animated with the soul of poetry, but striving to express its religious thoughts in a poetic form."

That this is true of some of these compositions may readily be granted. They are of a didactic or devotional character, and do not attempt to rise to the height of lyric expression. Affording an admirable aid to the memory, the alphabetical system is a vehicle well suited to the conveyance of moral or doctrinal teaching. For this reason it was imitated in early Latin hymns, called from their compositions, Abecedarian.[3] Augustine was the author of a celebrated work of the kind, intended as a popular refutation of the Donatist heresy. But we need not conclude that the system is inconsistent with the possession of true poetic gifts. Submission to restraint is not necessarily the mark of inferiority. Rhyme itself is a fetter, and our Milton, when apologising for its omission in the *Paradise Lost*, called it "the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre." Yet his own lyrics show with what perfect ease and incomparable grace he could wear the chain. Gifted minds find strength in the discipline of self-imposed rules, and poets of the highest order have not unfrequently preferred metres which appear to put a restraint on all freedom of movement, but which become responsive and delicate instruments in trained and flexible fingers. The sonnet, the most intricate and complicated of all systems of rhyme, has proved a "key to unlock" the most passionate and sensitive hearts that ever beat, and what the sonnet was to Milton and Petrarch, the alphabetical system actually seems to have been to the tender spirit of Jeremiah, breaking with its unutterable grief at the desolation of his country, but controlled amid his sorrow by submission to the goodness and wisdom of Israel's Divine King. Nor need it be concluded that an artifice which in other languages has been the amusement of literary triflers, was altogether inconsistent with dignity in the sententious style of Hebrew poetry.

These general considerations will prevent a too hasty condemnation of the alphabetical poems. But the merit of each composition must be decided by the impression it produces. Let Ps. xxv., xxxiv., and xxxvii. be read over in English, and while the reader will have no indication that the authors were trammelled by any extraordinary restraints, he will hardly fail to find not only religious but poetical inspiration, not only devotional but imaginative feeling. These, it is true, are among the earliest of the poems exhibiting this arrangement. For the most part Psalms composed in this style are of quite the latest period to which any portion of the Psalter can be reasonably assigned. But the Lamentations also fall within what is usually regarded as a time of poetical decline, yet who could be insensible to their tender and pathetic beauty? The poems which

[1] Epicharmus, a comic poet, is said to have been the inventor of the Greek acrostic. Cicero mentions Ennius as an acrostic writer.

[2] Ausonius, one of the worst offenders, a late Latin poet, makes use of the Greek word *Technopægnion* to designate this exhibition of the powers of verse-making. This play at art wasted ability and skill in various ways. Some of the minor Greek poets wrote poems in the form of wings, eggs, &c., a trick copied by the quaint George Herbert. Perhaps the most absurd were the Lipogrammatists or letter-droppers, who contrived to exclude in turn each letter of the alphabet from a whole book of a poem. Addison has some amusing criticisms on this and other forms of "false wit," in No. 59 of the *Spectator*.

[3] See Hook's *Church Dict.*, *sub voce*. Chaucer's "A B C, called La priere de nostre Dame," was an English composition of this kind, made, it is said, at the request of Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, for her private use.

comprise this magnificent elegy may be wanting in the unity which we connect with the highest art, but their effect as expressions of overwhelming grief is rather heightened than impaired by this want. Each verse is, as it were, a fresh outburst of sorrow, a new passion of weeping and woe, an elegy in itself; and for this effect, so desirable if the poems were intended to be in any sense a "national dirge," the alphabetical arrangement is a help rather than a hindrance. The following remarks on Ps. cxix., taken from a work which generally reflects the unfavourable opinion of German critics, give a very truthful representation of the character of that most elaborate example of the alphabetical system:—"If we would fathom the depth of meaning in the written Law of Israel, if we would measure the elevation of soul, the hope, the confidence even before princes and kings, which pious Jews derived from it, we must turn to this Psalm. Here is an epitome of all true religion as conceived by the best spirits of that time. To such a long study and meditation on the Law, the alphabetical arrangement is not inappropriate, and if the poem be necessarily somewhat cramped, it is nevertheless pervaded by the glow of love, and abounds in spiritual life. Thus it will ever remain a treasured specimen—if not of the lyric genius and inspiration of the Hebrews—at least of the high feelings and aspirations of the second childhood of the nation."[1]

As the system has not been in any case preserved in the English translations either of the Authorised Version or of the Prayer-book, it will be necessary to give some examples of it here. It should, however, be borne in mind that the difficulty of finding the right initial letter and the consequent sense of restraint, is probably exaggerated in a translation.

Although only thirteen poems in this style are extant, there are as many as six variations in the mode of employing the alphabet.

1. There are two Psalms—cxi. and cxii.—consisting each of twenty-two lines, each line having its own initial letter, and each line consisting in the original, for the most part, of three words. The verses are couplets till the end, where two verses of three members occur. These compositions do not rise to a high order of poetry—

"All my heart shall praise Jehovah,
Before the congregation of the righteous.
Deeds of goodness are the deeds of Jehovah,
Earnestly desired of all them that have pleasure therein;
For His righteousness endureth for ever,
Glorious and honourable is His work."[2]

2. In the second of the typical forms the verses are also couplets, but only the first line of each couplet has its proper letter. The poems are thus composed of twenty-two verses, each of two lines. To this form belong Ps. xxv., xxxiv., cxlv., Prov. xxxi. 10—31, and Lam. iv.[3]

"Jehovah is gracious; O taste and see
How blessed is the man that trusteth in Him;
Keep the fear of Jehovah, ye that are His saints,
For they that fear Him lack nothing.
Lions do lack and suffer hunger,
But they that seek Jehovah want not anything that is good."
(Ps. xxxiv. 8—10.)

3. In Lam. i. and ii. there is a corresponding arrangement of triplets.

"Their heart cried unto Jehovah, 'O wall of the daughter of Sion,
Let tears run down like a river day and night:
Give thyself no rest; let not the apple of thine eye cease.'
Up! arise! cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches.
Pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord:
Lift up thine hand toward Him for the life of the young children.
Vouchsafe, O Jehovah, to consider to whom Thou hast done this;
Shall the women eat their fruit and the children to whom they gave suck?
Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?
Woe for the young and for the old, they lie on the ground in the streets;
My virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword,
Thou hast slain them in Thine anger, Thou hast killed and not pitied.
Yea, Thou hast called together as on a solemn day the dwellers round about
In the day of Thine anger, none escaped or remained;
Thou that swaddled and brought up hath mine enemy consumed."

4. Ps. xxxvii. is arranged in quatrains or stanzas of four lines, the first line only of each stanza being marked by an initial letter. The Psalm contains a number of quotations from older poems which have been most artistically woven together by the alphabetical arrangement.[4]

5. The third chapter of the Lamentations consists of sixty-six lines, arranged in triplets, each of which is distinguished by a letter of the alphabet. A verse or two will make the arrangement clear.

"Dreadful was He to me as a bear lying in wait, as a lion in secret places;
Desolate hath He made me; He hath led me aside and torn me in pieces;
Drawing His bow, He hath set me as a mark for His arrow.
Even into my veins hath He caused to enter the sons of His quiver;
Every day was I a derision to all people, and their song all the day long.
Exceeding bitterness hath filled my soul, yea, He hath made me drunken with wormwood."
(Lam. iii. 10—15.)

A similar arrangement of the letters to form quatrains was evidently contemplated by the author of Ps. ix. and x. which are rightly presented as one poem in the Septuagint. Each line of the first stanza begins with *Aleph*, but in the next stanza only the first line has its proper letter. The acrostic arrangement is interrupted at the beginning of Ps. x. by the insertion of verses from another poem, but is resumed again at the end.

6. The twenty-two divisions of the 119th Psalm are marked in our translations by the Hebrew letters. Each of these divisions or strophes is composed of eight couplets, and each couplet begins with its own letter. Thus there are eight couplets beginning with *Aleph*,

[1] *Psalms Chronologically Arranged by Four Friends*, § 130.
[2] These translations are from the work quoted in the last note.
[3] Psalms xxv. and xxxiv. want one letter, the sixth of the Hebrew alphabet. The omission is supplied by the repetition of the 17th letter at the end. In some others of these poems the arrangement is varied or broken, probably through carelessness.
[4] There are other of the Psalms even more composite than this. The principal are lx., xix., cviii., xliv., xxvii.

eight with *Beth*, and so on, through all the twenty-two letters of the alphabet. The *Daleth* strophe is given here as an example.

"Deep in the dust lieth my soul,
O quicken Thou me according to Thy word!
Daily have I acknowledged Thy ways and Thou heardest me,
O teach me Thy statutes!
Declare unto me the way of Thy commandments,
And so shall I talk of Thy wondrous works.
Disquieted is my soul for very heaviness,
O comfort Thou me according to Thy word.
Do Thou take from me the way of lying,
And cause me to make much of Thy law.
Dear unto me is the way of truth,
And Thy judgments have I laid before me.
Do not I cleave unto Thy testimonies?
O Jehovah confound me not.
Daily will I run in the way of Thy commandments
When Thou hast set my heart at liberty."

An interest attaches to these poems from the fact that they furnished Bishop Lowth with a starting-point for his investigations into the character of the sacred poetry. Assuming that a contrivance requiring so much study and labour would not have been adopted in prose, he concludes that compositions perfectly alphabetical "consist of verses properly so called, of verses regulated by some observation of harmony or cadence of measure, numbers, or rhythm." And since by the recurrence of the letters the ends of the verses are infallibly marked, the alphabetical poems furnish a safe foundation on which to construct a theory of Hebrew verse. It is at once perceived that rhyme does not form one of its elements; the relation of the line to the grammatical period is ascertained; and the ear is guided by that harmony between the verse members which constitutes the charm of Hebrew rhythm, and which received from Lowth the name of Parallelism.

This seems to be the place to call attention to one point in the versification of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which can indeed hardly fail to strike every reader. The lines throughout the poem run to an unusual length, being longer by at least one half than the ordinary Hebrew line. The length of them is, on an average, about twelve syllables, seven or eight being the prevailing number in other verses. In connection with this peculiarity, Lowth observes, "We are not to suppose this peculiar form of versification utterly without design or importance; on the contrary, I am persuaded that the prophet adopted this kind of metre as being more diffuse, more copious, more tender in all respects, better adapted to melancholy subjects. I must add that in all probability the funeral dirges, which were sung by the mourners, were commonly composed in this kind of verse, for whenever in the Prophets, any funeral lamentations occur, or any passages formed upon that plan, the versification is, if I am not mistaken, of this protracted kind. If this, then, be the case, we have discovered a true legitimate form of elegy in the poetry of the Hebrews.[1] The same writer in another place calls attention to a further peculiarity in the versification of these elegiac poems. In each line, and generally towards the end, there is a rest or interval, while the cadence is completed by a very full and strong closing pause to each line. This is apparent in the translation given by the bishop of Lam. iii. 1—6.

"I am the man that hath seen affliction, by the rod of His anger;
He hath led me and made me walk in darkness, not in light;
Even again turned He His hand against me, all the day long.
He hath made old my flesh and my skin, He hath broken my bones;
He hath built against me, and hath compassed me with gall and travail;
He hath made me dwell in dark places, as the dead of old."

There is one group of poems to which allusion has already been made, in which a metrical experiment of a new kind was apparently attempted. They are the exquisite lyrics entitled in the English Bible "Songs of Degrees," but called by modern scholars, "Pilgrim Hymns." The name represents a Hebrew title denoting, according to Gesenius and Delitzsch, a gradually step-like progressive rhythm of thought peculiar to these Psalms. This feature does not, however, appear in all the poems of the group, and a more probable origin has already been suggested for the name. But there is evident trace of an attempt to develop in a new direction one powerful element of Hebrew versification, or to give it new and increased importance. Any one reading the Song of Deborah, or the 93rd Psalm, will be sensible of the rapid and impetuous movement which is given to the verse by the repetition of the verb or the most important word from a previous line. The following verse from Isaiah is an example of the sense of thorough completion which can be obtained by the same rhythm:

"Trust ye in Jehovah for ever;
For in Jehovah is a never-failing protection;
For He hath humbled those that dwell on high:
The lofty city *He hath brought her down;*
He hath brought her down to the ground,
He hath levelled her to the dust."
(Isa. xxvi. 4, 5, cf. xvii. 12, sq.)

The effect of this in a short lyric piece is to carry the verse onwards by a rapid but gradual movement to a climax, and if the steps of the progressions are sufficiently marked, this arrangement will of itself constitute a kind of rhythm, though the parallelism be in other respects imperfect and indistinct. Psalm cxxi. has the artifice most clearly marked.

"I lift up mine eyes to the hills
From whence *cometh my help.*
My help cometh from the Lord,
The Creator of heaven and earth.
He will not suffer thy foot to be moved;
Thy keeper slumbers not,
Behold neither *slumbers nor sleeps*
The *keeper* of Israel;
Jehovah is thy *keeper,*
Jehovah is thy shade upon thy right hand,
So that the sun shall not burn thee by day
Nor the moon by night,
Jehovah keeps thee from all ill—
Keeps thy soul.
Jehovah keeps thine outgoing and incoming
From henceforth even for ever."[2]

The labour and time spent by scholars on a subject

[1] Lect. xxii. The reader will probably compare with the Bishop's account of Hebrew elegy, the feeling of melancholy which is conveyed by the metre of the well-known *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, by Gray.

[2] Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament Psalms.*

which, after all investigation, admits so little certainty, and remains rather a matter of opinion and taste than of science, might seem thrown away were it not for the importance of a close attention to the versification of Biblical poetry both to the translator and interpreter.

In rendering one language into another, something of the grace and charm of the original must always be sacrificed. This loss, moreover, is greatest in poetry, where the expressive power of language comes most forcibly into play. But it has often been remarked that Hebrew poetry invites rather than repels translation. The most characteristic features of other poetry are just those which it is most difficult to reproduce. The subtle sweetness of a Greek or Latin line will sometimes elude the art of the most skilful translator. We must still go to the fountain head to taste all the freshness of the heathen Muses' spring. But just that which is essential to the poetry of greatest value to the world is most easily preserved. It was ordained that the Living Water should flow in a thousand new channels to the thirsty nations as pure and fresh as when its stream first "made glad the City of God." Though written in the tongue of an insignificant tribe, the Bible is at home in all lands. So readily does it adapt itself to new circumstances, that we seem to hear the Spirit speaking to us, "every man in the tongue wherein we were born."

This feature is strikingly brought out by Bishop Lowth, who shows, by contrasting a free and loose translation of a few passages, with one strictly literal, how the language of inspiration is adapted, as if to secure it, under every change of form, from loss of beauty or force. The reader who has carefully studied the quotations given in the preceding papers, will be sensible how much is gained in appreciation of the lyrical beauty of Biblical poetry by preserving the divisions into strophes and lines. "The eye is everywhere the minister of the mind: it is so in more than a usual degree in the poems of a language which deals so largely as the Hebrew in curious parallelisms and nicely wrought balance of structure."[1]

But this strict attention to the form and style of the Hebrew writings is of even greater importance to the interpreter of their meaning. Careful attention to the parallelism has, in many instances, removed difficulties, and cleared up obscurities, which have reduced grammarians to despair. As Herder says, it comes like the voice of a friend to one who has lost himself in a desert. One pregnant instance of this, adduced in Lowth's *Dissertation*, will suffice. It is from Isa. xxviii. 14—18.

> "Wherefore hear ye the word of the Lord, ye scoffers—
> Ye who to this people in Jerusalem utter sententious speeches;
> Who say, We have entered into a covenant with death,
> And with the grave we have made a treaty.
> But your covenant with death shall be broken,
> And your treaty with the grave shall not stand."

Here the meaning of the word *Moshele* in the second line of the first couplet is determined by its parallelism to "scoffer" in the first. The word translated "treaty" cannot, since it must balance "covenant," possibly mean anything else—and yet it does not in any other place in the Scriptures bear this or a similar sense. The translation "shall be broken," in the last line but one, proceeds from an emendation of the text suggested by the corresponding term "shall not stand" at the close.

In Jebb's *Sacred Literature* many instances are given of the successful application of the same test of parallelism to the exegesis of the New Testament.

[1] *Psalms Chronologically Arranged*—Introduction.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MALACHI (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

FOURTH PART.

THE FINAL ADMONITION.

CHAP. IV. 4—6.

THE closing verses of Malachi are also the closing verses of the Old Testament. As his voice, so also the Voice of Inspiration, dies away, and will be heard no more for four hundred years. It was but meet that a revelation so noble as that contained in the Old Testament Scriptures should rise to a high and stately close. And what close could be more lofty than the passage before us? It is a true Mount of Vision on which the prophet stands; and as he looks across the valley at his feet, peering into the years to be, there rises before him the Mount of Transfiguration, Moses, Elijah, and Christ conferring together on its summit concerning the things which pertain to the kingdom of God: "Remember the law of *Moses*;" "Behold, I send *Elijah*;" "*Jehovah* cometh."

In the previous section of his prophecy, Malachi had predicted the coming of the Lord, of *Adonai*, the present and active Ruler of men (chap. iii. 1). The day of His coming would be a day of blended mercy and judgment, burning like a furnace for the wicked, shining like a quickening healing sun on the righteous. Who could endure the day of His coming, or stand when He appeared? Only those who remembered and kept the law of God, who were living in the obedience of faith. Therefore the Prophet exhorts the men of his time, as they would escape the curse, to bear the law in mind, and, as they would secure the blessing, to walk in the statutes and judgments given to Moses in charge for all Israel on Horeb. The very form of his exhortation

lends new force, for he so frames it as to bring out the Divine origin and authority of the Law. Moses indeed spake the words of this Law on Mount Horeb; but Moses, says Jehovah, was "*My servant*," or minister, and only delivered the statutes and judgments which "I gave him in charge" and gave him in charge "for *all* Israel"—not only for the men who heard his voice, but for all their succeeding generations. Thus, by a single stroke, the prophet reminds the men of his own time that the Divine law was binding on them no less than on their fathers, and that it *was* Divine: he eliminates from it all that was merely human and temporary; Moses was only the channel, God was the source from which the Law came; Moses uttered, but God gave, the Law, revealing in it His eternal will and goodwill.

But Malachi has little hope that the people will prepare themselves for the coming of the Lord by obedience to His will. He knows that "even from the days of their fathers they have departed from the statutes" of Jehovah, "and have not kept them,"[1] and he fears that they will still travel on that ancient track. Nevertheless the purpose of God shall not be made of none effect. If they will not prepare themselves by obedience for the advent of the Lord, the Lord Himself will prepare them. Before He comes He will send a messenger before His face "*to prepare the way* before Him," even that stern preacher of repentance, "*Elijah the prophet.*" In predicting the coming of this "messenger," or herald, who is to precede the King, Malachi bases himself on that picturesque prophecy of Isaiah's which has given shape to so many passages in the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments (Isa. xl. 3—8). After Isaiah had foretold the captivity of Israel in Babylon, he was charged to speak comfortably to Judah and Jerusalem, to assure them that their iniquity was pardoned, their sin put away, the term of their bondage reached. As he mused on his new happy commission, wondering how the captivity of Zion was to be turned and the exiles were to be brought back in safety across the desert and the mountain ranges which lay between Babylon and Jerusalem, the silence of his musing spirit was broken by a loud authoritative voice. The voice was that of the herald of the Great King, of the God of heaven. In curt imperative tones the herald delivered his message: "*Prepare ye a way for Jehovah* in the wilderness, make smooth in the desert a highway for our God; let every valley be raised and every mountain be levelled; let the rough places be made smooth, and the rock ledges a plain: and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it." This was the answer to the question in the prophet's mind. The way of the Return was difficult and hazardous, through the unfriendly desert, over the inhospitable ranges. But the Divine King would send a messenger before His face, to order a broad, smooth, level road to be made; and then, when the way was prepared, He would come, as in a royal procession, revealing His glory and bringing His people with Him.

[1] Chap. iii. 7.

Malachi sees that there will be a new fulfilment of that prophecy.[2] The Hebrews, even from the time of their fathers, have departed from God. They have been reduced to captivity in "the far country" of disobedience. Jehovah has commissioned him to say to them, "Return to me, and I will return to you:[3] but the way of return to obedience, the way of repentance and amendment, is hard to erring feet; many a Valley of Humiliation must be crossed, many a Hill Difficulty must be surmounted. God will send a messenger "*to prepare the way* before Him," to make it safe if not smooth, passable if not easy; and, after the messenger, He Himself will come, to show forth His glory, the glory of His redeeming love, and to lead His people in the way they should go.

And this messenger is to be Elijah the prophet. Why Elijah? Because Elijah was "*the* Prophet," the great prophet, so great that Elisha was made great by receiving but "a double of his spirit,"[4] so great that what subsequent prophets did is more than once attributed to Elijah long after he had ascended into heaven.[5] Because he was "the restorer of the law." Because, living in a most corrupt age, he remained faithful to Jehovah, and compelled the people to return to the worship of the only true God. Because, on his final rejection by Israel, the curse of Heaven fell on the land, and the Chosen Nation was put to the ban. All these facts were familiar to the Jews of Malachi's time; and if anything would rouse them from their vain dream of self-righteousness, surely it would be to hear that, in the sight of Heaven, they were as corrupt and degraded as the base and idolatrous generation of Elijah, and could only be rendered meet to behold the Lord, for whose coming they sighed, by a ministry as sharp and incisive as that of the greatest of the prophets.

The special mission of this prophetic messenger is defined in the words—

> "And He shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the sons,
> And the hearts of the sons to the fathers"—

very simple and hopeful words, especially when we take them together with the New Testament gloss on them. The "fathers" are the pious forefathers such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Levi, David. Through the sins of their descendants, the hearts of these pious fathers and of their ungodly children are estranged from each other. The bond of union, viz., a common love to God, is wanting. The fathers are ashamed of their children; the children are ashamed of their fathers. The great gulf between them is to be bridged by Elijah the prophet, by the Messenger who is to come before the Lord. He will restore the children to God; and in God, fathers and children will once more meet and be at one. The New Testament, in citing, explains the passage.[6] Speaking of the Messenger who came before

[2] Observe how St. Mark (chap. i. 2, 3) quotes Mal. iii. 1, and Isa. xl. 3, as all from Isaiah. Obviously, he regarded Malachi's words as only an explanatory development of what had been "written by Isaiah the prophet."

[3] Chap. iii. 7.

[4] 2 Kings ii. 9; *i.e.*, the portion of the first-born, twice as much as that of other sons (Deut. xxi. 17), but still less than half, it might be, of the whole inheritance.

[5] See 2 Chron. xxi. 12. Comp. 1 Kings xix. 15, 16 with 2 Kings viii. 13, and ix. 4—6.

[6] Luke i. 16, 17.

the Lord, it quotes the first phrase, "he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children," in the very words of Malachi; but instead of continuing, "And the hearts of the children to their fathers," it substitutes, "*And the disobedient to the wisdom of the just;*" thus affirming that it was simply the disobedience of the children which separated them from their wise and just fathers, and that, when once this disobedient heart was changed, all would be changed, and the fathers and the children become one.

The Messenger is to come "*in the spirit and power of Elijah,*" with his stern authoritative spirit, with his keen incisive power of rebuke: but nevertheless, his errand is a most gracious one; for not only does he come to bind all the generations of Israel into one by their common love for God, he also comes that Jehovah may *not* come "*to smite the land with the ban;*" that Jehovah may come to redeem and bless. Now this term "the ban" (*cherem*) is one of the most terrible in Scripture. Its ruling idea is that of "forcible dedication to Jehovah"—as of victims *devoted* to His service. It implies that those who obstinately refuse to give themselves to Him, and so fulfil the purpose of their creation, will be so sacrificed and destroyed as that, despite themselves, they shall illustrate the purity and goodness of His will. Thus the ban of God was laid on the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan; *i.e.*, God devoted them to destruction; it became an act of worship to destroy them. Thus, too, it was ordained that every Israelitish city which lapsed into idolatry should be laid under the ban: "thou shalt *ban* the city and its spoil entirely *to the Lord* thy God," destroying its inhabitants, and its very cattle, with the edge of the sword, and burning the houses and spoil with fire; "and it shall remain a heap for ever; it shall no more be built again."[1] Such as these blackened spots had been in the land should the whole land become, if Jehovah was compelled to utter His ban on it; such as the Canaanites were, a doomed race, a race devoted to perdition, should the Israelites themselves become if they proved incorrigible, and the Lord, when He came, found no faith, or good faith, in them.

The Old Testament closes with a *cherem;* and the omen has been fulfilled. In vain came the Law by Moses: the Messenger was sent in vain: in vain did the Lord Himself come to His Temple. Israel would not hearken, repent, obey. And she was proscribed. The doom was pronounced, the interdict felt. Her land was smitten with desolation; and, to this day, all her pleasant places lie waste. Her children were driven forth to wander, smitten and afflicted, through the earth, aliens in every land; and, to this day, they stand before us a monument of the wrath of God against sin. The Jews are to Christendom what the Cities of the Plain were to the Jews. The curses with which they drove their Lord and Christ to the Cross have in very deed come home to roost; and they who would not accept the salvation of God have long been "scattered and peeled" by His judgments. The fair olive and stately palm of Israel have been stabbed, and rent, and scathed as by stroke after stroke of angry lightnings; all the bolts of Heaven having fallen on them, hurling the blackened splinters to the very ends of the world, to bear witness in all lands that there is a God who judgeth in the earth.

We have reached the end of our Scripture, but not of our task. Two points closely related to each other must still be briefly discussed. The first, What of Messianic prediction do we gain from Malachi? and the second, How, and in what sense, was Malachi's prediction of "the Messenger" fulfilled in John the Baptist?

1. In common with the prophets who were before him, Malachi saw that the whole stream of human history tended toward, and demanded, a day of the Lord. Taught by one and the selfsame Spirit with them, he saw that this day of the Lord would come; and that, as they had foretold, it would be a day of blended judgment and mercy. Like them, too, and perhaps with even a more clear and steadfast conviction, he is sure that the very judgments of God hide a purpose of mercy. He denounces a judgment on the false and corrupt priests; but this judgment is to come on them only that God's covenant of life and peace with Levi may remain, and that the law of truth may be restored to their lips. He denounces a judgment on Edom; but this judgment is to come that the name of Jehovah may be great beyond the border of Israel. He denounces a judgment on the people and land of Judah; but the judgment is to come that from the rising to the setting of the sun His Name may be great among the nations, and that in every place incense may be burned to Him, and a pure sacrifice be offered. Nay, more; he lays the axe to the roots of the trees *in order that it may not be used;* he threatens judgment that fear may inspire penitence, and penitence may avert judgment. Let the priests repent, and present an offering to Jehovah in righteousness, and once more their offerings shall be pleasant to Him as in the days of old.[2] Let the people repent, and bring the tithe into the storehouse, and Jehovah will open the sluices of heaven and pour them out a blessing so ample and copious that they shall very hardly have room to bestow it.[3] Thus Malachi gives repeated and emphatic expression to the truth, which neither the theologian nor the expositor can grasp too firmly or insist on too earnestly, that *the anger of God is a redeeming anger,* as His love is a redeeming love.

Nor does he for a moment imagine that, should his ministry fail and his words fall vain and useless to the ground, God has no other means and ministries of mercy at His command, or that He will fail to use them. Beyond a doubt Malachi held himself to be a "messenger of the Lord," as his very name indicated, and felt that he was sent "to prepare the way of the Lord." Beyond a doubt he saw that a day of the Lord was

[1] Numb. xiii. 12–18.

[2] Mal. iii. 3, 4.

[3] Mal. iii. 10.

close at hand; for in his description of that day there are local allusions and notes of time which show that he was thinking of a national and immediate judgment—a judgment in which the sons of Levi were to be purified, and the sorcerers and adulterers, the perjurers and tyrants, of Judah were to be punished; a judgment that was to usher in a day of mercy, in which copious rains were to flow through the sluice-gates of heaven, and the locust was to be destroyed, and the ground was to yield its fruit.[1] But, beyond *this* day, he saw a day still greater, more terrible and yet of a diviner mercy; a Messenger who would come in the spirit and power of Elijah; an advent of the Lord (Adonai) which should be as the rising of the Sun of Righteousness.[2] The lines of prediction which he laid down were too large to be filled by the events of his own age. Raised by the Eternal Spirit above the limitations of time, he looked onward, and saw in the distant future a greater Messenger than himself, and, behind him, the greatest of all, the Messenger of the New Covenant, the Mediator of the better law; and a judgment more great and terrible than any he was to witness, a blessing, not for a single race, but for the world at large.

How he reached the conviction that, come when He would, the Lord must be preceded by a messenger, and that this messenger must be Elijah the prophet, we can partly see. Israel was too corrupt to endure, unprepared, that coming of the Lord of which all the prophets had spoken. If He were to come to them as they were, they must be destroyed by the brightness of His coming. Before His advent, His way must be prepared; there must be a radical change, a sweeping reformation. The Hebrews, degraded by sin, must be raised; lifted up by vanity and self-righteousness, they must be brought low. And had not the prophet Isaiah spoken of a herald, a messenger, who should go before the Lord, to prepare His way, that God might come, and all flesh behold His glory? Whoever that messenger might be, he must be a man of a strong and ardent spirit, a man such as Elijah was; or how could he reform a people so corrupt and raise them to a moral condition in which they might see God and yet not die? So far the prophet might well get, as he pondered in his heart the terrible corruptions of his time, and the gracious words of promise and warning spoken by the earlier prophets. By this path the Divine Spirit may have led him to his conclusion, and then have assured him that it was true—that the day of the Lord, so long predicted, would soon come, but that Elijah must needs first come in order to prepare men for the advent.

So that the one gain Messianic prediction received from Malachi was this: he confirms the promise of the advent of the Lord; confirms, too, the prediction that a messenger must go before His face; but, to all that the elder prophets had said, he adds that this messenger must and will be Elijah the prophet.

2. Here, then, we reach our second question: How, and in what sense, was Malachi's prediction of the Messenger fulfilled in John the Baptist? To this question the New Testament furnishes a singularly full and abundant reply. It really seems as though, not only the mind of the Baptist, but also the minds of all who speak of him, were steeped in the prophecy of Malachi and saturated with it. There is hardly a word said of or by him which does not take new meaning and force so soon as we read it in the light of Malachi's lamp. It is not necessary, now and here, to go into every minute detail; it will be enough if we glance at the leading correspondences between the Scripture of Malachi and the Scriptures which relate to John the Baptist.

There is no doubt that the Jews gathered from Malachi that the ancient prophet, Elijah the Tishbite, would come before the Messiah. They have always affirmed—in so far as they still expect the Messiah, they still affirm—that "the Messiah will be born a man, and that Elijah will anoint Him when He comes." They have always prayed, they still pray, that Elijah may come and announce the advent of Messiah. Curiously enough, although Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel all predict that, when the kingdom of God arrives, He will set up one Shepherd over them, even His servant David,[3] the Jews have never expected that David would return to earth and time, to be their Christ; whereas, on the other hand, though only Malachi speaks of the Tishbite as the forerunner of the Christ, they have always held that Elijah would return and once more appear among men.

Of course the writers of the New Testament no more speak of a literal Elijah than of a literal David. To them, Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, and John the Baptist was Elijah. In what sense John was Elijah is explained in the familiar words of the angel who announced his birth to the wistful wondering Zacharias; "He shall be great in the sight of the Lord; . . . and many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before Him *in the spirit and power of Elijah*, to turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; *to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.*"[4] Wherever the Spirit of Christ is, there Christ is; and in like manner, wherever the spirit of Elijah is, there Elijah is. If, because he received the half of his spirit, Elisha might act and speak in the name of his master, much more may we take John, in whom his whole spirit and power dwelt, as the predicted Elijah, the messenger and herald of the Messiah. How closely St. Luke follows Malachi in the description of the Baptist just quoted is obvious at a glance. Malachi says the Messenger shall *prepare* the way *before* the Lord; Luke, that the Baptist shall go *before Him to make ready a prepared* people: Malachi says that "*he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the sons, and the heart of the sons to the fathers*;" Luke says that "*he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just*"—the latter phrase being partly a citation and partly an explanation of the former; while, both Malachi and Luke identify him with Elijah.

[1] Mal. iii. 3, 5, 10, 11. [2] Mal. iii. 1, 2, and iv. 1—6.

[3] Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; and xxxvii. 24, 25. [4] Luke i. 15—17.

In St. Matthew's Gospel (chap. iii.) we have our fullest account of the Baptist's appearance and ministry. We are there told that his first word, his master-word, was, "*Repent*, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" that is, "Take a new view; Get a new mind; Think; Think back on your habits and ways, and mend them; for the King, long promised to your fathers, is about to appear." This was the very mission which Malachi ascribed to the messenger of the Lord; *he* was to turn back the thoughts and hearts of the disobedient children to the ways and habits of their godly fathers, and thus to induce amendment of life.[1] John's peculiar mode of life, as described in this same chapter, tends to the same conclusion. "This John, then, had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his food was locusts and wild honey."[2] Elijah, like John, haunted the wilderness; like him, he was "a hairy man"—*i.e.*, he "put a garment of hair upon his flesh," and was "girt with a girdle of leather about his loins;" like him, too, "he fasted," living austerely, abstemiously.[3] And, doubtless, John assumed these outward marks of resemblance to the great Tishbite, in order to call attention to the inward resemblance between them, as a sign that he had come in the spirit and power of Elijah. The same reason for a sad and austere life existed in both cases. The "preacher of repentance" should himself be a penitent. Elijah and John, each in his turn, came forth as a personification of repentance, showing the people, in his own conduct, what their conduct should be. To fast and to wear a garment of hair, or sackcloth, were the ordinary signs of repentant grief in the Old Testament times. And therefore Elijah fasted: and what was John's eating but a continuous fast—the dry insipid locusts, with a dash of wild honey to moisten them? Hence our Saviour says of him, "John the Baptist came neither eating nor drinking." Both these austere voices from the wilderness called men to repent, both sought to "turn the hearts of men back again" to God.

When John saw the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, he cried, "Who hath warned you to flee *from the wrath which is at hand?*"[4] as one who remembered Malachi's prophecy that the day of the Lord was a great and terrible day, and that, if his voice were not heard, "the ban" might come on the land.[5] *This* was the wrath which he saw impending. The day of the King has come; and therefore they are not only to flee from wrath, but to bring forth "*fruits* worthy of repentance;" for "even now already the axe is laid *to the roots of the trees*, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit will be burned down *and cast into the fire*:" for did not Malachi predict a day that would "*burn like a furnace*," and leave neither "*root nor branch*" to proud evildoers such as the Pharisees?[6]

"I indeed baptize you with water," he continues; "but *He that cometh after me* is mightier than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to bear;"[7] plainly alluding to Malachi's prediction of a messenger who should *go before* the Great King.[8] So, in the very next verse,[9] when John forewarns the Pharisees that the Coming One will "have *His winnowing fan in His hand*," that "*He will purge His floor from end to end*," and that "*He will gather the wheat into His garner*, but He will burn up the chaff with *unquenchable fire*," he is evidently only expanding Malachi's image of the stubble flung into the furnace:

> "Behold, the day cometh *burning like a furnace*,
> And all the proud and all the evildoers shall be *stubble*,
> And the day that cometh will *burn them up*."

So, again, we get new light on the doubt of John if we remember how strongly he felt himself to be the Messenger foretold by Malachi, and how deeply his mind was imbued with the teaching of that prophet. When Herod had cast him into prison, and slow months had passed, and still he heard nothing of Jesus, John's heart failed him, and he sent to ask, "Art Thou *that Coming One*, or are we to look for another?"[10] Now Malachi had named Adonai the Coming One, crying, "Behold, *He cometh!*" and asking, "Who may abide His *coming?*"[11] Elijah was to come too. John felt that *he* had come. And had not Malachi implied that the coming of the Messenger should be immediately followed by that of the King? that the Lord should "*suddenly* come to His Temple?" Why, then, this heart-breaking delay? Had he been mistaken all the while? Was he, the Baptist, not the true Messenger, and Jesus not the true King? We cannot wonder that hopes fed on Malachi's bright words were obscured by dark shades of doubt as months passed and the Messenger still lay in prison, and the King gave no sign of assuming His throne.

It was on this occasion, so soon as He had answered John's doubt, that our Lord Himself, speaking of the greatness of the Baptist, quoted Malachi, saying: "For this is he of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee;" and, again, "If ye will receive it, *this* is Elijah who was to come."[12]

And, last of all, on that very Mount of Transfiguration to which the closing words of Malachi point,[13] after Moses and Elijah had vanished from their eyes, the three favoured apostles, perplexed to find that Elijah has appeared but for a moment, ask, "Why then say the Scribes that Elijah must first come?"[14] They were in a maze. They had thought that John the Baptist was the predicted Messiah. But here had been Elijah *in propriâ personâ*. And, now, he too has gone. What *are* they to think? If Elijah himself were to come, why did he not stay with them? And if John were the Elijah, why had he been put to death? Must not the Messenger of the King rise to honour when the King comes? Jesus replies to their question: "The Scribes say truly that Elijah must first come, and restore

[1] Mal. iv. 6. [2] Matt. iii. 4.
[3] 2 Kings i. 8. Comp. 1 Kings xxi. 27. [4] Matt. iii. 7—10.
[5] Mal. iv. 5, 6. [6] Mal. iv. 1, 2.

[7] Matt. iii. 11. [8] Mal. iii. 1. [9] Matt. iii. 12.
[10] Matt. xi. 3. [11] Mal. iii. 1. [12] Matt. xi. 10, 14.
[13] See the Exposition of Mal. iv. 4—6. [14] Matt. xvii. 10—13.

all things. He *has* come. John was the true Messenger. And the very facts that make you doubt—his imprisonment and death—prove John to be he that was to come. For how should he be an Elijah, and yet make no enemies by his austere unsparing fidelity? If Elijah had Ahab and Jezebel to seek his life, shall not John have Herod and Herodias? If, like Elijah, he stringently demands repentance, will a sinful world listen to the demand unprovoked? *I say unto you, Elijah has come already, and they knew him not, but did unto him whatsoever they listed.*"

These are by no means all the passages in the New Testament which take new force or clearness when read in the light of Malachi's prophecy. But these will suffice to show that in John the Baptist we have at least one, and that a singularly exact, fulfilment of Malachi's prediction of the Messenger. *At least one*: for there may have been many others, and there may be still others yet to come. Whenever there is a true repentance, a true revival, a true reformation of religion, there the spirit and power of Elijah are present, active, effectual. And every such appearance of the Messenger is, and will be, followed by a new advent of the King of men, a new day of mercy and benediction. Just as Isaiah heard the herald cry, "Prepare a way," and then saw "the glory of God revealed;" just as Malachi saw Adonai following at the heels of the Messenger sent before His face; just as the disciples were led by the Baptist to the Christ: so, in all ages, the effectual preaching of repentance is followed by a new manifestation of Divine grace, and once more the Lord comes to His Temple that all flesh may see His glory.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

SACRED PLACES (*continued*).

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

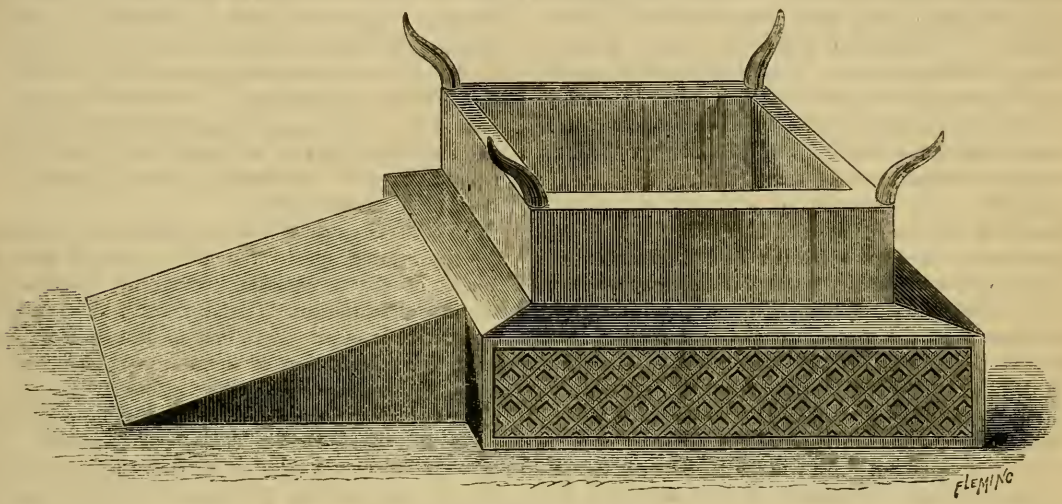
HAVING considered the Tabernacle as a whole, we have now to turn our attention to the articles with which its different parts were furnished. In doing so, we shall begin with those of the outer court, passing thence inward to the holy place, and finally to the Holy of Holies. This arrangement is evidently suggested by the circumstances of the case, and is one by which we shall be better enabled to enter into the gradually increasing elevation of thought, which meets us as we penetrate more deeply into the sanctuary, than if we pursued an opposite direction. In the outer court two articles of furniture claim our notice, the brazen altar, and the laver with its foot.

I. The Brazen Altar. Instructions for the erection of an altar were given immediately after the promulgation of the Ten Commandments at Sinai; and, although it is not said that they apply to the brazen altar, the description of which was properly to follow that of the Tabernacle in which it stood, there can be no doubt that the reference is to it, and to it alone. It was one of the essential ideas of the monotheistic faith of Israel that, in contradistinction to the many gods and many altars of the heathen, it should recognise only one altar of sacrifice to the one living and true God (Deut. xii. 13, 14); and although prophets like Samuel, in times when the national covenant had been broken, and the national law set aside, felt themselves entitled to sacrifice at other places than the centre of national unity, this was simply owing to the fact that extraordinary circumstances are always felt to justify extraordinary acts. One altar was the Divine rule; and what is said, therefore, of the altar in any one passage of the Law, must be combined with what is said of it in other passages, in order that our idea of it may be complete. Besides this, it may not be unworthy of notice that the essential conception of the altar is more likely to be found in a description unconnected than in one connected with the Tabernacle. In the latter case, other things than the expression of the pure idea had to be provided for, such, for example, as the means of transport from place to place, so that it might accompany the people in their wanderings; and it may thus be sometimes difficult to separate between what was essential and what was merely incidental to the structure. There is less danger of such confusion when the altar is spoken of in itself alone, and for this reason the earlier description in Exodus is even more valuable than the later.

In the former, then, it is said, "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen; in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon" (Exod. xx. 24—26). The later description, again, in close connection with that of the Tabernacle, is much more elaborate, "And thou shalt make an altar of shittim wood, five cubits long and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare; and the height thereof shall be three cubits. And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof; his horns shall be of the same; and thou shalt overlay it with brass. . . And thou shalt make for it a grate of network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brazen rings in the four corners thereof. . . . And thou shalt put it under the compass of the

altar beneath, that the net may be even to the midst of the altar. . . Hollow with boards shalt thou make it, as it was shewed thee in the mount so shalt thou make it" (Exod. xxvii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8). From this description it would appear that what met the eye on entering the court of the Tabernacle was a square box of acacia or shittim wood, standing three cubits, or four feet and a half, from the ground, and five cubits, or seven feet and a half, in the sides of the square. The "hollow," or interior of the box, was filled with earth mingled no doubt with the rough and unhewn, but probably small, stones of the desert, and it was without a lid, the surface of the earth within being the top of the altar, on which fire was kindled and the offerings were laid. Half way up the sides, and sustained by a grating of brass going down perpendicularly to the ground, was a projecting ledge, called in the last quoted passage "the compass of the altar beneath." This ledge appears to have been intended for the priests, that they might minister at the altar more easily than they could have done had they stood on the level of the ground, and it is generally supposed to have been narrow, perhaps no more than a half cubit, or at most a cubit, in breadth. The four horns were upright projections rising from the four corners, and no doubt, from the name, shaped with a slight curve to make them resemble the horns of an animal. Of the rings and staves it is unnecessary to speak. All the parts of the altar, except the top and the network, itself brazen, were overlaid with brass. Finally, to facilitate the ascent of the priests to the encompassing ledge, and at the same time to obviate the necessity of making a forbidden *step* up to it, there ran from it at one side, most frequently believed to have been the south, a sloping bank of earth reaching to the level of the soil. The following diagram will convey what is probably a correct idea of its appearance, observing only that the interior of the box has to be filled with earth.

Such was the brazen altar. We have now to speak of the ideas which both as a whole, and in the peculiarities of its construction, it was intended to express. On the mere circumstance of its elevation above the surface of the earth it is hardly necessary to dwell. Both in heathenism and in Judaism, altars were always higher than the ground, and that not simply for the sake of convenience, but because giving them a certain degree of elevation was naturally suggested by their purpose. The same thing appears in that tendency to erect them on "high places" which characterised the original inhabitants of Canaan, and which made these places such objects of warning to the Israelites (1 Kings xiii. 32; 2 Kings xviii. 4, &c.). By an altar man would draw near to God, and as it is impossible, in an early state of religious feeling, to think of God otherwise than as dwelling in the heavens, the altar is raised in order that He may be approached more nearly. The actual height of the altar is, in the present case more worthy of our regard. It was three cubits high, and three was the number of the God of Israel considered in the essential nature of His being.



THE BRAZEN ALTAR.

In connection with the height of the altar, the horns at the four corners demand a moment's notice. It is often supposed that the purpose of these projecting points was only to convey an additional idea of height, without interfering with the use of the altar as a convenient place of sacrifice. But had this been the intention, we should have expected the height of the horns to be mentioned, while it is at the same time obvious that, if the priests stood on the surrounding ledge already spoken of, they had before them a surface only a cubit and a half higher than the level of their feet, and that, without interrupting their operations, that height might have been considerably increased. The great objections, however, to this view of the object of the horns are, partly, that thus the symbolism of the altar is marred, the height no longer corresponding

to the number of God, and, partly, that the references made to them in Scripture lead to a different conclusion. There the horn is always the symbol of power and strength, of majesty and glory. It is thus that we read in the prophecies of Daniel that the two horns of the ram seen by the prophet in his vision are the kings of Media and Persia, while the great horn that is between the eyes of the rough goat is the first king of Grecia (Dan. viii. 20, 21); and thus that Job declares in his affliction that he has sewed sackcloth upon his skin, that he has "defiled his horn in the dust;" that he has lost all his former dignity and honour, and has been laid prostrate under the attacks of his enemies (Job xvi. 15). The references to the horn in the Psalms are numerous, and to the same effect; "All the horns of the wicked will I cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted;" "Thou art the glory of their strength, and in Thy favour our horn shall be exalted;" "There will I make the horn of David to bud," or rather to grow; "I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed;" the last passage being peculiarly worthy of our notice, because the horn is spoken of in close connection with Zion, the habitation of God, the priests, the saints, and the lamp (lxxv. 10; lxxxix. 17; cxxxii. 17). The same idea of strength and glory is again met with in the song of Zacharias: "And hath raised up an horn of salvation in the house of His servant David" (Luke i. 69), and in many passages of the Revelation of St. John. We can have little doubt, therefore, that the horns of the brazen altar were symbols rising out of the number 3 belonging to the height of the altar itself, and that they were an expression in the first place of the Divine majesty and strength, and then of the communication of these to the true worshipper. It is in harmony with this interpretation that the blood of the sin offering had to be sprinkled upon them, and that, as in the cases of Adonijah and Joab, those who fled from the vengeance of their enemies to the sanctuary, "caught hold on the horns of the altar" (1 Kings i. 50; ii. 28).

Before passing from the outward shape of the brazen altar it may be well only further to observe, that importance is evidently attached to the fact that it should be square (Exod. xxvii. 1), a shape by which it received upon it the stamp of the kingdom of God as established in the world, and that the number 5 in the side of the square is to be connected with what has been already said regarding the use of that number, as the number of imperfection, in all the arrangements of "the court." The altar, in short, in its different dimensions had reference to the leading ideas of the theocracy at that particular stage of its development. It was the altar of God, the altar of His kingdom in the world, but of that kingdom in an as yet imperfect state.

Two other circumstances connected with the erection of the altar claim a brief explanation. It was to be constructed, as we have already seen, of earth, or, if stones were used, they were to be unhewn (Exod. xx. 24, 25), so that the box of shittim wood overlaid with brass was the case or covering of the altar rather than the altar itself. Much curious speculation has been indulged in regarding the meaning of thus employing earth, as if it were intended to signify either that sinful man is the creature of the dust, and must return to his dust again,[1] or that the earth made use of representing the world, the scene upon which the theocratic kingdom was to be set up, was there adapted to that purpose by being rescued, as it were, from the effects of the Fall, dedicated anew to God.[2] Ideas such as these have little or no foundation in the text. The mention of stones, which were not to be touched by the tool of man, is rather the only hint to help us to a conclusion; and, following it, it would seem that the ground of the directions given upon the point before us, was to make it obvious that the altar was wholly of God's, and in no respect of man's, providing. Man was sinful. He erected an altar by which to draw near to a holy God. Therefore must that altar be brought as little as possible into contact with him and with his doings as a sinner. It must be simple, natural, as far as might be of God's own workmanship. Thus would man feel the more that not upon any foundation that he could lay, but solely upon that of the power and grace of God Himself, could his offerings be made acceptable to a Being of unspotted purity.

The other circumstance to be noted is the prohibition of steps leading up to the altar, together with the ground of the prohibition, "that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon" (Exod. xx. 26). The principle appealed to is clear. It is, that modesty and purity of conduct are demanded of those who minister at the altar. We advert to the matter rather for the sake of suggesting an explanation of a prohibition which must appear to most readers to have been unneeded. For, even when we call to mind the nature of a loose Oriental robe, it seems difficult to conceive that, in ascending only a cubit and a half, any precaution of the kind should have been required. We believe that the explanation is to be found in heathen practices, and that the provision was a warning against the slightest approach to them. Any one who has followed his Arab guide in ascending the Great Pyramid at Ghizeh at the present day, must have witnessed an illustration of what would in all probability be the case in mounting the steps that led up to the "high places" of the heathen.

Finally, we have to say a word of the idea of the altar as a whole. The etymology of the name by which it was known in Hebrew supplies the key. It was "for slaughter" or "for sacrifice," and more particularly for the burnt-offering. Again and again, throughout much of the Old Testament, is the brazen altar described as the altar of burnt-offering, as if this were its distinguishing name, never as that of any of the other offerings presented there. On it Israel offered itself to God in self-dedication and in praise. It was the culminating point of that Court of the Tabernacle in which a people, already redeemed, but not able to

[1] Bähr, *Symbolik*, i., p. 433. [2] Keil, *Archæologie*, i., p. 103.

realise fully the blessings of its redemption, surrendered itself to Him who had redeemed it. There it went up in a burnt-offering to Him, and there the Lord smelled a "sweet savour," and accepted the sacrifice (Lev. iii. 16; comp. Gen. viii. 20, 21). In conformity with this, it would seem that the free-will offerings of the people, when made in a right spirit, were laid *upon* the altar (Matt. xxiii. 18), but that, when not accompanied by the feelings which alone could render them pleasing to God, they were placed only *before* it until the spirit of acceptable worship had been gained (Matt. v. 23, 24). To this purpose of the altar, as an altar of burnt-offering, we are to trace the fact that the fire upon it was kept continually burning. "The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar; it shall never go out" (Lev. vi. 13).

While Israel thus offered itself to God upon the altar of burnt-offering, He on His part met the people there, and fed them in the persons of the priests their representatives. The fat was for Himself, the remainder was for Aaron and his sons to eat, and the altar thus became the table at which the priests were feasted.

Therefore in Christ and in His people in Him is the altar of burnt-offering again "fulfilled," its imperfection only done away, its idea perfected for ever. "Christ hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour" (Eph. v. 2), and we are "complete in Him" (Col. ii. 10). In Him Christians ascend to their Father in heaven, a burnt-offering the fire of which is continually burning, and their heavenly Father meets them in the sacrifice and feasts them with the abundant blessings of His house. "They have an altar whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the Tabernacle" (Heb. xiii. 10). That altar, the New Testament altar of burnt-offering, is Christ Himself, and the Divine life communicated by Him to all the members of His body, so that, as they offer, they also feast, continually, and even the outer Court of the Tabernacle is changed for them into the house of God and the very gate of heaven.

II. The second article of furniture in the Court of the Tabernacle was the laver, always spoken of in connection with its foot. It stood beyond the brazen altar, and between it and the Tabernacle. The directions for its construction were, "Thou shalt also make a laver of brass, and his foot also of brass to wash withal; and thou shalt put it between the Tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein. For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat. When they go into the Tabernacle of the congregation they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offering made by fire unto the Lord; so they shall wash their hands and their feet that they die not; and it shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and to his seed throughout their generations" (Exod. xxx. 18—21). In these words, and the deficiency is not elsewhere supplied, no mention is made of the shape or size of the laver, but they, as well as all other passages where it is spoken of, attach such importance to the "foot," as to make it probable that the water with which the feet and hands were washed was contained in a hollow at the base, and that this was surmounted by the body of the laver containing that larger supply of pure water from which the lower receptacle was constantly replenished. The whole was of brass or bronze; but it is not possible to speak with certainty as to its exact shape or size. When the construction is related, it is further said that Bezaleel "made the laver of brass and the foot of it of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the Tabernacle of the congregation" (Exod. xxxviii. 8). These words have been supposed to mean that the metallic looking-glasses referred to were so fastened to the laver after it was made, that they served their original purpose for the priests. But this interpretation, improbable in itself, and hardly tenable even on grammatical grounds, is now generally abandoned, the passage meaning only that the laver was constructed of the metal which the looking-glasses supplied. As was inevitable, too, in the circumstances, the fact thus recorded has been eagerly spiritualised, but there seems no ground for attaching to it any special meaning. We have to bear in mind that all the parts of the Tabernacle and its furniture were made of the free-will offerings of the people (Exod. xxxv. 22), and it is not necessary in the present instance to go beyond the supposition that numbers of the women who assembled at its door having given up their mirrors as their gift, these were employed in the construction of the laver, as being every way suited to the purpose. Whether the women referred to were simply from the general congregation of Israel, or whether they were such as performed special ministrations in connection with the Tabernacle, is more difficult to say. As there is a want of sufficient evidence that any such order of ministering women existed in Israel, it is probable that we ought to think only of the former.

Thus, then, the laver and its foot were constructed, and had their places assigned to them in "the Court." As to their meaning there is no doubt. They were to enable the priests to obtain that symbolical purity, without which it was impossible for any one to make a near approach to a holy God, and which, therefore, could not but be especially demanded of those priests who were to enter His sanctuary or to minister at His altar. It is to be observed only that no more than the hands and feet were to be washed, the part being taken for the whole, and the bathing of the body being confined to the high priest on that particular day of the year when he entered not merely into the holy, but into the most holy, place. This reference to washing the hands, accordingly, is frequently referred to in the Old Testament as expressive of that higher, that moral purification which, as time went on, was more and more felt to be the true preparation for appearing before God. "The Lord rewarded me according to my

righteousness; according to the cleanness of my hands hath He recompensed me." "If I wash myself with snow water and make my hands never so clean, yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me." "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart." "I will wash my hands in innocency, so will I compass thine altar, O Lord" (1 Sam. ii. 21; Job ix. 30, 31; Ps. xxiv. 3, 4; xxvi. 6).

As the meaning of the laver to Israel is clear, so also is its "fulfilment" in New Testament times. First of all, we see it in our Lord Himself, who "did no sin, and in whose mouth there was found no guile," "who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners," in whom the Father was always well pleased. Then next, we see it in His Church, for that Church is "washed, is sanctified, is justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God;" is cleansed "with the washing of water by the word, that He may present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it may be holy and without blemish;" is saved "in the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (1 Cor. vi. 11; Eph. v. 26, 27; Titus iii. 5). Her members are commanded to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit, and to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord. They are sanctified in Christ Jesus; they are "saints" or holy ones; and, though not yet attained to perfect conformity with the example of their Lord, they are continually drawing nearer to it, imbibing His Spirit, imitating His example, living His life, and reflecting His glory. But this cleansing on the part of Christ's people needs to be constantly repeated. Although complete in Him they have ever and again to renew the washing. While they mingle in the world, they can hardly escape being so far at least contaminated by the world. Though "sin has no dominion over them," they are not yet wholly delivered from its power. There is a law in their members that warreth with the law of the mind. "The flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh," and they have often to cry out, "Oh, wretched men that we are, who shall deliver us from the body of this death?" Therefore do they need continually to apply themselves afresh to Him who first washed them from their sins, and renewed them by His Spirit, that again in Him they may prevail over all that would separate them from God, or keep them at a distance from the innermost sanctuary of His love, that again in Him they may rise to the experience of the "more grace" that He bestows, and may exchange the cry of humiliation for the shout of victory, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

It has only further to be observed that these constant renewals of their covenant, these constantly repeated acts of their faith, are simpler than they were at the beginning. When awakened to the thorough feeling of their need of cleansing, when alive to the fact that except Christ wash them not, they have no part in Him, they may exclaim with Peter, as if they could not be too much washed, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." But His reply is, "He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit" (John xiii. 10). As the priest of Israel did not require constantly to renew a complete bath, but was fitted by the washing of his hands and his feet alone for ministering at the altar and entering the holy place, so the later exercises of faith are not so hard to accomplish as the first. The power of evil was broken, the victory was given, at the beginning, and the one is more easily overcome, the other more easily enjoyed, at each successive stage of Christian progress.

Such, then, is the fulfilment to the followers of Christ, of the brazen altar, and the laver with its foot of the Court of the Tabernacle. It may be said that, in speaking as we have done, we have lost sight of the distinction between the Court and the Sanctuary beyond it, between the people of Israel and their priests. It is true that we have done so, but the doing so lies in the very nature of the case. In the kingdom of Christ all vails are rent, all distinctions are taken away. The priests are the people, and the people are the priests. When this is not felt, it is a proof that the most essential privileges of Christ's kingdom are not perceived, that the fulness of its blessings is not enjoyed. There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female. Christ is not only "all and in all" to His Church as a whole, but to every member of His body. Distinctions disappear in that ideal state into which Christians are called, and if they will again have a Court beyond which they may not penetrate, and a priesthood in the possession of privileges in which they may not share, it can only be by returning to those "elements of the world" from which their Lord would make them free, and by entangling themselves anew with a yoke of bondage. In their true Christian standing, they are free of the Holy of Holies itself, as well as of the Court, and in the Court, not less than in the Holy of Holies, they are "priests unto God and unto the Lamb."

In speaking of the furniture of the Court, we have said nothing of the smaller articles used in connection with the altar, and enumerated in Exod. xxvii. 3, "And thou shalt make his pans to receive his ashes, and his shovels, and his basons, and his fleshhooks, and his firepans; all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass." It was not necessary to speak of these. They were evidently subordinate to the altar, intended only as a provision for carrying out its leading purpose. In an inquiry like that engaging us at present there is peculiar need to guard against making everything spoken of in the old economy a type or a symbol of the better things to come, and so running into mere puerilities and conceits. It is with the leading ideas of Israel's religious condition alone that we have to do, and all that cannot be expressly shown to have been regulated with a view to its bearing upon these, it is better to let alone.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

SAUL.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.

OF Samuel it has been already said in these pages that "his character is, in every stage of its career, one of the grandest in the Old Testament" (Vol. II., p. 226). A very different estimate must be formed of the man whose life is so closely connected with that of "the last of the Judges and the first of the Prophets," as hardly to admit of being separately treated. Yet, whatever his errors and crimes, Saul was not without noble qualities, nor unentitled, on some grounds, to an eminent position in the roll of those whose perilous distinction it has been, with the same passions as other men, to play a conspicuous part in the history of the world. In no man, perhaps, was there found a more striking contrast of apparently inconsistent and repugnant characteristics. As the original head of the tribe from which he traced his descent received at his birth two names, his mother with her dying breath having called him "Benoni," or "the son of her sorrow," and his father, "Benjamin," or "the son of the right hand," so Saul himself appears to have united in his own person two natures which, though with far different results, were, like the "flesh" and the "spirit" of another "Saul," also "of the tribe of Benjamin," in continual conflict with one another. (Rom. vii. 15.) Upon the whole, his life must be pronounced a disastrous failure. For the special position assigned to him in the world, for that position in which to fail was for him fatal, he proved unworthy. "It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king: for he is turned back from following me, and hath not performed my commandments." "Thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath rejected thee from being king over Israel" (1 Sam. xv. 11, 26). On the other hand, it must be admitted that he often, in the course of his eventful reign, showed "unbroken courage, indomitable energy in pushing his conquests in every direction, a steadfast desire for the well-being of the nation, zeal and pertinacity in the execution of his plans, with an earnest zeal for the maintenance of the provisions of the law, and the promotion of the religious life of the nation" (Ewald, iii. 43). Nor can it be forgotten in what terms one who knew him thoroughly, and had little reason to flatter him, pronounced, after death had set its seal on his completed career, the final judgment of his contemporaries, in that touching elegy in which he spoke of Saul and the much-loved Jonathan, the friend of his youth, in the same breath, as "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death undivided."

"The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places,
How are the mighty fallen!
Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon,
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.
Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew,
Neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings,
For there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away,
The shield of Saul not anointed with oil.
* * * * *
How are the mighty fallen
And the weapons of war perished!"

Of the life of Saul up to the time of his selection as the first king of Israel we know very little. There is not, indeed, any attempt to give a complete account of several portions of his history: the narrative, as is common in the biographies of Scripture generally—not excepting even that Great Biography which has an interest for every Christian with which no other will bear a moment's comparison—having many breaches of continuity, sometimes gaps extending over long and, as it might appear, not uneventful periods. And of the fragmentary notices which are thus alone in our hands, it is sometimes difficult to determine even the chronological sequence. The essential completeness of the history is doubtless not in any case impeached, while the vividness and effectiveness of the impression it produces on the mind of the reader are always obviously enhanced, by the boldness and freedom of the historical style which in this respect characterises here as elsewhere the books of Holy Scripture. The most complete genealogy of Saul is to be found in 1 Chron. viii. 1; (cf. 1 Sam. ix. 1; xiv. 49; 1 Chron. ix. 35). His father was a wealthy and powerful chief of the name of Kish. The place of his birth is uncertain. It was, most probably, Gibeah of Benjamin—the same city (see Robinson's *Researches*, i. 577, sq.) which, doubtless from its connection with the history of the subject of the present paper, is sometimes called Gibeah of Saul. Some eminent Biblical scholars, however (*e.g.*, Mr. Grove, *Dict. of Bible*, s.v. "Zelah"), give the preference to the claims of Zelah, which contained "the sepulchre of Kish his father," and where his own ashes were finally laid at rest, to the distinction of being recognised as the birthplace of Saul. His family, as already noticed, were of the tribe (as both Gibeah and Zelah were situated in the territory) of Benjamin; a tribe inconsiderable in numbers as compared with some others, but second to none of the tribes of Israel in its reputation for skill in the use of arms, and for daring and courage in war. Warfare, indeed, the fierce and obstinate spirits of the Benjamites seemed to love for its own sake, and were sometimes ready enough to welcome without much regard to the justice of the quarrel. A terrible judgment, which almost erased the name of Benjamin from the roll of the tribes of Israel, had, in the time of the Judges, been the result of an internecine war between this tribe and the rest of the people of Israel. Having its first origin in a brutal crime committed by some of the men of that

same Gibeah in which Saul is here supposed to have found his birthplace, the unseemly and disastrous conflict was exasperated by the indiscreet zeal with which the Benjamites generally identified themselves with the guilty city. The tribe is more honourably distinguished as having given to Israel one of the earliest of her judges, Ehud, whose personal hardihood and military prowess secured for her rest from her enemies for no less a period than eighty years. Saul had been brought up to follow, like his father, the labours of husbandry. This fact does not, of course, exclude the presumption that he had also been early trained to arms. In Israel, every man above twenty years of age was a soldier (Numb. i. 3)—*i.e.*, was enrolled in the number of conscripts available for active service in time of war; and in the days of Saul's youth the disturbed condition of the country, more especially in the territory of the Benjamites, must have afforded him frequent opportunities for acquiring some military experience.

The history of Saul, as far as we have any particular account of it in Scripture, may be divided into two parts, the first embracing the period from his consecration as the king of Israel, till he was rejected as unworthy of that position—and the second, the years of desertion and calamity which ended only with his life.

I. "When Samuel was old . . . . all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, and said, . . . Make us a king to judge us like all the nations" (1 Sam. viii. 1—8). It had always been contemplated in the Mosaic law that a king should, as in the case of other nations, be set over the people of Israel (Deut. xvii. 14); and provision had, from the first, been specially made for the practical assimilation of their forms of government in this respect to those of the nations round about them. The introduction into the commonwealth of a line of rulers bearing the titles, and invested with the state, as well as exercising the authority of an earthly monarchy, was, in truth, no more inconsistent with the principle of the theocracy than had been the older provisions for government and the administration of the law which were found in the heads of tribes and families, in the common council of the nation, in the high priesthood, or in the exceptional functions assigned to Moses, Joshua, and the Judges. The reigning king might be, and was in fact always recognised as, no more than a minister of God, subordinate to, and appointed to carry out the will—which he was bound, by means expressly provided, to consult—of Him who, in the highest sense, was, under the monarchy no less than before its introduction, the true King of Zion. Accordingly, though the request of the people, because inspired by a feeling of distrust in the power of God, displeased Jehovah so that they are said to have sinned in asking for a king (1 Sam. xii. 9), and God is said to have "given them a king in His anger" (Hos. xiii. 11), it is not to be supposed that the institution of the monarchy was, in the case of Israel, otherwise than a normal development of the original polity of the nation. It is true that it did not prove so great a boon as they themselves fondly anticipated. The calamities of Israel arose, not from the nature of their forms of government, under every change of which the nation alike flourished or alike decayed, but from their unfaithfulness to God. On God they were in every event equally dependent. And that they might be taught this lesson was, if not the ultimate reason for which their demand was acceded to, yet a secondary result, distinctly contemplated by Him, all whose providential arrangements in regard to Israel appear to have had in view their own spiritual discipline, no less than the accomplishment of His purposes of mercy for mankind.

The urgent and persistent expression of the national will, just noticed, as to the change in a government was, accordingly, given effect to by God. The new king received his authority first of all from the hands of Samuel, by a private consecration to his office; and he was afterwards formally appointed by means of an appeal to the sacred lot, in the presence of an assembly of the people called together for that purpose at Mizpeh. There was a third ceremonial by which, before he actually assumed, at least as regards the country generally, the functions of the regal office, the kingdom was practically inaugurated. It would appear that an interval of several years occurred between these successive steps in the establishment of the kingdom. At the moment when, following his father's strayed asses, he first addressed himself to Samuel in the city of Ramah—and the apparently fortuitous meeting of these two great contemporaries proved to be the result of a providential arrangement which was destined to change the current of his whole life, and affect so materially the fortunes of his country—Saul was yet "a young man" (*bachur*, an "*unmarried* man," Gesenius, *Lex.*, s.v.). In the third year of his actual reign, he had already a son who was grown to man's estate (1 Sam. ix. 2; xiii. 1, 2).

Saul entered on his office with advantages from which the best auguries might have been formed. In giving to Israel their first king, it pleased God to select a man, who, whatever the ultimate result of the gratification of their desires, must, according to any standard which would suggest itself to their own minds, have seemed, and was acknowledged by themselves to be, the very ideal of the ruler they asked for, and from whom they anticipated so much. In the case of the choice of Saul's successor, even Samuel appears to have been disposed to look to "the outward appearance" as of itself (1 Sam. vi. 6) marking out the true king among men. Saul was, at least as regarded "outward appearance," every inch a king—"a choice young man and a goodly . . . . there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people." Accordingly, when, having been elected by lot at Mizpeh, and having been brought forward to be presented to the assembled tribes, Samuel said of him, "See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people?" the appeal was responded to with enthusiasm. "All the people shouted, and said, God save the king!" (1 Sam. x. 24). His military prowess afterwards (1 Sam. xi. 12)

abundantly confirmed their confidence in him as one every way worthy to reign over them. Nor was he left to trust to the effect of any mere natural endowments. Consecrated by a symbol that had hitherto been confined to the priests and the sanctuary, he had been solemnly set apart "to be the vehicle and medium of all the blessings of grace which the Lord, as the God-king, would confer upon his people through the institution of a civil government" (Keil and Delitzsch, *in loc.*). Even though thus anointed, he might prove an unfaithful king, as many priests proved unfaithful in their office; but the means for the accomplishment of a nobler destiny were not at least withheld. With the same view the prophetical inspiration had been conferred on him, along with other supernatural endowments by which he is even said to have been "turned into another man." Then he had the additional privilege of entering on his work with every assistance to be derived from the experience of such a man as Samuel, no less than (through the same channel) with free access—a blessing afterwards forfeited—to that Divine guidance and direction without which it was indeed impossible for a king of Israel rightly to fulfil the peculiar duties of his exalted position.

The first of his great exploits belongs to a period when, though already designated to it, he had not yet formally assumed the sovereignty. He was in the field (*sadeh*, "the cultivated ground") near Gibeah of Saul, his father's home, ploughing with a yoke of oxen, when messengers arrived from Jabesh-gilead, announcing that that trans-Jordanic city was besieged by the Midianites, and appealing for succour. The people of Jabesh-gilead had special claims on the tribe of Benjamin. They had suffered together on an occasion already referred to, when the latter tribe scarcely escaped extermination; and, on the same occasion, they had become closely allied to each other by intermarriage. The Jabesh-gileadites appear afterwards in the history of Saul. It was by men of that city, that, probably, in requital of the service which he was now to be the means of rendering them, the dead bodies of Saul and of his three sons were, after the fatal battle on Mount Gilboa, taken down by night from the walls of Bethshan, where they had been exposed as trophies, and honourably buried. The lamentations of his fellow-townsmen over the intelligence from Jabesh met the ears of Saul as he returned in the evening, driving his oxen before him, and were soon explained. The consciousness of the responsibilities of his high office in Israel suddenly awoke within him. Sending by a significant token, and without a moment's delay, a summons for help from far and near, he was enabled in sufficient time to lead a levy of 330,000 men across the Jordan. His first great battle was short and decisive. "They came into the midst of the host in the morning watch, and slew the Ammonites until the heat of the day: and it came to pass, that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together" (1 Sam. xi. 11).

The next enterprise recorded of Saul is his victory over the Philistines at Michmash, the honours of which were, however, largely shared by Jonathan.

The victory at Michmash was as remarkable for its results as for the means by which it was accomplished. At the beginning of Saul's reign, the attitude of the warlike peoples of the south-western coast towards Israel was one which threatened her very existence as a nation. She had already suffered two prolonged "oppressions" from the Philistines. Twenty years before this time, the second battle of Ebenezer had, it is true, shattered the force of these formidable and inveterate enemies. But towards the end of the rule of Samuel, they appear to have gradually regained their former superiority in arms, and begun to renew their attempts to reduce the Chosen People to the position of a subject race. They had now in a great measure succeeded in their ambitious design. The battle of Michmash was, in fact, one in which nothing less than the independence of the new kingdom was at stake. The Philistines, it is true, did not at any time attempt to occupy Palestine. They were satisfied with subjugating it; and, for this purpose, they found it sufficient to maintain within its territories a few garrisons (1 Sam. x. 5; xiii. 4); probably specially intended to facilitate the collection of tribute; and to repress any show of resistance, as well as keep alive a salutary dread of their arms, by those sudden invasions of the land, so often referred to (Judg. xv. 9; 1 Sam. xiii. 17; xxiii. 1), from which, after collecting heaps of spoil—not excepting, doubtless, multitudes of Hebrew captives for the home and foreign slave-markets—and spreading terror and desolation over wide districts, they, with the same rapidity, returned in triumph to their own fastnesses. One singular illustration of the extent of their power, as well as of the means by which they maintained it, is found in the fact that at this period they were able to practically disarm the subject people, through an expedient which, at the same time, must have seriously interfered with its industrial pursuits—namely, the capture and deportation of the Hebrew smiths (1 Sam. xiii. 20). It is evident, too, that large numbers of the Israelites had voluntarily submitted themselves—or at least were, under whatever circumstances, in the service of the Philistines (xiv. 21). The immediate occasion of the battle was an open defiance offered to the Philistine supremacy by Jonathan, in attacking one of their garrisons (xiii. 3). That people at once "gathered themselves together to fight with Israel." The invading force must have seemed irresistible. The "30,000 chariots" is probably a corrupt reading, but the body of the army was "as the sand which is on the sea-shore for multitude." Having entered the land, they pitched near Michmash—still in Jerome's day a large village, under the same name, situated nine miles north from Jerusalem (*Onomasticon*, p. 285), and identified by Robinson (*Researches*, i. 142) with the modern Mŭkhmâs, in the locality thus indicated. The Israelites were terror-stricken. "The people did hide themselves in caves, and in thickets, and in rocks, and in high places, and in pits," some of them going over Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead. To the hosts

of the enemy, Saul could only oppose his trained body-guard of 3,000 men, and a few disheartened and unarmed followers, numbers of whom from day to day fell away from his standard. God, however, in this case manifestly interposed on behalf of His people, showing that, as of old, "there was no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few" (xiv. 6). An act of personal heroism, on the part of Jonathan, opened the fight, and may be said to have determined its result. An advanced guard of the Philistines occupied a height immediately beyond the valley which separated the combatants. Accompanied only by his armour-bearer, Jonathan secretly left—left without even his father's knowledge—the encampment of Saul at Migron, and having crossed the broken ground below, arrived within view of the outpost. Here, encouraged by a scornful invitation from the Philistines—which he accepted as a direction of Providence—to "come up and they would show him a thing," he proceeded at once to climb, "upon his hands and upon his feet," the sides of the precipice on the summit of which they had entrenched themselves. What followed is explained by our knowledge of the great personal strength and activity, as well as courage, of Saul's eldest son (2 Sam. i. 23), and the security of the Philistines who had laughed at what they deemed the idle bravado of two of "these Hebrews come forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves" (1 Sam. xiv. 11). The slaughter of twenty men of the garrison—they were ploughed down by the stalwart arm of the hero as half an acre of land might be by a yoke of oxen (xiv. 14; cf. Ewald)—was followed by the flight of the rest, the result being a great commotion in the whole Philistine camp, and among the bands of marauders in the neighbourhood. The commotion was turned into a panic, every man's sword being against his fellow, even before Saul with his little army, warned of the state of affairs by his watchmen on the heights of Gibeah, joined the fray. With their aid, and that of the Hebrew mercenaries, or slaves, in the enemy's ranks, who now turned their swords against their masters, and of scattered bodies of the Israelites, flocking in from their hiding-places in Mount Ephraim, the panic became a rout. The battle raged "clean over the country, from the extreme eastern to the extreme western pass—down the rocky defile of Bethhoron, down into the valley of Aijalon" (Stanley, ii. 16). "So the Lord saved Israel that day. . . . Then Saul went up from following the Philistines: and the Philistines went to their own place" (1 Sam. xiv. 23, 46).

On the occasion of the series of desperate conflicts which resulted in this marvellous success, Saul appears first to have betrayed the fatal defect of his character. The startling inconsistencies already referred to, between what may be called the better and the worse aspects of his strangely mixed nature were, on the same occasion, strikingly displayed. As God's vicegerent, it was his duty to consult the will, and strictly to carry out the instructions of God, as conveyed to him by the authorised exponents of the Divine will. The prophet Samuel had commanded Saul to go down to Gilgal, and to wait there for him seven days, undertaking to appear within the set time, to offer sacrifices, and to "shew him what he should do" (1 Sam. x. 8). Saul was not indifferent to religious obligations. In the terrible fight which ensued, he was shocked at the ceremonial offence committed by the famishing soldiers, when, at the close of an exhausting day, in which they had been by his own orders prevented from tasting food, they flew upon the spoil, and taking sheep and oxen and calves slew them on the ground, and, contrary to the regulations of Moses, ate them with the blood. For an unconscious offence of a similar nature he was the same day hardly prevented from putting to death his own son, the son who had himself been chiefly instrumental in securing the victory which had then been so unexpectedly won (1 Sam. xiv. 44, sq.). Yet—after, too, waiting till the seven prescribed days had nearly expired—this same man deliberately set at nought the inspired command delivered to him by the prophet; acting on his own judgment in a case in which the will of God, as previously revealed, left him no choice as to the path of duty.

Another great success was accompanied by a like transgression. The nation of Amalek was "devoted" to destruction, and to Saul the execution of the judgment of God was entrusted. In carrying out his dread commission, it was the well-known duty (Lev. xxvii. 28) of Saul to save none of the people alive, nor to reserve for any purpose any of the spoil. In the case of Jericho, similarly "devoted," both Rahab, with "all that were with her in the house," and "the silver and gold, and the vessels of brass and iron," were saved, the latter being "put into the treasury of the house of the Lord" (Josh. vi. 22, 24). But both were expressly excepted from the ban pronounced on the city (vi. 17, 19). And Achan, who had coveted and taken spoil which formed part of "the accursed thing," paid the penalty of his disobedience with his life (vi. 24). The conduct of Saul in sparing Agag, and the best of the herds and the flocks, was in direct disobedience to a law of God which he must have thoroughly understood. His excuses were wholly beside the purpose. He, in short, preferred to follow his own will rather than that of the Lord. His sin was rebellion against God, a sin especially aggravated in a man who was raised up to be the chief instrument in Israel for carrying out the purposes of Jehovah. That this was the sin of Saul—the true ground of the severe, but surely in such a case not excessive punishment inflicted on him—is left in no doubt by the words of Samuel. "The Lord sent thee on a journey, and said, Go and utterly destroy [or, devote to destruction] the sinners the Amalekites, and fight against them till they be consumed. Wherefore then didst thou not *obey the voice of the Lord*, but didst fly upon the spoil, and didst evil in the sight of the Lord?" And as to the perhaps true plea that the sheep and oxen were reserved to be offered in sacrifice —"Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in *obeying the voice of the Lord?* Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. xv. 18, 22).

Of the other wars of Saul at this period we have only the most general information. "He fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon" (probably the battle before referred to), "and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines; and whithersoever he turned himself he vexed them" (1 Sam. xiv. 47).

Apart from the history of his wars there are a few interesting particulars to be gathered from this portion of the sacred narrative, as to the manner in which Saul fulfilled his office as the first king of Israel. The royal palace was in the same Gibeah of Benjamin where Saul had found his early home. Here he appears to have lived with some splendour. The state maintained by neighbouring kings would of course be imitated by the monarch of a nation who desired their ruler to be assimilated to the rulers of "the nations round about them." "The king himself was distinguished by marks of royalty not before observed in Israel. His tall spear was always by his side, in repose, at meals, when sleeping, when in battle. He wore a diadem round his brazen helmet, and a bracelet on his arm" (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 20). When he went forth in his chariot, he was surrounded by an escort of cavalry, and preceded by running footmen (1 Sam. viii. 11). There was a king's table reserved for himself and his son Jonathan, the heir to the throne, with afterwards David, the second officer in the kingdom (1 Sam. xxii. 14; cf. Stanley ii. 19, and Ewald iii. 98), and son-in-law of the king (1 Sam. xx. 25). Samuel's warning to the Israelites, that the king they wished to reign over them would "take their daughters to be confectionaries, and cooks, and bakers" (1 Sam. viii. 13), has, no doubt, an historical value in relation to the customs introduced by Saul himself.[1] Doeg, the Edomite, probably himself a slave, was the chief officer over the household slaves and the slaves in charge of the royal stables (1 Sam. xxi. 7; xxii. 9). There is no special mention of the officers of state as in the history of Solomon. But that Saul had the wisdom to surround himself with the ablest and most valiant of his subjects for all the departments of his government is carefully noticed (xiv. 52). Abner, the son of his uncle Ner, was the captain of the host. A body of household troops, numbering 3,000 men, the nucleus of the standing armies of later times, had been early formed by him, the rest of the forces which he led into battle being drawn as required from the rolls of able-bodied Israelites, who, except in time of actual war, followed, as he himself had once done, the plough, or worked at the loom, or laboured as artisans or fishermen in their various localities (1 Sam. xiii. 2). The armour-bearer of the king appears to have been in the days of Saul one of the most trusted (xxxi. 5, &c.) of his personal attendants. For some time the office was filled by David himself (xvi. 21).

II. The great, and for the position he occupied, fatal defect in the character of Saul, with the gross transgressions of duty into which it led him, has been already mentioned. The punishment was a signal one, and the history of the later years of his reign is little more than a record of the bitter results which ensued. The first warning followed the untimely sacrifice at Gilgal, when Saul had reigned over Israel only two years. "Thy kingdom shall not continue: the Lord hath sought him a man after His own heart, and the Lord hath commanded him [a statement here obviously to be understood prophetically] to be captain over His people, because thou hast not kept that which the Lord commanded thee" (1 Sam. xiii. 14). But it was on Saul's return from what seems (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48) to have been the last of his great victories, the victory over the Amalekites—a victory stained, as we have found, by an act of deliberate rebellion against God—that the sentence became final. "Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king." All his professions of remorse and entreaties for forgiveness were now too late. "Saul said unto Samuel, I have sinned: for I have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and thy words. Now therefore, I pray thee, pardon my sin, and turn again with me, that I may worship the Lord. And Samuel said unto Saul, I will not return with thee: for thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath rejected thee from being king over Israel. And as Samuel turned about to go away, he laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine, that is better than thou. And also the Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for He is not a man, that he should repent. . . . And Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death: nevertheless Samuel mourned for Saul: and the Lord repented that He had made Saul king over Israel" (1 Sam. xv. 24, &c.).

The rejection by Jehovah of the king whom He himself had given them was not at once made known to the nation. On the contrary, careful precautions were taken (xv. 30; xvi. 1) to prevent the intelligence from getting abroad prematurely. But as regarded its more important results, it was immediately carried into effect. Saul was from this time captain of the Lord's people only in name. Though almost with the same privacy as when the now virtually discrowned monarch himself first received that sacrament, the consecrating oil was poured on the head of the youthful son of Jesse, at his father's house in Bethlehem; and "the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward." At the same time "the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul" (xvi. 13, 14).

Nor was the vital change in his relations to God without direct results on his after history. How far the morbid depression of mind, or melancholy, occasionally breaking out in paroxysms of furious madness, to which he now became subject, and for which the soothing influences of music were, according to a very ancient prescription for mental derangement (Bochart,

[1] There appears to be an allusion to public taxes in 1 Sam. xvii. 25.

Hieroz. i. 2, § 44, quoted in Keil and Delitzsch), employed (xvi. 14), not always successfully (xviii. 10), and how far a depravation of the spiritual nature must be regarded as the immediate cause, it is impossible to determine. The close connection between mental and moral *insanity* is sometimes found in common results. A great change, however, for the worse, in the character of Saul on the whole—a change, too, in any event to be ultimately traced to the withdrawal of the Divine favour—began to manifest itself. He lost all control over a temper which appears to have been always easily roused (xi. 6; xiv. 24); he grew morose, suspicious of his best friends, a prey to groundless jealousies, a tyrant in his own family, tyrannical in the administration of his government. He seems even openly to have apostatised from the faith. Such at least is the natural inference from the fact that while his eldest son was called Jonathan, or "Jehovah hath given," his youngest received the heathen name Eshbaal, "the man of Baal" (cf. Newman's *Hebrew Monarchy*, 49). His thrice-repeated attempts to assassinate David with his own hand at his own table, are only to be accounted for by personal jealousy which, as far as it had any rational cause, was founded on considerations that rendered its indulgence impious. The rancour with which, afterwards, "that he might kill him," he pursued this object at once of his love and of his hatred from one place of refuge to another, "hunting him like a partridge upon the mountains" till he had "driven him out from the inheritance of the Lord," and compelled him to seek safety for life among the Philistines, can find no justification in reasons of state. A time came when David and others were forced into a position of open rebellion; but as yet David's followers were few in number and without influence, and he himself professed, doubtless sincerely, entire loyalty to the existing government. The slaughter of Abimelech, the high priest, and the rest of the priesthood of Nob, eighty-five persons (immediately followed as it was by the destruction of every living thing in that sacerdotal city), was, especially in the actual circumstances, an offence so rank that Saul's native troops refused to become the instruments of carrying it into effect, and he was compelled to entrust the execution of the impious sentence to the Edomite mercenary, Doeg. It is uncertain to what period, but it is probably to some of these later years, that we must assign another "bloody" deed (incidentally noticed in 2 Sam. xxi. 1), which in the next reign brought a heavy retribution upon the house of Saul—the massacre of the Gibeonites.

It is an instructive fact in the history of this period of Saul's life that in the midst of all his sins and follies he continued at times to show traces of the nobler and more worthy spirit by which he had been distinguished in earlier years. The very crime last mentioned is said to have been committed out of "zeal" for his country. His love for his son Jonathan, though it did not always preserve Jonathan from the fierce outbreaks of his frenzied anger (1 Sam. xiv. 44; xx. 30), always continued unabated (xiv. 39; xix. 6; xx. 2). At Engedi (xxiv. 10), and again at Hachilah (xxvi. 17), even his old fatherly affection for David, for the moment, revived, not without awakening remorse for his own treatment of one whom he had used so shamefully. "Saul said, Is this thy voice, my son David? And Saul lifted up his voice and wept. And he said to David, Thou art more righteous than I: for thou hast rewarded me good, whereas I have rewarded thee evil." "I have sinned: return, my son David; for I will no more do thee harm, ... because I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly." He even after a fashion remained susceptible to religious impressions. In his youth, when returning from Ramah, after his consecration to the monarchy, he met, as he approached his own home at Gibeah, a company of prophets, as, probably on the occasion of some religious festival, they came down from the high place to the city. They were preceded by a body of acolytes with psaltery, and tabret, and pipe, and harp. The prophetic spirit by which they were at the moment inspired passed over to Saul, and he prophesied. His fellow-townsmen were filled with wonder, and said, "What is this that has come to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?" (x. 5—11). With still more reason for astonishment the same words were used in very different times. How little connection there is between religious excitement, in any of its forms, and a right state of the heart before God, is a truth often set before us in the Bible. In the very midst of Saul's insensate persecution of David, his murderous designs having brought him one day into the circle of Samuel's Sons of the Prophets at Naioth in Ramah, he was seized with the holy contagion of their ecstatic devotions. "The Spirit of God was upon him. . . . . He stripped off his clothes and prophesied, ... and lay down naked all that day and all that night" (xix. 18, seq.).

Among the results of the change on the character and conduct of Saul just referred to, it appears that at length the kingdom showed symptoms of utter disintegration. While David was in the cave of Adullam a few hundreds of men, discontented with the existing government, gathered around him (xxii. 2). But during the year and four months of his expatriation in the land of the Philistines, which was contemporaneous with the close of Saul's reign, we find that the disaffection of the people had made rapid progress and reached an alarming height. In 1 Chron. xii. there is a long list of chief men from almost every tribe in Israel, who, accompanied often by large numbers of followers, joined at this time the standard of David at Ziklag, and must therefore be regarded as having thrown off their allegiance to Saul. Those first named were chieftains of Saul's own tribe of Benjamin. Every day brought fresh contingents, till the fugitives had become "a great host, like the host of God" (1 Chron. xii. 22). Already the tribes east of the Jordan had virtually asserted their independence of Saul's authority. And as an indication that Israel was partially at least suffering the miseries of actual civil war (Newman, *Heb. Mon.* 59), it is mentioned incidentally that before joining David.

eleven captains of the children of the tribe of Gad with their followers had crossed the Jordan in its flood season, and ravaged the Jordan valley on both sides of the river (1 Chron. xii. 15).

It was from a foreign enemy, however, that the blow at last came which must be regarded as the judicial penalty of Saul's disobedience, no less than the natural result of the follies and crimes by which he had followed up his "great transgression." Surrounded by warlike and powerful peoples, whose hostility was at once encouraged and embittered by the varying fortunes of war in the past, Israel had no hope of maintaining her independence, except in God, and under God, in the vigour and wisdom of the government, and the loyalty of the people. With a ruler who had himself forfeited the Divine favour, who postponed the most urgent affairs of the state to the indulgence of his personal resentments, whose military genius exhausted itself in wretched campaigns against one of his own subjects surrounded by a handful of obscure followers, and whose great powers were enfeebled by mental disease, and a bitter consciousness of failure in the high office assigned to him—with a people, too, no longer united among themselves, and in great part already driven into a state of open rebellion—the event of any formidable attack by the hereditary foes of Israel could hardly be doubtful. The most warlike, and for some centuries the most powerful of these foes, was not slow to take advantage of the golden opportunity. The Philistines determined to invade Israel. The armies of the whole of the five confederate states of Philistia were gathered together. Every precaution was taken against failure (1 Sam. xxix. 2, seq.), and the numerous and well-appointed host, marching under (as in the case of Israel, viii. 12) their captains of hundreds and captains of thousands, and led by the five Philistine "lords" in person, entered the land, and advancing through the great plain, pitched at Shunem, to the north of Jezreel, prepared for battle.

The soldier-like qualities of Saul did not fail him in this extremity. He at once summoned Israel to the field, and took up a strong position on Mount Gilboa to the south of, and at a distance of about two hours' march from, the encampment of the Philistines. It is noticed, however, that as Saul here came in sight of the enemy—for their formidable array was within view from his own encampment—his courage and resolution did not preserve him from terrible forebodings of evil. "When Saul saw the hosts of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled." The evil omen was not unjustified by the result of the impending battle.

Before the end came an incident occurred which has an interest for us independently of Saul's personal history. This is not the place to discuss the many recondite questions which are suggested by the memorable account of the last interview—if so it may be called—between the doomed king and the friend and counsellor of his youth, now for long, to all appearance, hopelessly separated from him, first by displeasure with his conduct, and eventually by death. (For the views of the earlier commentators see Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, 178, seq.; Lavater, *De Spectris*, 156, seq.; and for the more recent hypotheses, Keil and Delitzsch. On one point the history appears to leave us in no doubt, namely, that, though not through the incantations of the wretched enchantress, but to her own unaffected surprise no less than terror, and only by the will of God, Samuel himself, under whatever inexplicable conditions, delivered the dread message which is put into his lips. The importance of that message—its importance in relation to the whole history of Saul—justified any means, however extraordinary, which might be required to invest it with due authority and impressiveness. Nor was the channel through which it was conveyed otherwise than singularly appropriate. Samuel had anointed Saul king over Israel. He had warned him of his danger when the tendencies which afterwards bore fruit in an act of deliberate rebellion against God on the occasion of the overthrow of Amalek first manifested themselves. He had pronounced the sentence of forfeiture when Saul's day of grace had passed away. It was fit that—to make no attempt to explain away the difficulties of an event not altogether unexampled (Matt. xvii. 3)—to him also should be committed the delivery of the message by which the final judgment of God on Saul was declared. And there was a special fitness in the fact that this message reached Saul, in the cave of Endor, at the moment when the unhappy monarch—thus caught *in flagrante delicto*—was in the very act of filling up the measure of the guilt of his previous rejection of God by having recourse to one of the professed ministers of Baal.

Apart from its supernatural aspects, and in relation exclusively to the light it throws on the character of Saul, the scene in the witch's cave is full of interest. We have here under another form set before us the same rebellious spirit, a spirit refusing to submit itself unreservedly to the will of God, as in the history of the war against Amalek. That on this occasion Saul "sought counsel of one that had a familiar spirit," is expressly noticed in 1 Chron. x. 13, as, no less than his former transgression, one of the grounds of the judgment that came upon him. No apology can be found for such a sin on his part. It was certainly not done in ignorance. He had already given expression to his sense of the impiety involved in the heathen practice of divination, by proscribing it, on pain of death, throughout his dominions. Yet even here we have evidence of the inconsistencies and repugnancies of his character. The higher nature and purer principles of the man were not extinct even in this supreme moment of his apostacy. He betook himself to unlawful means, but the end which he had in view was one which implied a latent conviction that it was in God alone that help could for him be found. In his extremity he sought counsel, if *through*, not *from* evil spirits or from the gods of the heathen, but from one whom he had long known as a faithful prophet of Jehovah. When Samuel interrogated him, he said that his grief was only God's desertion of him: "God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by dreams nor by prophets." And

the final answer, when it came, bearing the tidings of his own ruin and the overthrow of his house, though delivered in the name of God, was at once accepted as of irresistible authority. "Saul made haste, and fell with the fulness of his stature [margin] on the earth, because of the words of Samuel, and there was no strength in him" (1 Sam. xxviii. 20).

And now comes the end. On the fatal morrow, however hopelessly unavailing he must have felt the struggle to be, he was true to the high character for courage in battle which, under happier auspices, he had earned on so many a bloody field. But his doom was inevitable. Saul himself for a time survived, though sorely wounded, the defeat of his army, and the death of the three sons who were with him in the thick of the fight. There were different accounts of the circumstances of his death.[1] The next day, however, when the Philistines came to collect the spoil, they found the dead body of Saul and his sons among the heaps of slain on Mount Gilboa. ' How the indignities inflicted on his remains were compensated by the devotion of the men of Jabesh-gilead has been already noticed, and it has also been told with what forgetfulness of his crimes and appreciation of his virtues he was commemorated by the man whom he had so much wronged, and who, as his successor, was destined to more than repair the bitter misfortunes he had brought on Israel. The lessons of his life for all the world are too obvious to require to be enlarged upon.

With Saul also fell his house. Jonathan and two of his brothers died, as we have seen, like their father, on Mount Gilboa. The youngest son in the direct line, Ishbosheth, or Eshbaal (1 Chron. viii. 33), who seems to have inherited neither the virtues nor the vices of the head of the family, was enabled, though only by the support of his kinsman Abner, Saul's "captain of the host," to maintain, for a few years, a feeble opposition to David, who, as "the anointed of the Lord," was now the true king. He fixed the seat of his self-assumed government in Mahanaim, on the east of Jordan. Ishbosheth claimed, at one time or other, sovereignty not over Gilead only, but also "over the Ashurites, and over Jezreel, and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin, and over all Israel" (2 Sam. ii. 9), while David reigned in Judah. There was continual warfare at this time between the two houses, but "David waxed stronger and stronger, while the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker" (iii. 1). At last, forsaken by Abner, who, on some disgust, had deserted to the rising power at Hebron, and fallen into utter contempt with his subjects, Ishbosheth perished miserably by assassination. The murderers were two soldiers in his own service, and belonging to his own tribe of Benjamin (iv. 2). Already Abner, who, as we have seen, was Saul's cousin, had been treacherously slain by Joab, while engaged in making his peace with David. The motive is said to have been personal revenge for the death of Asahel, Joab's brother, who had fallen by Abner's hand, in one of the many conflicts between the rival houses (ii. 23; iii. 27). David, with his usual magnanimity, and with the inalienable attachment which he so often manifested to the family of Saul, honoured him with a public funeral, himself following the body to the tomb, and pronounced on his old comrade in arms a noble eulogium: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" (iii. 38). Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites has been already mentioned. The penalty incurred by his house through that act of misdirected zeal, which impeached the national honour, was not exacted till near the close of the reign of his successor. A demand was at last made, and, not without a Divine sanction, was acceded to, for the long-deferred retribution. There still remained some representatives of the first king of Israel, and of these seven were given up to death. A touching incident in the history of the dread sacrifice, the memory of which has been preserved by the sacred historian, reminds us how much individual human suffering, affecting the innocent as well as the guilty, is involved in the results of such crimes as those of Saul. Two of the victims were sons of his own, by his secondary wife, Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, a Canaanite. With the rest, they appear to have been either crucified, or, after execution, hung up in chains as a public spectacle. This took place at Gibeah, at the Passover season, "in the beginning of barley harvest." "And Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, took," we are told, "sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock from the beginning of harvest until water dropped upon them out of heaven [*i.e.*, all through the months of the scorching summer heat, till the fall of the periodical rains in October], and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night" (2 Sam. xxi. 10). Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, who had been permanently lamed in both his feet by the fall of his nurse, as she fled with him, then a child, after the disaster at Gilboa, and who, in after years, became the guest of David in his royal palace, and one or two other more remote connections of Saul's family, appear throughout the history of the son of Jesse. But the house of Saul, at least as furnishing possible aspirants to the succession of the throne, was virtually extinct. One of the latest acts of David's reign was to collect from the grave "under a tree" at Jabesh, and from "the rock" at Gibeah, the bones of Saul and his three eldest sons, and the bones of "them that were hanged," and bury them together in "the sepulchre of Kish in the country of Benjamin" (xxi. 12—14).

[1] "The statement of the Amalekite is at variance with the account of the death of Saul in 1 Sam. xxxi. 3, seq.; and even apart from this it has an air of improbability, or rather untruth, in it. . . . The only part of his statement which is certainly true, is that he found the king lying dead upon the field of battle, and took off the crown and armlet; since he brought these to David." (Keil and Delitzsch.)

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

"For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."—MATT. xxiv. 28.

THE first word in this verse (γὰρ, "for") is omitted in the best editions, in several of the versions, and by some of the early Fathers. This omission removes all necessity for the restriction of the reference of this verse to that which immediately precedes it, "For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of man be;" and, at the same time, it removes also, as it appears to us, the only plausible reason which has been assigned for that interpretation of its meaning, in accordance with which our Lord Himself is represented by "the carcase," and the angels, martyrs, or saints, by "the eagles." The incongruity of the supposition that our Lord's glorified humanity, when "the Son of man shall come," as represented in the following chapter (xxv. 31), "in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him," is intended by "the carcase," which attracts "the eagles," is so obvious, that it is strange that any advocates should have been found, either in early or in later days, for such an interpretation. Similar, if not equally strong, objections may be urged against those modifications of the same interpretation, in accordance with which reference has been supposed to be made to the attractive efficacy of our Lord's crucified body, rather than to that of the body of His glory. In favour of the former of the two views, it might be urged that the soaring of the eagles typifies the rapture of the risen saints to meet their Lord in the air; but this explanation only makes more apparent the incongruity of the supposition that "the carcase" typifies the glorified resurrection body of the Saviour. In favour of the latter view it might be urged that the application of the term "carcase" to our Lord's crucified body is not so utterly incongruous—we might say so revolting—as that which applies it to His glorified body; but, on the other hand, whilst the very semblance of any connection with the context is lost by this interpretation of the verse, the *primâ facie* argument in its favour, derived from the upward flight of "eagles," is also lost, whilst the incongruity of the comparison of saints and martyrs to ill-omened birds of prey remains. It may suffice to observe, with Lightfoot, in reference to these and all similar interpretations, however slightly modified or diversified, "I wonder any can understand these words of pious men flying to Christ, when the discourse here is quite of a different thing."

Another interpretation of this passage which demands notice, and which has been adopted by many expositors of deservedly high esteem, is that which explains "the carcase" as the Jewish nation, and "the eagles" as the Roman armies. This interpretation is, in our judgment, correct as far as it goes, but too restricted. It seems to be based on the assumption that the preceding verses relate exclusively to the destruction of the city and Temple of Jerusalem, and that they will receive no further and more comprehensive fulfilment in the second advent of the Son of man, and in the judgments which shall then fall upon the world of the ungodly.

If, as we believe, both the type and the antitype are comprehended in the preceding portion of the discourse (verses 15—27), it seems to follow, as a matter of necessity, that verse 28 should be understood, not in its partial and restricted, but in its wider and more universal application, as teaching that throughout the whole of the Christian, as well as of the Jewish dispensation, iniquity will continue to abound, and that sin will everywhere provoke judgment.

The general scope and application of this proverbial saying will become more apparent on a reference to the parallel passage in Luke xvii. 37. The subject of discourse in that chapter is clearly and unequivocally the final manifestation of the Son of man, and those judgments which shall attend His second advent, of which the flood and the destruction of Sodom were the divinely-selected types. Immediately upon our Lord's solemn announcement of the final and eternal separation which shall then be made between those who have been most closely associated in the affairs of this life, the inquiry was made by the disciples, "Where, Lord?" To this inquiry our Lord, as though He would leave on record a solemn warning of the certainty and the universality of the retribution which He had announced, returned answer in words almost identical with those under consideration: "And he said unto them, Wheresoever the body (τὸ σῶμα,[1] not as in St. Matthew, τὸ πτῶμα) is, thither will the eagles be gathered together."

It is quite possible, indeed, that as the utter corruption of the Jewish polity invited the assault of the Romans with a view to "take away both their place and nation," and as the sins of priests and people had incurred those heavy judgments of which the Roman armies were the divinely-appointed executioners, so there may have been in these words a designed allusion to those eagles which, as it is well known, were the ensigns which the Roman legions bore. But, whether this allusion be recognised or not, our Lord's words are of far too comprehensive a character to warrant their restriction to the destinies of any single nation, or to the events of any single period. In answer to the inquiry of His disciples, "Where,

[1] The word σῶμα is frequently used of a dead body in the New Testament as well as in classical Greek. Cf. Matt. xiv. 12; xxvii. 52; xxvii. 58, 59; Luke xxiv. 3, 23; John xix. 31, 38, 40; xx. 12; Acts ix. 40; Jude 9.

Lord?" His far-ranging eye seems to have comprehended in one glance the whole events of that period which should be comprised within His two advents. Everywhere He beholds sin inviting punishment, and judgment following upon transgression. And His assurance to His disciples was this:—As certainly as the vultures[1] will detect and fasten upon the prey, however concealed the position of the carcase, so surely and inevitably—though sentence against an evil work be not always executed speedily—sin will provoke judgment, and the executioners of the Divine wrath will avenge the transgression of the Divine laws.

The destruction of the Temple and city of Jerusalem was one of the most signal manifestations which the pages of history furnish of this unchanging and eternal principle of the Divine economy. But it was not in the destruction of Jerusalem alone that our Lord's words were designed to receive their fulfilment. Wheresoever the seeds of sin are sown, the harvest of punishment must follow. Wheresoever, in the history of individuals, of churches, or of nations, the laws of truth, of purity, and of godliness are violated, there, sooner or later, "the eagles" of Divine justice will issue forth for the execution of Divine vengeance. Sometimes, as with Judas and Ananias, amongst individuals; as with Sodom and Gomorrah, and with Jerusalem, amongst cities; as with the seven churches of Proconsular Asia, and with those of Northern Africa, amongst communities of professing Christians, the doom of the transgressors is left on record for the warning of those who should come after them. But, whether the sentence of Divine judgment be, or be not, manifestly executed during the continuance of this present imperfect dispensation, "the carcase" must eventually attract "the eagles;" and though the tares and the wheat may be allowed to "grow together until the harvest," nevertheless, "in the time of harvest" it will be said to the reapers, "Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn" (Matt. xiii. 30).

[1] It is generally admitted by the best modern commentators that the word ἀετός in this verse (like the Hebrew נשר, Micah i. 16) denotes the carrion-kite or vulture (*Vultur percnopterus*). The following extract from Thomson's *Land and the Book* will illustrate the general character and habits of these "scavengers of the East:"—"Here we have a confirmation of that proverb of our Lord, 'Wheresoever the carcase is,' &c.

"Are those huge birds eagles?

"Not all. Those smaller ones, of a dull white and yellow colour, are a species of vulture; they are a more gross and a much tamer bird. The eagles, you observe, have all retired to the tops of those sand-heaps, while the vultures only hop a little way up the beach as we approach.

"I did not know there were so many eagles in all this country. They must have gathered together from a great distance. And what 'carcase' is this that has assembled such a congregation on the sea-beach?

"Nothing but an immense turtle which the storm threw out on the shore. . . . Do you notice that these eagles have no feathers on the head and upper part of the neck? This reminds me of the advice of Micah to the houses of Achzib, back yonder on this very shore—'Make thee bald, and poll thee, for thy delicate children; enlarge thy baldness as the eagle.' They are a hideous-looking bird." (Pp. 315, 316.)

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

DOMESTIC FOWLS.

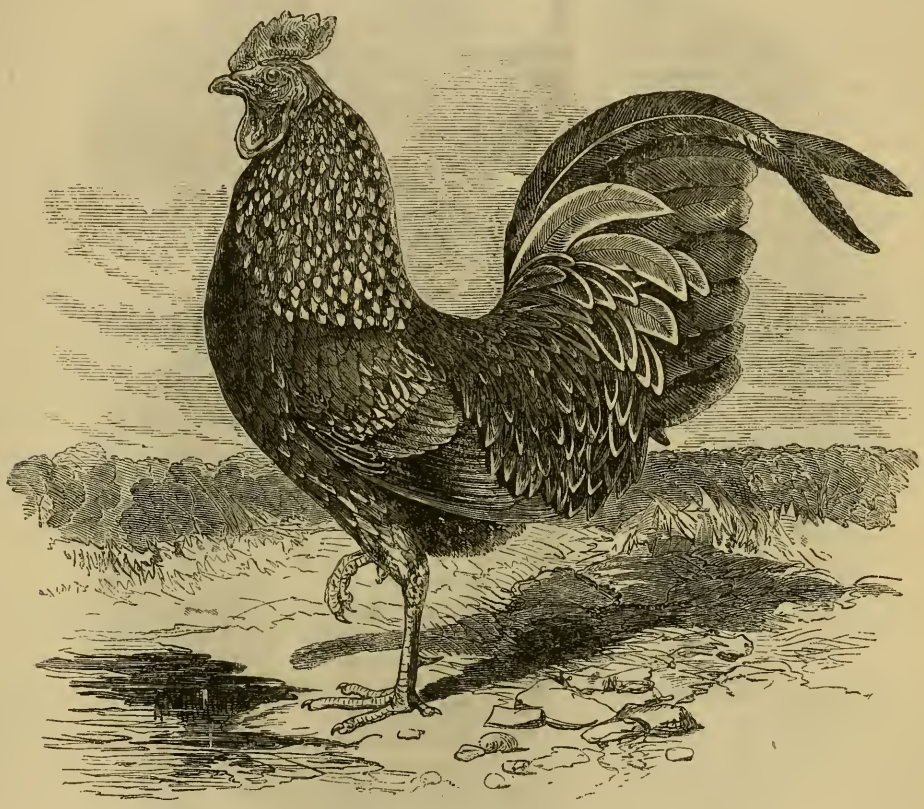
THERE is no distinct allusion to domestic fowls in the Old Testament Scriptures, for although our English version enumerates *fatted fowls* amongst the dainties supplied for King Solomon's table (1 Kings iv. 23), there is no evidence at all to show that the Hebrew words (*barburîm abusîm*) denote "fatted fowls," beyond the authority of the Vulgate and a few other versions. Fürst derives the word *barbur* from an Arabic root meaning "to screech," "to make an angry noise," and is inclined to agree with Kimchi that the screeching goose is intended. Gesenius also is in favour of geese; he derives the word from the Hebrew *bârar*, "to be white." From the New Testament, however, we learn that domestic poultry were kept by the Jews in the time of our Lord, who, in familiar words, called especial attention to the tender care of her offspring bestowed by the hen-bird. "How often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings" (Luke xiii. 34; Matt. xxiii. 37). The cock is mentioned in connection with Peter's denial of Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 34; Mark xiv. 30).

The habit of the cock in the East of crowing during the night at regular times gave rise to the expression "cock-crowing" (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) to indicate a definite portion of time. "Ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning" (Mark xiii. 35). Similarly the Romans expressed a period of time (the last watch of the night, the break of day, about three o'clock in the morning) by the Latin word *gallicinium*. The Hebrews designated the cock-crowing period by the words *kerîath haggeber*—*i.e.*, "the singing of the cock." In Greek, as in Latin, the "cock-crowing-time" (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) denoted the third watch of the night. But though three o'clock a.m. generally represents the cock-crowing period, midnight also is a season in which "the bird of dawn" not unfrequently crows. This explains very satisfactorily a seeming contradiction in the Gospels. St. Matthew states that our Lord said to Peter, "Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice"

(xxvi. 34). St. Mark (xiv. 30) says, "Before the cock crow *twice*." The first-named Evangelist gives the general sense, and alludes only to the period customarily denoted—viz., the three o'clock crowing. Mark is more definite, and mentions both the midnight and the early dawn crowing. Cocks not only in the East often crow at midnight and other hours of the night, but in this country also, especially about Christmas time, if the nights are clear and bright. To this Shakespeare alludes:—

> "Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
> Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
> The bird of dawning singeth all night long."
>
> *Hamlet*, i. 1.

There is no representation on the sculptures of Egypt of any kind of domestic fowl among the farm-yard stock, though geese often occur, being represented in the act of being counted in the presence of stewards. No notice of the domestic fowl occurs in the writings of Homer and Hesiod (B.C. 900), but it is mentioned by Theognis and Aristophanes (B.C. 400 and 500). The latter poet calls the cock "the Persian bird," the Greeks probably having obtained it from Persia, in which country Messrs. Blyth and Crawfurd think it never existed in a wild state. Dr. Birch has translated passages from a Chinese encyclopædia compiled from ancient documents, in which it is said that fowls are

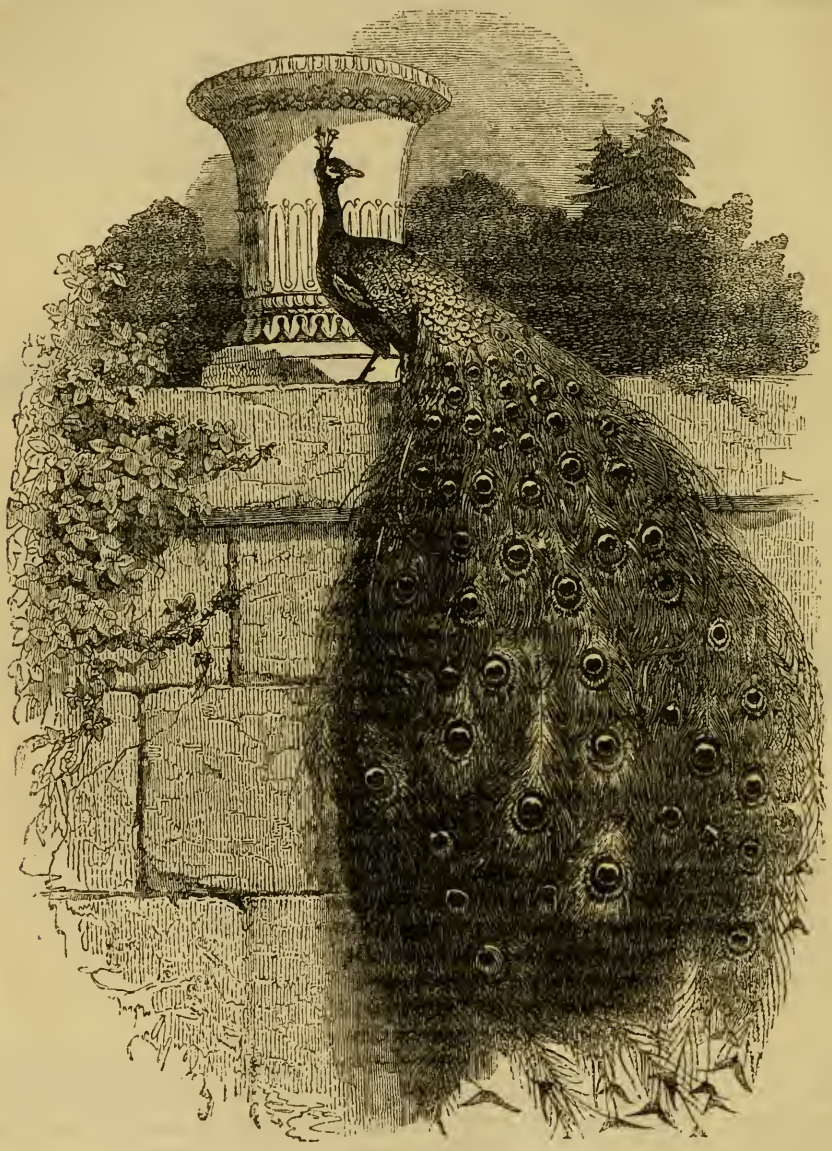


THE JUNGLE FOWL.

The explanation of this is that the crowing is always that of young cocks, which are maturing about Christmas time, and which doubtless are proud of their newly-acquired powers, and may mistake bright moonlight nights for early morn. These cockerel night-crowers would be about five months old at Christmas; and some of them are kept for breeding purposes in the following spring.

For the original home of domestic fowls we must look to India, the Indo-Chinese countries, and the northern parts of the Malay Archipelago. The Bankiva cock (*Gallus Bankiva*) of Java is the origin of our Bantams; while the *Gallus giganteus* of Malaya is supposed by some to be the parent of our larger breeds. creatures of the West, and were introduced into China in a dynasty 1400 B.C. Figures of the fowl occur on Babylonian cylinders between the sixth and seventh centuries. When and whence the domestic fowl was introduced into Palestine, is a question that has not hitherto received an answer. As no notice of it occurs before the possession of Judæa by the Romans, it may have been introduced by these conquerors, who were very fond of poultry both for fighting purposes and for the table; though, as we have seen that the cock was known in Persia at least 400 or 500 years before Christ, it might have been received by the Jews from the Persians, with whom, at the time of Cyrus, they were on very friendly terms. Or Solomon, who we

know introduced the peacock into Palestine, might at the same time have imported the domestic fowl from the same country—viz., India. Whatever may be the date of their first introduction, fowls are now extremely common in the Holy Land, the modern Jews keeping poultry in large numbers for the sake of chickens and eggs, not only in their yards, but in their houses at Jerusalem, where they roost at night over their beds.



THE PEACOCK.

PEACOCKS.

Peacocks are mentioned three times in our English Bible—viz., in 1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chron. ix. 21, where they are enumerated among the foreign natural products imported into Judæa from Ophir by King Solomon. The other passage occurs in Job xxxix. 13: "Gavest thou the goodly wings unto the peacocks?" which is an admitted mis-translation; the verse should be rendered thus: "The wing of the ostrich moveth joyously; but hath she the pinion and feather of the stork?"—*i.e.*, the ostrich may be prized for the value and beauty of its plumes, but she has not the fond disposition of the stork towards her brood, for she leaveth her eggs in the dust, and is hardened against her young ones, &c. The Hebrew word in the passages in Kings and Chronicles already referred to is *tukkiyîm*, for which the Septuagint and Vulgate correctly give ταῶνες and *pavi*. Gesenius has traced the Hebrew term *tukki* to the Tamil or Malabaric *togei*, "a peacock." This opinion

has been confirmed by Sir E. Tennent, who says, "It is very remarkable that the terms by which these articles [ivory, apes, and peacocks] are designated in the Hebrew Scriptures are identical with the Tamil names by which some of them are called in Ceylon to the present day; *tukeyim* may be recognised in *tokei*, the modern name of these birds" (*Ceylon*, ii., p. 102; and i., p. 20, 3rd edition). On this subject Professor Max Müller writes: "The Hebrew names for apes and ivory are clearly traceable to the Sanskrit; but though *togëi* does not appear in Sanskrit, it has been derived from the Sanskrit word *s'ikhin*, meaning 'furnished with a crest'" (*Science of Language*, p. 190). Refer to our articles on "Apes" and "Elephant."

The common peacock (*Pavo cristatus*; compare the Sanskrit *s'ikhin*) is spread over the north of India and the Malaysian islands in its wild and natural state; it is abundant in the forests of the Ghauts. Large flocks are to be seen domesticated around the Hindoo temples in the Deccan and elsewhere. Buffon and Cuvier say that the peacock was first introduced into Greece by Alexander the Great; but this bird was certainly well known to the Greeks many years even before Alexander was born. The Greek word ταῶς occurs in *The Birds* (102, 269) of Aristophanes, and in *The Acharnians* of the same poet. The date of Alexander's birth is B.C. 356, while the play of *The Birds* was brought out B.C. 419, and *The Acharnians* earlier still—viz., B.C. 425. Aristotle also speaks of the peacock as a well-known bird when he says, "Some animals are vain and jealous like the peacock" (*Hist. Anim.* 1, i., § 15). The Greeks, no doubt, introduced the peacock from Persia, but when we cannot say; and the Persians doubtless brought these birds from India. From Greece peacocks gradually extended into Rome and other parts of Europe. Besides the *Pavo cristatus* there is another species which has a much longer crest, the feathers of which are regularly barbed from the base upwards; this species is the *P. Japonensis*, of Aldrovandus—the *P. muticus* of Linnæus, who (as the specific name implies) described the bird, probably on the authority of Aldrovandus, as being devoid of spurs, erroneously however, as the bird has spurs; it is found in Java and the Malay countries. The *P. nigripennis*, a black-shouldered kind which is occasionally produced in this country, has been by some ornithologists supposed to be a new species; but as at present no wild species has hitherto been found, and as this breed has sometimes suddenly appeared in stock of common pied and white peacocks, there is every reason to agree with Mr. Darwin that the "whole evidence seems to preponderate strongly in favour of the black-shouldered breed being a variation, induced either by the climate of England or by some unknown cause, such as reversion to a primordial and extinct condition of the species" (*Anim. and Plants under Domest.*, i., p. 291). Our word "peacock," at least the former part of it, is to be traced to the Latin *pavus*—that from ταῶς, which is onomatopœtic, admirably describing the cat-like voice of the bird. This idea appears, according to Professor Monier Williams, in Sanskrit, under the name of *mārjāraka*, "a peacock," so called from its cat-like cry (*Sanskrit Dict.*, p. 774).

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

THE two Books of Chronicles, like those of Samuel and Kings, were originally but one,[1] and probably even formed a portion of a still larger work, a work which commenced with 1 Chron. i., and terminated with Ezra x. The continuity of Ezra with 2 Chron. is indicated by the identity of the passage which now terminates Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23) with that wherewith Ezra commences (Ezra i. 1—3). It has been supposed that this passage properly belongs only to Ezra, and that its occurrence in Chronicles is owing to the mistake of a scribe, who, not perceiving that he had finished the book which he was transcribing (Chronicles), went on, and copied two verses and a half of Ezra.[2] But it is a fatal objection to this theory, that Ezra does not follow Chronicles in the Hebrew copies, in which Chronicles is the last book of all, while Ezra comes after Daniel. There would also be an unfitness in Chronicles terminating two verses sooner than it now does, since then it would contain no distinct mention of the return from the Captivity, which the whole scope and purpose of the history require to be noticed, and which indeed no patriotic Jew, writing after it had taken place, could fail to put on record. It seems, therefore, almost certain that the passage, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, is an integral portion of the original work; and if so, the conclusion that Ezra was written as the concluding section of Chronicles can scarcely be resisted; for Chronicles cannot have terminated in the middle of a sentence, as it now does;[3] and if it ran on, it would naturally run on with exactly such a narrative as we find in Ezra. Moreover, there is, as almost all critics admit,[4] the closest possible resemblance of style

[1] Hieronym., *Ad Domnion et Rogatian.* (*Op.*, tom. iii., fol. 7c.)

[2] Kennicott, Comment on Chronicles xxxvi. 22; Horne, *Introduction*, vol. iv., p. 58, note (5th edition).

[3] The present termination of Chronicles is abrupt and incomplete: "Who is there among you of all his people? The Lord his God be with him, and let him go up——" Ezra gives the natural continuation: "His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah," &c.

[4] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 196 *b*; Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, § 14 *e*; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i., pp. 252, 253, &c.

and tone between the two books, so that even if they contained no identical passage, it would be evident that they were by the same author.

Is it possible, then, to say who was this author? Many modern critics assert that it is not. They view "Ezra" as a compilation by an anonymous writer, living about the time of Alexander the Great, or even later,[1] who (they say) embodied in his work a monograph written by Ezra. The same writer, they allow, compiled the Books of Chronicles, to which they assign the date of B.C. 336—323, or (for critics of this school seldom agree together) that of about B.C. 260. But the criticism which pronounces these judgments bases itself, according to its own admissions, wholly upon the internal evidence. Internal evidence, where there is an abundant literature, where a language can be traced from stage to stage, and where each stage has been thoroughly mastered by the critic, is, no doubt, a very sufficient guide; but where the literature is scanty, where all its stages are not known, where the critic is but half master of the language in any stage, nothing is more doubtful and untrustworthy. The conclusions of German criticism, both upon the positive and upon the relative age of the various portions of the Hebrew Bible, are, up to the present time, so dissonant, so diametrically opposite, that the only inference we can safely draw is that no dependence at all can be placed upon them. In cases where such extreme diversity prevails among those who make internal evidence their guide, it seems to be justifiable to fall back, tentatively at any rate, upon the external evidence, and inquire what historical tradition says on the subject, and what reasons on the whole there seem to be for accepting or rejecting it.

Now the consentient voice of the Jewish commentators on the Hebrew Scriptures declares both "Chronicles" and "Ezra" to have been written by Ezra.[2] It does not appear that the writers who have delivered this judgment saw any close resemblance of style between the "books" in question, or had ever troubled themselves with any such laborious process as a critical analysis of the "books," or of their constituent parts; they appear simply to have declared the fact as one traditionally known to them, known to them much in the same way in which we know that Shakespeare wrote the *Venus and Adonis*, and Milton the *Areopagitica*. Now of course it must be allowed that ascriptions of authorship, even when consentient, are not always trustworthy, and that works which have long passed by the name of an ancient writer have occasionally been proved to be spurious, and to belong even to quite a different age.[3] But these cases are, comparatively speaking, rare; and the consentient testimony of a nation to a work in its language having proceeded from the pen of a certain individual is always to be regarded as an evidence of great weight, and one that can only be overpowered if met and rebutted by counter-evidence still weightier. Now in the present case the counter-evidence adduced is of the flimsiest kind. The Book of Ezra, it is said,[4] must be as a whole a compilation by some writer who is not Ezra, since, when Ezra is spoken of in the book, there is an alternate use of the first and the third person. But a similar alternation occurs in Daniel,[5] in Thucydides,[6] and in numerous ancient inscriptions,[7] where no one doubts but that the whole proceeds from a single writer, who speaks of himself sometimes in the one person, and sometimes in the other. Again, it is said[8] that the Book of Chronicles cannot have been written by Ezra, since the genealogy of the descendants of David is carried down to the sixth generation after Zerubbabel (1 Chron. iii. 19—24), or to about the time of Alexander the Great, which is nearly a century later than the time of Ezra. But, in the first place, the necessary date of the passage in question is not the time of Alexander the Great, but about seventy-five years earlier,[9] so that Ezra, if he lived to a good old age, may have written it;[10] and, secondly, it is quite possible that he may have been the real author of Chronicles, although he did not write this particular passage. Nothing is more certain than that there have been authorised additions to books of Scripture, subsequently to their original composition, by persons other than their authors. The last chapter of Deuteronomy is such an authorised addition; and of a similar character are some of the lists in Nehemiah.[11] The fact, then, that one genealogy in Chronicles descends to a date later than that ordinarily assigned to Ezra, is no proof that the remainder of the work did not proceed from his pen. The last two verses of 1 Chron. iii. may have been added by Nehemiah or Malachi to the original work of Ezra, in order to carry down the descent of the "sons of David" to the point which it had reached in their day.

When Ezra and Chronicles are critically examined

[1] Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i., pp. 231, 232) assigns the work to the time of Alexander; Zunz (*Gotterdienstl. Vortr. der Juden*, § 31) suggests the date of B.C. 260.

[2] *Baba Bathra*, fol. 15, c. 1. Huet says emphatically and truly, "Esram libros Paralipomenon lucubrasse Ebræorum omnium est fama consentiens" (*Demonstrat. Evangelica*, iv. 14, p. 341).

[3] As the Periplus, ascribed to Scylax of Cadyanda, who lived in the sixth century B.C., which has been proved to have been composed in the fourth.

[4] De Wette, *Einleitung in d. Alt. Testament*, § 196 *a*, p. 261; Stuart, *Old Testament Canon*, § 6, p. 148.

[5] Daniel uses from chap. i. to chap. vii. 1 the third person; from chap. vii. 2 to the end of chap. ix., the first; in chap. x. 1, the third; and the first in the remainder of the work.

[6] Thucydides begins his history in the third person (i. 1), but changes to the first after a few chapters (i. 20—22). In book iv. he resumes the third (chaps. 104—106); while in book v., chap. 26, he begins in the third, but runs on into the first, which he again uses in book viii., chap. 97.

[7] As that of Tiglath-pileser I., which has the first person in § 2; the third in § 3; the first from § 4 to § 8; the third in § 9; the first from § 10 to § 19; the third in § 20; the first again from § 21 to § 25; the third in § 26, &c.

[8] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 189, p. 242. Compare Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i., pp. 231, 232.

[9] See the note on the passage in the *Speaker's Commentary* (vol. iii., pp. 186, 187), where it is shown that, at the not improbable rate of twenty years to a generation, the genealogy in 1 Chron. iii. 19—24 comes down to about B.C. 410.

[10] We have no reason to suppose that Ezra was more than thirty when he received his commission from Artaxerxes, which was in B.C. 458. Supposing this to have been his age, he would have been seventy-eight in B.C. 410.

[11] Especially those in chap. xii. 10, 11, and 22.

and analysed, the Hebrew tradition as to their authorship is very greatly strengthened and confirmed. The parts of Ezra where the writer uses the first person are admitted on all hands[1] to have been the work of the "ready scribe" (Ezra vii. 6). But the rest of Ezra is completely homogeneous in style with these parts, and must almost certainly have proceeded from the same writer.[2] And between Ezra and Chronicles there is so very great a resemblance that the critics who care least for tradition pronounce them the composition of the same mind.[3] The internal evidence thus entirely confirms the external testimony; and Ezra's authorship of Chronicles may be regarded as not far short of being an "established fact."

The fact of Ezra's authorship of Chronicles, which seems to us almost certain, throws much light on the scope and intention of the work, and on the question of how it came to be written. There is this peculiarity in Chronicles, markedly distinguishing it from all the other historical books of the Old Testament, that it is not a continuation of the previous history, but a repetition. The writer does not occupy new ground, but traverses ground which he knows well to have been previously trodden by others. He re-writes the events of Jewish history from the death of Saul to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, notwithstanding that they have been already put upon record by the authors of Samuel and Kings. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, this is a unique phenomenon; and the intelligent student naturally asks for an explanation of it. Why in this single case has the ordinary economy of Holy Scripture been departed from—what induced a writer to go over ground already occupied, and re-write history which an inspired penman had already written? Some critics have thought that they sufficiently answered this question by saying that the writer of Chronicles, having found in the archives of his nation many facts of interest which the authors of Samuel and Kings had omitted to put on record, determined to re-write the history in order to introduce them, his work being thus intended, mainly or wholly, as a "supplement" to Kings and Samuel. This seems to have been the view of the Alexandrian Jews who translated Chronicles into Greek for the version known as the Septuagint, and entitled their work *Paraleipomena*, or "Things Omitted." But a comparison of the contents of Chronicles with those of Samuel and Kings is conclusive against this theory, since to a very large extent Chronicles is a repetition of those earlier books, sometimes a repetition of whole chapters, with only a few verbal differences,[4] constantly a repetition of the general narrative with a certain number of fresh touches. The true character of a *supplemental* history may be seen by comparing St. John's with the other Gospels; this character clearly does not attach to Chronicles, which, while no doubt it supplies a certain number of facts not previously put on record, is in the main a re-publication of the old facts, or rather of certain portions of them. We must then look for some other motive as that which animated the writer of Chronicles, and induced him to commence and carry through an elaborate work, which at first sight has the appearance of being almost supererogatory.

This motive is to be found in the circumstances of the Jewish nation at the time when Chronicles was written. The people in their long and toilsome captivity, scattered among their conquerors, and ground down by taskwork,[5] had forgotten their past, had become ignorant of their sacred books, and had even lost the capacity of grasping and retaining the long and complicated account of their former history which had been familiar to their ancestors. On their return to Palestine they were a band of emancipated slaves, ignorant, illiterate, incapable of much thought, childish, and requiring, like children, very simple elementary teaching. Again, they were a multitude rather than a people; in their long-continued oppression and isolation they had lost the sentiment of nationality, the very idea of patriotism; they had forgotten their tribal distinctions and relationships; and though they had not fallen away from the worship of Jehovah, they had come to have a very dim and faint notion of what that worship in reality was, as established by the greatest of their monarchs, David and Solomon. To restore the national life, to re-unite the present with the past, to re-awaken the slumbering spirit of patriotism, to recall the glories of old times, and set them before the nation as the standard which they should aim at reaching in the future, was the hard but grand task which the leaders of the Jewish people set themselves at this time, and which none did more to accomplish than the writer of Chronicles. Instead of throwing the people back upon their old histories, written on too large a scale for their present needs, and in language of a more or less archaic type, he composed for their use a condensed narrative, written in the idiom of the day, with frequent allusions to recent events, and brought down to his own times, which was far more calculated to affect them strongly and deeply than the ancient larger compositions. At the same time, having to deal with persons in a childish and undeveloped state, he adopted a tone not elsewhere found in the historical Scriptures—a didactic tone of extreme directness and simplicity—a plan of pointing the moral in every case, of openly ascribing all the events of the history to the Divine agency, and referring in the plainest language every great calamity or deliverance to the good or evil deeds of the monarch or the nation, to whom they were sent as rewards or judgments.[6]

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[1] See De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 196 *a*.

[2] Compare the *Speaker's Commentary*, "Introduction to Ezra," vol. iii., p. 387, note 7.

[3] De Wette, l. s. c.; Bertheau, *Commentar über Chronik*; &c.

[4] Compare 1 Chron. x. 1—12 with 1 Sam. xxxi.; 1 Chron. xvii. with 2 Sam. vii.; 1 Chron. xviii. with 2 Sam. viii.; xix. with 2 Sam. x.; xxi. with 2 Sam. xxiv.; 2 Chron. v. 2—vii. 10 with 1 Kings viii.; and 2 Chron. xxii. 10—xxiv. 1 with 2 Kings xi.

[5] Polyhistor tells us (Fr. 24) that Nebuchadnezzar employed the bulk of the captive Jews in this way.

[6] See 1 Chron. iv. 10; v. 18—20, 25, 26; ix. 1; x. 13, 14; xi. 9;

The "Book of Chronicles" is divisible into four main portions. The first comprises nine chapters, from 1 Chron. i. to ix. inclusive. The second extends from 1 Chron. x. to xxix.; the third from 2 Chron. i. to ix.; and the fourth from 2 Chron. x. to xxxvi. The first, or introductory, section is of a very peculiar character. It consists almost wholly of genealogical lists, which are either detached or connected together by the slenderest possible thread of narrative. The genealogies are in part taken from the earlier Scriptures, but are derived also to a large extent from other sources, either national registers (1 Chron. iv. 31, 41; v. 17; vii. 2), or perhaps in some cases family archives (1 Chron. ii. 6—9, &c.). They extend to all the tribes of Israel, excepting Zebulon and Dan. Judah is treated of at far greater length than any of the others, the account of his descendants occupying two and a half chapters (ch. ii. 3 to ch. iv. 23). Benjamin and Levi fill a considerable space, the former occupying one entire chapter and portions of two others (ch. vii. 6—12; ch. viii.; and ch. ix. 35—44), the latter one entire chapter (ch. vi.). The account of the other tribes is very brief. The chief interest of this portion of the work to the modern reader consists in certain brief parenthetic narratives, which are additional to the earlier Scriptures —*e.g.*, the story of Jabez (ch. iv. 9, 10); the account of the conquests of the Simeonites (ch. iv. 39—43); the war of Reuben with the Hagarites (ch. v. 10, 18—22); the killing of Ephraim's sons by the men of Gath (ch. vii. 21); and the defeat of the Gittites by the men of Aijalon (ch. viii. 13). The genealogies themselves, very important, no doubt, at the time, are to the modern reader curious rather than interesting. One, however, that of the descendants of David (ch. iii.), is exceptionally valuable. It adds some curious particulars to the accounts elsewhere given of David's line;[1] and it carries the line down to (at least) the twenty-sixth generation, or six generations beyond the point to which it is carried in any other part of the Old Testament.[2]

The genealogical portion of Chronicles is completed by a list of the principal families who returned to the Holy Land after the Captivity, and settled at Jerusalem. These are declared to have belonged to at least five tribes—Levi, Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh (ch. ix. 2, 3). No complete account is given of their number; but a comparison with Neh. xi. leads to the conclusion that about 20,000 of the returned Israelites took up their abode at Jerusalem; while the remainder, who amounted, perhaps, to about 30,000, spread themselves over the country districts of Judæa from Beer-sheba to Bethel.[3]

Having completed his lists, and in this way reminded his people of the place which they occupied among the nations of the earth, and at the same time recalled to their recollection their own chief tribal divisions, and the peculiar position of the Levites among the twelve tribes (ch. vi. 54—81), the author proceeds (in ch. x.) to that condensed history of his nation's past to which he desires especially to draw their attention, with the object of encouraging them to hope that by perseverance in well-doing they may bring God's blessing upon them, and recover their ancient prosperity. Omitting the remoter ages, when they were either subject to Egypt or engaged in a struggle for life with their neighbours in Palestine, he places before them the glorious reign of David, introducing it by an account of the death of Saul (ch. x.), and extending his history of the reign through nineteen chapters, seven of which set forth the temporal power and military successes of the great monarch, while twelve exhibit his zeal for Jehovah and his efforts in favour of religion. A double object may be traced throughout—first, the desire to connect David's prosperity with his religiousness, indicated in such passages as the following: "So David waxed greater and greater, for the Lord of hosts was with him" (ch. xi. 9); "Peace be to thee, and peace be to thy helpers, for thy God helpeth thee" (ch. xii. 18); "David perceived that the Lord had confirmed him king over Israel, for his kingdom was lifted up on high" (ch. xiv. 2); "The fame of David went out into all lands, and the Lord brought the fear of him upon all nations"—and, secondly, the design to exhibit as fully as possible all that David did for the establishment of the national worship in the divinely-appointed place, and for the institution and maintenance of a grand, imposing, and elaborate ceremonial. David's share in arranging the vast and complicated system of the Temple worship has to be gathered almost entirely from Chronicles, from which we learn both that the entire plan of the Temple and its furniture was communicated by David to Solomon (ch. xxviii. 11—19), and also that from David proceeded the whole arrangement of the courses, both of the priests and Levites (ch. xxiii. and xxiv.), the ordering of the choral services (ch. xxv.), and even the disposition of the porters (ch. xxvi. 1—19). It is, moreover, from Chronicles alone that we learn the extent of the material preparations for the Temple and its furniture that David made (ch. xxix. 2—9)—preparations which left but little for Solomon to supply, except the giving shape and form to the rich and abundant materials that his father had accumulated.

With the close of David's reign our "First Book of Chronicles" terminates; and the Second introduces us to the reign of Solomon, which forms the third section of the work, and occupies the first nine chapters of the second "Book." Solomon's reign is set forth in its most glorious aspect. The note of triumph is struck

xxi. 7; 2 Chron. x. 15; xii. 2; xiii. 18; xiv. 11, 12; xvi. 7; xvii. 3—5; xviii. 31; xx. 30; xxi. 10; xxii. 7; xxiv. 18, 24; xxv. 20; xxvi. 5, 7, 20; xxvii. 6; xxviii. 4—6, 19; xxxi. 20, 21; xxxii. 25; xxxiii. 10—13, 23, 24; xxxvi. 16, &c.

[1] As the assignment to Josiah of a fourth son, Johanan, and to Jechoniah of a second son, Zedekiah; the mention of Pedaiah as the actual father of Zerubbabel, &c.

[2] These six generations must reach down to at least B.C. 410. It is possible that they may have been placed on record by Ezra, but it is perhaps more probable that Ezra's genealogy was extended by some later reviser.

[3] See Neh. xi. 30, 31.

in the opening verse ("Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom, and the Lord his God was with him and *magnified him exceedingly*"); and thenceforth from first to last we hear of nothing but the monarch's greatness and goodness, his favour with God, his magnificence, his wealth, his grand buildings, his fame among the neighbouring nations and sovereigns, his extensive commerce, his wide dominion. No notice is taken of that miserable fall into sensualism and idolatry which disgraced the old age of Solomon, and which forms so grievous a blot upon the character of this illustrious prince. Nothing is said of the troubles wherewith God chastised his sins. The 11th chapter of the First Book of Kings has no counterpart in Chronicles, where we first learn, in the account given of his successor (2 Chron. x. 2, 4, 15), that all had not gone wholly well with Solomon and with his kingdom to the very end of his reign. Not, of course, that the author intends to deny or even to hush up the fact of Solomon's transgression. He regards it as known, at any rate, to the better instructed among his readers, and alludes to it when occasion arises (ch. x. 15); but it does not accord with the scope of his work to dwell upon it. The reason is, probably, that the sin of Solomon was not punished so signally or so severely as to make the case a good example of that retribution for evil courses which it is one of the author's chief objects to exhibit.[1] It was a sin of complaisance rather than of evil inclination, and was perhaps repented of,[2] and was punished but lightly in his own lifetime (1 Kings xi. 14—26), and only with any severity after his decease (*ib.* 12 and 34—36). Our author views—and with good reason—the reign of Solomon as, on the whole, a period of prosperity—in fact, the period of the greatest prosperity of the nation—and prefers to use the example as illustrating in the strongest way the other portion of his moral teaching, the doctrine that virtue is rewarded, that the faithful worship of Jehovah brings on king and nation the blessing of God, and therefore all temporal glory and prosperity. He has to deal with a rude people, incapable of making delicate distinctions or of understanding refinements; he cannot enter with them on a dissection of the complicated web of human action and character; he must paint in strong, bright, positive colours, if he is to affect their childish minds; he must not use half-tones; he therefore leaves out from the picture which he draws the saddening shade of temporary (?) perversity and frailty; he gives us only one side of the shield—the bright one; setting forth fully and truly Solomon's early zeal for God, his piety, his unselfishness,[3] his humility,[4] his magnificence in all that concerned the worship of Jehovah,[5] and describing in glowing terms the religiousness of the mass of the people at this period, he then paints in the most brilliant hues the glorious position to which the nation attained *in consequence*. And here he stays his hand. The "rest of the acts of Solomon" may be read, he says, in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat (2 Chron. ix. 29)—those who wish to know them are referred to these writers. He, the author of Chronicles, has done—he has used the reign of Solomon to point his moral teaching in the way that seemed to him most appropriate. He will not risk marring the effect of what he has written by appending a narrative of which the moral lesson would be different, while it would be (comparatively) weak and indeterminate.

The fourth section of the work has now to be considered. It commences with the tenth chapter of the Second Book, and terminates with the thirty-sixth chapter, with which Chronicles, in its present shape, closes. It contains an account of the kingdom of Judah from the accession of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon, to the conquest of Judæa and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. No account is given of the kingdom of Israel. When Israelite affairs are treated of, it is always in their connection with the history of the Jews, and in fact as a part of that history.[6] We may suppose that the writer wished to avoid the complication of a double narrative, such as is found in Kings, and felt that an account of their own antecedents would most strongly move and most effectually admonish his people. At any rate, he has in fact confined himself to the history of the Jews, and has thus been able to construct a far more consecutive and, to simple readers, a more attractive history than that contained in the parallel portion of Kings. By limiting himself to the history of the Jews he is also able, without unduly extending his narrative, to give a much fuller account of certain important reigns than is to be found in the earlier writer.

The interest of this portion of the history is concentrated mainly on the four reigns of Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. These were the four best kings of Judah, and their joint reigns occupy a full half of the section.[7] Asa's history is delivered in three chapters; Jehoshaphat's in four; Hezekiah's also in four; Josiah's in two of more than the average length. In every case the narrative of Chronicles adds considerably to the information which we derive from Kings. To take a single instance, we learn from Chronicles alone that Asa had peace in the early part of his reign, and employed the favourable season in strengthening and fortifying his cities[8] (xiv. 6, 7); that his armed force amounted to 580,000 men—

[1] See above, p. 139.

[2] The question of Solomon's repentance is still an open one. It was decided in the affirmative by Irenæus, Hilary, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, and Jerome; in the negative by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine. (See Calmet, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. "Salomon.")

[3] 2 Chron. i. 10—12.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 6, "Who am I, that I should build Him a house?"

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 7—16; iii. 1—17; iv. 1—22; vii. 5, &c.

[6] See 2 Chron. x. 16, 17; xi. 1—4; xii. 15; xiii. 2—20; xvi. 1—6; xviii. 2—34; xx. 35—37; xxii. 5—9; xxv. 6 and 13—24; xxviii. 6—15.

[7] *Thirteen* chapters out of twenty-six.

[8] The *touch* in 1 Kings xv. 23—"the cities which he built"—becomes in Chronicles, "He built fenced cities in Judah; for the land had rest, and he had no war in those years; because the Lord

300,000 Jews and 280,000 Benjamites (*ib.* 8); that he was attacked by Zerah the Ethiopian with an army of Ethiopians and Lubim amounting to a million men, but defeated him and entirely destroyed his host (*ib.* 9—15; compare xvi. 8); that Azariah, the son of Oded, congratulated him on his victory, and exhorted him to continue faithful to Jehovah (xv. 1—7); that Asa, in consequence of the exhortation, effected great religious reforms (*ib.* 8), and gathering the people to Jerusalem, solemnly renewed the covenant (*ib.* 9—15); that after his war with Baasha, in which he called in the aid of Benhadad, king of Syria,[1] he was rebuked by Hanani the prophet for his trust in an arm of flesh (xvi. 7—9); that, enraged at this, he committed the sin of imprisoning Hanani (*ib.* 10); that at the same time he oppressed some of the people; and, finally, that he was buried with unusual honours and ceremonies, being "laid in a bed which was filled with odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art," while the people at the same time "made a very great burning for him" (*ib.* 14). A similar list of additions might be drawn out in the case of the three other monarchs;[2] and students of Scripture cannot be too strongly recommended to consult both Chronicles and Kings, if they wish to obtain anything like a complete view of the Jewish history of this period.

There are two especial points in which this section of Chronicles is fuller than the corresponding portion of Kings—viz., military matters and matters of religious ceremonial. It is from Chronicles alone that we derive our knowledge of the fortifications of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 5—12); the expedition of Zerah; the incidents of the war between Abijah and Jeroboam (xiii. 3—20); the military arrangements of Jehoshaphat (xvii. 12—19), and his war with the combined Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites (xx. 1—25); the invasion of Judæa in the reign of Jehoram by the Philistines and Arabians; the capture of Jerusalem, and destruction of all but one of Jehoram's sons, by them (xxi. 16, 17; xxii. 1); the circumstances of Amaziah's great war with Edom (xxv. 5—12); the reason of his quarrel with Joash of Israel (*ib.* 13); the successes of Uzziah (Azariah) against the Philistines, Arabians, and Maonites (xxvi. 6, 7), and his remarkable military arrangements (*ib.* 9—15); the fortifications of Jotham and his wars with the Ammonites (xxvii. 3—5); the details of the war of Ahaz with Pekah (xxviii. 6—15), and the calamities which he suffered at the hand of the Edomites and Philistines (*ib.* 17, 18); the preparations of Hezekiah to resist the first invasion of Sennacherib (xxxii. 2—8 and 30); the Assyrian attack upon Manasseh (xxxiii. 11); and the negotiations of Pharaoh-necho with Josiah (xxxv. 21).

Among matters of religious ceremonial, related by the author of Chronicles only, may be noted the renewal of the covenant by Asa (xv. 9—15); the itinerant preaching instituted by Jehoshaphat (xvii. 7—9); the important part taken by the Levites in the coronation of Joash (xxiii. 2—11); the resistance offered to Uzziah's invasion of the sacerdotal office by the high priest of his time, Azariah (xxvi. 16—21); the great religious reformation of Hezekiah (xxix.—xxxi.); the *half* reformation of Manasseh (xxxiii. 12—17); and the circumstances of the great Passover celebrated by Josiah (xxxv. 1—19). The author has been accused of unduly magnifying the sacerdotal order, and especially of improperly exalting the Levites;[3] and it is undoubtedly true that he brings out, far more strongly than the writers of Kings and Samuel, the ecclesiastical character of the Jewish polity; but there is no reason to believe that he goes beyond the truth in his representations, or does more than fairly supplement the earlier authors, and draw attention to an aspect of the polity which they had not felt called upon to bring into prominent notice.

The moral object of the writer of Chronicles, in the concluding as in the earlier sections, is his main one, and is throughout most distinctly—almost nakedly—indicated. He will show his nation, by the records of their past, that in almost every instance temporal rewards and punishments were dispensed in exact accordance with the attitude of the king and people towards the national religion, signal vengeance following every neglect of the authorised rites, every insult offered to the priests, every profanation of the Temple, every introduction of an alien worship; while wealth, and glory, and military success, and prosperity of every kind accompanied the manifestations of a religious spirit. For three years Rehoboam and his subjects "obeyed the words of the Lord" (2 Chron. xi. 4), and "walked in the way of David and Solomon" (*ib.* 17); and for three years the kingdom of Judah was "strengthened," and "Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, was made strong" (*ibid.*). When after this time "Rehoboam forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him," then, "in the fifth year, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord" (xii. 1, 2); and took the fenced cities, and entered and plundered Jerusalem. Rehoboam "humbled himself" (ver. 12); and then "the wrath of the Lord turned from him, that he would not destroy him altogether; for yet in Judah there were good things" (*ibid.*). Abijah and his subjects, in their war with Israel, "cried unto the Lord, and the priests sounded with trumpets" (xiii. 14); and "it came to pass that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah; and the children of Israel fled before Judah, and God delivered them into their hand" (*ib.* 15, 16). Asa "did that which was good and right in the eyes of the Lord his God" (xiv. 2); and "the land had rest, and he had no war in those years, because the Lord had given him rest;" and though, after a

had given him rest. Therefore he said unto Judah, Let us build these cities, and make about them walls and towers, gates and bars, while the land is yet before us: because we have sought the Lord our God; we have sought him, and he hath given us rest on every side. So they built and prospered."

[1] Related also in Kings (1 Kings xv. 16—22).

[2] See especially 2 Chron. xvii. 7—19; xix. 1—11; xx. 1—30; xxix.—xxxi.; xxxii. 1—8 and 27—30; and xxxv. 1—24.

[3] See De Wette, *Einleitung in d. Alt. Testament*, § 190 c.

time, he too, like Rehoboam, was attacked by the great monarchy of the south,[1] yet how different was the issue! "Asa cried unto the Lord his God" (ver. 11), and "the Lord smote the Ethiopians before Asa and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled" (ver. 12), and "were overthrown that they could not recover themselves; for they were destroyed before the Lord and before his host" (ver. 13). Jehoshaphat at first "sought to the Lord God of his father, and walked in his commandments" (xvii. 4); "therefore the Lord stablished the kingdom in his hand, and all Judah brought to Jehoshaphat presents, and he had riches and honour in abundance" (ver. 5), and "waxed great exceedingly" (ver. 12). But afterwards, when this king "joined affinity with Ahab" (xviii. 1), and assisted him in his Syrian war, then he suffered defeat, and was brought into great danger (ver. 31), and incurred the rebuke of Hanani the prophet (xix. 2): "Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? Therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord." Victorious in his war with Moab and Ammon, because he "feared and set himself to seek the Lord, and proclaimed a fast throughout all Judah; and Judah gathered themselves together to ask help of the Lord: even out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the Lord" (xx. 3, 4); he, nevertheless, later in his reign, "joined himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, who did very wickedly" (verse 35), and again the result was disaster. He "joined himself with Ahaziah to make ships to go to Tarshish" (ver. 36); and once more he was rebuked and told, "Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the Lord hath broken thy works." And the ships were accordingly "broken [wrecked], that they were not able to go" (ver. 37). And so through the remainder of the section. Jehoram "walked in the way of the kings of Israel" (xxi. 6), and the Edomites revolted from him, and Libnah also, "because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers" (ver. 10). Ahaziah "did evil in the sight of the Lord" (xxii. 4), and "went with Jehoram the son of Ahab" (ver. 5); and his "destruction was of God by coming to Jehoram" (ver. 7). Joash forsook God after the death of Jehoiada, and commanded the murder of Zechariah (xxiv. 21); and the Syrians "came up against him" (ver. 23), and "the Lord delivered a very great host into their hand, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their fathers" (ver. 24). Similarly, the idolatry of Amaziah (xxv. 14) was punished by his defeat by Joash (*ib.* 21—24); the impiety of Uzziah brought upon him the curse of leprosy (xxvi. 20); the apostacy of Ahaz led to the destruction of his host by Pekah (xxviii. 6); the sins of Manasseh caused him to be carried captive to Babylon (xxxiii. 11); the trespasses of Amon made his servants conspire against him and slay him (*ib.* 22—24). On the other hand, Jotham "became mighty because he prepared his ways before the Lord his God" (xxvii. 6); and Hezekiah was "saved from the hand of Sennacherib king of Assyria" (xxxii. 22), and "magnified in the sight of all nations" (ver. 23), and "had exceeding much riches and honour" (ver. 27), because he, on the whole, "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David his father had done" (xxix. 2). Josiah, though in his day the people had become hopelessly corrupt, had "forsaken Jehovah" (xxxiv. 25), and "burned incense unto other gods" (*ibid.*), yet because he was individually humble and pious, was taken away from the evil to come, "gathered to his grave in peace" (ver. 28), and "buried in the sepulchres of his fathers" (xxxv. 24). At length there was a succession of four idolatrous kings, of whom no good could be told; the people had filled up the measure of their iniquities; there was no hope of recovery; and so the final destruction came. "All the chief of the priests, and the people, transgressed very much after all the abominations of the heathen, and polluted the house of the Lord"—"they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, till there was no remedy" (xxxvi. 14, 16). "Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, . . . and gave them all into his hand; . . . and they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces with fire, . . . and carried away them that escaped the sword to Babylon" (vv. 17—20).

It is thus that the writer of Chronicles draws its moral lesson from the Jewish history. Thus, at once for the warning and for the encouragement of his people, he shows that vice and irreligion are punished by God, that virtue and piety are rewarded. And here, as Chronicles now stands, he may be said to end. As the work, however, was originally written, he added to his fourth a fifth section—he followed down the past into the present—he related the recovery as he had related the downfall of his nation; he placed on record the return from the Captivity, the rebuilding of the Temple, the second colonisation under Artaxerxes Longimanus, and the religious reforms of Ezra. This portion of his work is, in our present arrangement of the Jewish Scriptures, separated off from the rest, and made into a distinct work, the Book of Ezra. As such, it will be in a future number the subject of a special article. For the present we wish merely to impress upon the Biblical student the incompleteness of Chronicles as it stands, and the propriety of reading it in connection with Ezra, and of viewing it as that history of their past which the "ready scribe," writing under Longimanus, about B.C. 456, thought best fitted to impress and improve the Jews of his day.

[1] Zerah (זרח) is probably Usarken or Osorcho II. of Manetho's twenty-second dynasty, an Ethiopian probably by birth, but, like Shishak, King of Egypt.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE GOSPELS—INTRODUCTORY.

BY THE REV. E. R. CONDER, M.A.

THE most wonderful, most beautiful, most important history in the world—which has exerted, and will never cease to exert, more power over mankind than all other histories together—is comprised in four brief tracts; three of which narrate to a great extent the same things, in nearly the same words; each of which resembles a collection of anecdotes, with notes of a few discourses, rather than a complete biography. Events and sayings belonging to two or three days fill a large proportionate space, while those of weeks, months, or even years, are summed up in a sentence, or passed over in silence. All seems fragmentary. The writers of these four memoirs, which we name "The Gospels," must have had at hand copious materials, of the highest interest, for bulky volumes. Their silence is one of the most astonishing features of their work. Almost as wonderful is the extreme simplicity, brevity, and quietness with which they place before us (with no words of comment or emotion) the most amazing or most affecting events and the most profound and sublime sayings. They write like men at home where other men would fear to enter; to whom the experience of years has made the supernatural seem natural, and the Divine familiar.

To piece these seemingly fragmentary records together, so that they shall harmonise in every detail, and every event and discourse take its exact chronological place, is a work of consummate difficulty. To shed a single ray of light on the darkness of their silence, and supply from other sources what they have left untold, is impossible. Yet beneath this appearance of fragmentary incompleteness and artless simplicity lies a Divine art so perfect, that these four witnesses combine in one harmonious testimony. The four Gospels, like so many mirrors, show us One Living Figure in different aspects. Scanty as are the materials, the picture of our Saviour's life, teaching, and character, is so complete and vivid, that it scarcely seems as if volumes of additional narrative could have brightened—still less added—a single trait. So far from paining us with a sense of defect, the Gospels amaze us with their inexhaustible fulness and undecaying freshness. The picture they unite to furnish, moreover, is so utterly unlike that of any other life (either in history or in fiction), yet so real; so raised above both human conceptions and human practice, yet so far excelling all rivalry in the intensity of love and sympathy it embodies, and the power with which it attracts human hearts (under every possible diversity of character and circumstance), that the truthfulness of the portrait speaks for itself: it *could* have been painted only from life.

A unity of purpose pervades the four Gospels. Their aim is single, spiritual, practical. The words of St. John might stand at the close of each: "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through His name."

Around these brief writings a whole library of learned exposition and controversy has gathered. Every word, and even letter, has been subjected to microscopic criticism. Questions and doubts which one set of scholars have toiled to raise have been solved with equal labour by another set—to revive, with immortal pertinacity, under the pens of their successors. Happily, the solid results of these labours, so far as they are needful and helpful to the intelligent reading of the Evangelists, admit of being plainly stated in moderate compass. In the midst of those wildernesses of erudition, the four Gospels remind us, in their calm deep simplicity and unwithering fruitfulness, of so many green valleys, embraced by granite precipices, glaciers, and snow-peaks, where the peasant peacefully garners his crop, thankful for the clear stream which descends to his fields from those barren heights.

The reader who is unacquainted with the original languages of Scripture is startled, for example, to hear of tens of thousands of "various readings"—*i.e.*, differences in the ancient manuscript copies of the New Testament. But he is reassured when he learns that the largest proportion of these consist in various arrangements or spellings of Greek words, making no perceptible difference in translation; and that of the rest, the number is wonderfully small of those which can be accounted important. So, also, the disquiet awakened by the mention of "mistranslations," necessitating a revised version of the Bible, is tranquillised when it is found that the most elaborate revision of our Authorised Version confirms its substantial faithfulness, and does but resemble such a careful retouching of a picture as brightens the colours and renders the outlines more distinct, without obliterating a single figure or feature. The fiery ordeal of criticism to which the Gospels, like the rest of Scripture, have been subjected, serves but to strengthen their claims on our trust, reverence, and love.

The Gospels differ from the Epistles, as the historical books of the Old Testament from those of the prophets, in not containing the names of their authors. The reason may have been partly (in both cases) the different relation which a simple narrator of well-known facts bears to his readers from that sustained by a personal messenger—apostle or prophet—from God. Partly, modest reverence may have withheld the Evangelists from associating their own names with these memorials of their Lord and Master. But their works do follow them. A tradition of that kind which cannot

be fallacious—the public, universal, uncontradicted testimony of those myriads of readers and hearers among whom these writings circulated from the time of their publication—assigns them to the writers whose names they bear. Those passages from early Christian writers which are adduced in works in which the evidence of the genuineness and authority of the books of the New Testament is fully treated, are therefore not to be regarded as *constituting* that evidence: they are such specimens and vouchers as a few fossils are of the stratum from which they are dug. And there is no contrary evidence. The consent of the Christian Church—using that name in its largest sense—is backed by the silent assent of contemporary foes.[1]

Every intelligent reader must have remarked the strong general resemblance pervading the first three Gospels; and must have also observed that the fourth Gospel occupies, nearly throughout, distinct ground. Careful study, indeed, reveals many important differences, forbidding the idea that either Evangelist copied from either of the others. St. Matthew and St. Luke have each considerable portions, both of narrative and of our Lord's sayings, not recorded by the other. St. Mark adds little to the main stock of their combined records; but he abounds in vivid details, evidently supplied by an eye-witness. Yet the view furnished by these three writers of our Lord's ministry is so substantially one (and so distinct from that given by St. John), that their works are commonly spoken of as "*the synoptic* Gospels."

Let us divide the Gospel history into three parts: the first ending with our Lord's baptism and temptation; the second, with His final journey to Jerusalem; the third, with His ascension. Then, in the first part, we find little correspondence in the three accounts. In the last part, all four Gospels of necessity travel over the same ground, and their divergences here may be thought as noticeable as their coincidences. But in the second part, covering (as can be proved from the Jewish feasts and from astronomical calculations) a period of three years, we find that out of nearly sixty distinct incidents recorded by St. Matthew, all but six are given in one or both of the other synoptic Gospels; two of the six being miraculous cures, and the other four incidents (two of them miraculous) in which the Apostle Peter was concerned.

St. Mark, rich in details, contributes two miracles and one parable not found in either of the other Gospels. For the rest, his Gospel coincides in substance mostly with St. Matthew's; in a few passages with St. Luke's only. St. Luke furnishes a large amount of fresh matter (both incident and parable), and in reports of our Lord's discourses or sayings closely resembling those in the first Gospel he assigns different occasions.

Now let the reader place side by side, and carefully study, the record of some one incident recorded in all these three Gospels. Take, for instance, the raising of Jairus' daughter, or the feeding of the five thousand (where St. John's account also may be compared). He will perceive an amount of minute verbal coincidence, even more strongly suggestive than the general similarity of contents, of some common source.

To these two features of resemblance—agreement in selection of incidents, out of the vast mass supplied by our Lord's ministry, and verbal agreement (still more strongly observable in the records of our Lord's utterances than in narration)—must be added, what is no less remarkable, agreement in omission. These three Gospels omit all reference to the ministry of Jesus in Judæa, to the Jewish feasts, and to any visit to Jerusalem prior to the final one.

How are these facts accounted for? The facts themselves must be kept firmly apart from any theory. Still we cannot help wishing to explain them; and for this purpose various theories have been devised, some of which are self-refuted by their over-ingenuity. The inspiration of the Evangelists does not afford (as was once thought) any real explanation. For, apart from any discussion of the nature of inspiration, no reason can be imagined—and there are no useless miracles—why inspiration should act in so apparently arbitrary and purposeless a way as to produce this singular mosaic of accordance and difference; close verbal coincidence in half a sentence, or half-a-dozen verses, combined with perplexing discrepancies, sometimes not easy to distinguish from contradictions. Equally irreconcilable with the facts is the idea that either of the Evangelists had the writings of the others before him, and partly copied, partly altered their expressions and order.

The theory which at present finds most favour is that expounded with great force and clearness by Mr. Westcott (*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*)—viz., that the common source from which the written Gospels drew (and which accounts for their resemblance) was the "Oral Gospel;" that is to say, the narrative given in the preaching of the apostles of the life and ministry of our Saviour. Evidence in support of this view is found in the fact that oral teaching was the main instrument of religious and moral instruction among the Jews; the decisions and expositions of their great rabbins being handed down, by unwritten tradition, through successive generations of teachers and disciples.

A full discussion of the question would require a careful examination of this last argument, of the references to writing or reading in the Gospels, and of the place which literature held in the Jewish nation.[2] The fundamental fact, however, is unquestionable: the apostles were in the first instance sent forth not as

[1] See, for example, Paley's *Evidences*, pt. 1, ch. 9; or Westcott's *The Bible in the Church*.

[2] Mr. Westcott seems to have over-estimated the exclusion of literature in that age, among the Jews, by oral teaching. It is true that the disciples of the rabbins were forbidden to commit to writing their traditionary interpretations of the Mosaic Law. But the books of Josephus may afford proof, if proof be needed, that no such restriction could apply to memoirs of public events and discourses, and any such restriction would have been at variance with the whole spirit and purpose of our Lord's ministry.

writers, but as preachers; their preaching was largely historical; and they deemed it their special calling to be witnesses of Christ's resurrection, and to speak of things they had seen and heard (Acts i. 22; iv. 20). But there are grave counterbalancing considerations. (1.) The history of the Lord's ministry, though an essential part, was by no means the whole theme of apostolic ministry. Their express commission was to teach whatsoever things Christ had commanded (Matt. xxviii. 20); to preach repentance and forgiveness in Christ's name (Luke xxiv. 47); and even to teach "many things" which He had not been able to teach them, but which the Spirit of truth was to reveal (John xvi. 12—14). (2.) That any one preacher should fall into a set strain of narration in repeating the glorious story of Jesus, day after day, and year after year, to different hearers, is natural and probable: that eleven men should have done so, is unnatural and improbable. Had it been the case, it would have awakened suspicions of their veracity. Each true witness has his own way of telling a story. If a number of witnesses are found so to have "shaped" or "moulded" their tale as to repeat it in nearly the same words, we at once suspect collusion. (3.) The Apostle John's preaching must have been a very important part of the "oral gospel" of the Eleven, yet his written Gospel differs in plan, contents, and diction from the synoptic Gospels.

Can any further light be shed on this difficult question? If we may trust the earliest tradition about St. Matthew, he at first wrote his memoirs of our Lord in Hebrew. If we may trust the earliest tradition about St. Mark, he embodied in his Gospel the teaching of the Apostle Peter. That Matthew, accustomed to the use of the pen, should have written down, in his native tongue, full notes of many of the Master's discourses (as Baruch wrote Jeremiah's), is but what we might expect. But the same man who is an expert reporter may be far from a good narrator. Peter, the weather-beaten man of action, of impulse, of hot and tender feeling, would be the very preacher to make the incidents of his Lord's life-work and suffering live in his hearers' minds and memories. If the Gospel of Mark, the young eager listener ("Marcus my son," 1 Peter v. 13), reproduces in its vivid traits the preaching of Peter, then Matthew's narrative, with its marvellous concentration, as from long use of the pen, must represent Peter's "oral gospel" too. St. Luke expressly tells us (i. 2, 3) how he gathered his materials; and we thus have the explanation, both of his agreement with the two former Gospels, and of the precious store of additional matter with which his Gospel is enriched. The conclusion to which we are thus led, therefore, is, that the preaching of the Apostle Peter—the disciple to whom the Lord said, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," and whom He specially charged to feed His flock—the preacher whose words reached three thousand consciences on the Day of Pentecost, and opened the Kingdom of Heaven to the Gentiles (Acts x. 34—44)—furnished the common element in the first three Gospels.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS; AND HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

"And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me."—MATT. xxvii. 6—10.

THREE difficulties here suggest themselves—(1) How can the statement that the chief priests bought the potter's field be reconciled with Acts i. 18, where it is said by St. Peter respecting Judas, "Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity?"

(2) In what manner can we account for the prophecy contained in *Zechariah* xi. 13, to which unquestionable allusion seems to be here made, being ascribed to *Jeremiah?*

And (3) in what sense are we to understand the prophecy of the price weighed as the hire of the shepherd, as recorded in Zech. xi. 13, as fulfilled in the transaction recorded in Matt. xxvii. 6—10?

1. Our first inquiry is as to the consistency of St. Matthew's statement that it was the *chief priests* who bought the potter's field, with the equally explicit statement made by St. Peter (Acts i. 18), that it was *Judas* who "purchased a field with the reward of iniquity." We purposely abstain from any discussion of the question whether the ascription of the purchase to Judas, on the supposition that he had no personal concern in the transaction, can or cannot be satisfactorily explained on the ground that it was his treachery which led to it, because we think that whether such an explanation be, or be not tenable, it is not the true interpretation of the passage.

We abstain also from more than a passing allusion to the supposition that the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Luke refer to two distinct purchases, and to the early traditions, which point to two distinct spots, because we believe such a supposition to be nothing more than an unsatisfactory attempt to remove one difficulty by the substitution of another and a greater.

In attempting to offer what we believe to be a more satisfactory explanation of the difficulty, we may observe in the first instance that, whatever the apparent diversity between the two statements, it is scarcely

possible that either St. Matthew or St. Luke could have been in doubt about the circumstances of an event of such recent occurrence, and of such great notoriety. Equally improbable is it that St. Peter could have been in ignorance as to what had actually been done by the traitor during the short interval between the supper at Bethany (Matt. xxvi. 14—16), after which the covenant with the chief priests appears to have been made, or the still shorter interval between the hour at which the traitor actually carried his design into effect (verses 48, 49), and that at which our Lord was condemned as a blasphemer by Caiaphas, and delivered over to Pontius Pilate. If the word (ἔστησαν) used by St. Matthew in xxvi. 15 be properly rendered as it is in the Authorised Version, "covenanted," it is reasonable to suppose that the money was not actually paid to the traitor until after the betrayal on the night preceding the crucifixion. If, on the contrary—as seems much more in conformity with its use in other places—the word employed by St. Matthew, which is identical with that used by the LXX. for the Hebrew וישקלו in Zech. xi. 12, is properly rendered "they *weighed*" or paid, we must then conclude that the thirty pieces of silver were paid at the time when the agreement was made, either as the whole, or as a part, of the sum *promised* or *covenanted* by the chief priests, as the transaction is described in Mark xiv. 11, and in St. Luke xxii. 5. In any case there was ample time between the supper at Bethany and the hour in which our Lord was delivered over to Pontius Pilate for an agreement to have been made by Judas with the owner of the potter's field for its purchase, which is the utmost that can be inferred as being involved of necessity in the words of St. Peter, "Now this man purchased [ἐκτήσατο] a field with the reward of iniquity."[1] Nor does the interpretation thus assigned to the word ἐκτήσατο—viz., that Judas *agreed to purchase* the potter's field—involve by any means an arbitrary or an improbable supposition.[2] The apparent and, we might say, the obvious connection in the mind of the speaker between the latter clause of Acts i. 18, "And falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst," with the former clause of the same verse, "Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity," and more especially with the statement of verse 19, "Insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood," naturally suggests, if indeed it does not necessarily imply, that the field which Judas "purchased," or agreed to purchase, became the scene of his violent death.

If this supposition be admitted, the two statements contained, the one in St. Matthew's Gospel and the other in the Acts, whilst obviously independent accounts, so far from being irreconcilable, seem to afford to each other, by their undesigned coincidence, mutual corroboration. The facts of the case, in accordance with the theory we have proposed, would be, briefly, these. Judas, having entered into an agreement with the chief priests for the betrayal of our Lord, and having probably already received from them, whether in part or in full payment for his treachery, the thirty pieces of silver, forthwith negotiated the purchase of the potter's field. Being present with others "to see the end," he watched the proceedings recorded in St. Matt. xxvi., until he perceived, in the delivery of our Lord to Pilate, a manifest indication that the object proposed by the Jews would be attained. Being suddenly smitten with remorse, he casts down in the Temple[3] the thirty pieces of silver which he had received, and which he had agreed to pay as the price, whether in part or in whole,[4] of the potter's field. No spot more favourable for the execution of his fatal purpose presenting itself to his mind, he hurries to that same field wherein he had probably proposed to erect a dwelling-place for himself in life, to find within it a release from his now insupportable sufferings by a self-inflicted death. The chief priests take hasty counsel concerning the disposition of those thirty pieces of silver, which had thus become, *in a twofold sense*, "the price of blood" (Matt. xxvii. 6). The intention of Judas being either communicated to them at the time by the owner of the field, or being previously known to them, they resolve upon the completion of the purchase, and the appropriation of the spot, defiled by the death of the traitor, to the burial of those whom they would not admit into their own cemeteries. Thus, literally, if our supposition be correct, did the prediction of the Psalmist, as quoted by St. Peter (Acts i. 20), receive its accomplishment; and the destined "habitation" of the traitor became "desolate,"[5] so that no man dwelt in his tents.

2. Our next inquiry is as to the origin of the ascrip-

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[1] It is not unworthy of notice that in the account of the purchase of the field in Anathoth by Jeremiah, we find the same verb which is found in Acts i. 18, and which is there rendered "purchased," distinguished from that which denotes the actual payment of the money (the same as is found in Matt. xxvi. 14): "And I bought (ἐκτησάμην) the field of Hanameel, my uncle's son . . . and weighed (ἔστησα) him the money" (Jer. xxxii. 9).

[2] We are unable to comprehend the drift of Dean Alford's remark, that the two accounts cannot "consistently with common honesty" be reconciled, "*unless we knew more of the facts than we do.*" It appears to us that here, as elsewhere, in our confessed ignorance of all the facts, the utmost that can be required of the Biblical expositor is to show that on one or more suppositions, which do not bear on their surface the aspect of extreme improbability, the narratives of the different writers admit of reconciliation.

[3] ἐν τῷ ναῷ. The use of the word ναος, which generally denotes the Temple itself, in this place, instead of ἱερόν, which is commonly used when one of the Temple courts is intended, creates some difficulty. It is possible that, under the influence of overwhelming and uncontrollable emotion, Judas may have rushed into the holy place where the priests were; or it may be that, whilst himself standing without, he threw the pieces of money within the building. The use of the preposition ἐν, *in* or *within*, suggests the former of the two suppositions as the more probable; and the coincidence with the phraseology of Zech. xi. 13, "And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter *in the house of the Lord*," becomes more striking.

[4] The smallness of the price, if not valued at more than thirty pieces of silver in the first instance, arose, probably, from the fact that the clay was exhausted. The value may have still further depreciated by reason of the suicide of Judas in it. In Jerome's time the "field of blood" was shown on the south side of Mount Sion.

[5] A cognate form of the word used by the Psalmist (Ps. lxix. 25), and which is rendered "desolate," occurs in Jer. xliv. 12, in reference to the Jews who perished in Egypt by the sword and by the famine.

tion to Jeremiah of the prophecy contained in Zech. xi. 12, 13, to which, as it appears to us, undoubted reference is made by St. Matthew. Some have supposed that the cause of this ascription is to be found in the allusion to the potter's field in Jer. xviii. 2, 3, and in the reference to the valley of the son of Hinnom in connection with "the potter's earthen bottle" in Jer. xix. 2; of which prophecy Zechariah is supposed to have announced a second fulfilment. This and similar suppositions, amongst which we may refer to that of Chrysostom and Eusebius, which Bishop Wordsworth revives—viz., that the prophecy was in *the first instance* delivered by Jeremiah, and that by its ascription here to Jeremiah rather than to Zechariah we are taught to regard all the ancient prophecies as "springing forth from the one living Fountain of wisdom and knowledge" —appear to us either untenable or inadequate. The prophecy, as it is delivered by St. Matthew, agrees substantially with the words of Zechariah, although it does not coincide literally with them, and differs still further from the version of the Seventy. The most probable origin of the substitution of "Jeremiah" for "Zechariah," as it appears to us, is that which has been accepted by Keil and others—viz., that it was the error of a very old copyist, probably of one who was contemporary with St. Matthew himself, and consequently of a more ancient date than the earliest of the critical helps which have been transmitted to the present time. It is admitted on all hands that errors of a similar nature have crept into the text at later periods; and we see no reason why it should not be admitted that the text has been exposed to similar corruptions from the first.

3. One more question remains for discussion—viz., In what sense did the prophecy contained in Zechariah respecting the hire of the shepherd receive its fulfilment in the casting of the thirty pieces of silver into the House of the Lord by Judas? It might at first sight appear that there was a discrepancy between the prophecy and its alleged fulfilment, in that, in the one case, the thirty pieces of silver were paid as the wages of the shepherd, whilst, in the other case, they were paid as the price of the treachery of Judas. The discrepancy, however, as it has been pointed out by Keil, is but on the surface, and when the form of the prophecy is traced back to the fundamental idea, the apparent difference is resolved into real and essential harmony. For, in the prophecy of Zechariah, the wages paid to the shepherd are but a symbolical representation of the national ingratitude of the Jews, and their national rejection of their King. The contemptible sum proffered to the shepherd, but rejected by him with scorn, "the goodly price" at which he was "prized" of them, the same as that at which a slave was valued (Exod. xxi. 32), was cast, as Jehovah Himself appointed, "to the potter in the house of the Lord" (xi. 13). The words of the Evangelist, "as the Lord appointed me," correspond to the words of the prophet (verse 13), "And Jehovah said unto me," and indicate that the disposition of the money was made in accordance with the Divine purpose. "As God," says Meyer, "had directed the prophet how to proceed with the thirty silverlings, so it was with the antitypical fulfilment of the prophecy by the high priests, and thus was the purpose of the Divine will accomplished."

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED PLACES (*continued*).

WE have examined the articles of furniture in the Court of the Tabernacle, and proceeding onward we come now to those of the first division of the Sanctuary, the Holy Place. Three objects here demand our attention, the Altar of Incense, the Golden Candlestick or Lampstand, and the Table with the Shewbread. The first of these stood immediately in front of one entering the apartment, and before the inner or second vail; the second was on his left hand, on the south side of the Sanctuary; the third on his right hand, on the north side (Exod. xxvi. 35). We begin with the Golden Candlestick, then take the Table with the Shewbread, and lastly the Altar of Incense which stood nearest to the second vail.

I. *The Golden Candlestick.*—The importance attached to this article of the furniture of the Holy Place is shown both by the minuteness of the description given of it, and by the love with which the sacred writer evidently dwells, in later passages, upon the faithfulness displayed in carrying out the directions for its construction. The directions are as follow: "And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the candlestick be made: his shaft, and his branches, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, shall be of the same. And six branches shall come out of the sides of it; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side: three bowls made like unto almonds, with a knop and a flower in one branch; and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, with a knop and flower: so in the six branches that come out of the candlestick. And in the candlestick shall be four bowls made like unto almonds, with their knops and their flowers. And there shall be a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick. Their

knops and their branches shall be of the same: all of it shall be one beaten work of pure gold. And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof: and they shall light the lamps thereof, that they may give light over against it. And the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall he make it, with all these vessels. And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 31—40). The carrying out of these directions is described in Exod. xxxvii. 17—24, and we have again a briefer description of the work in Numb. viii. 3, 4. Minute, however, as the instructions are, and amply sufficient for our present purpose, they do not leave all the questions that may be asked regarding the appearance of the candlestick completely settled. It is somewhat doubtful what the "knops" were; doubtful whether the central stem, to which, from its being itself named the candlestick in the above description, peculiar importance is obviously attached, rose only to a level with the summits of the branches, or to a considerably greater height; doubtful whether the stem and six branches were all in one plane, thus affording a straight line of light, or whether they projected from the stem in different planes, thus presenting the whole body of light in the form of a globe. The height, too, of the candlestick is not mentioned, although the conjecture of Bähr is at least probable, that it was the same as that of the Table for the Shewbread standing over against it, a cubit and a half, or nearly two and a half feet. Both these articles would thus be half a cubit lower than the Altar of Incense, and the symmetry of the whole arrangement would be preserved.[1] It is also a matter of uncertainty in what direction the different lamps of the candlestick stood, supposing them to have presented a continuous line of light, whether from east to west or from north to south. But, if we remember that the sanctuary was only ten cubits in breadth, it seems to us that we need have little hesitation in deciding for the former. To one entering the Holy Place, the brilliancy of the lamps would be quite as great in the one case as in the other. Josephus gives them an oblique direction (*Antiq.*, iii. 6, 7).

THE GOLDEN CANDLESTICK.

[1] Bähr, *Symbolik*, I., p. 416.

Whatever uncertainty may rest upon the points now mentioned, there are others, and these sufficient for our present purpose, that are clear. Thus, it is worthy of remark that the material was to be of the most costly, the workmanship of the most elaborate, kind. The whole was to be formed of pure gold, of beaten work; and without endeavouring to conceive of the exact shape of the bowls and knops and flowers and fruits, or of the manner in which the lamps were attached to the stem, it is evident from the manner in which they are described, that they were so designed as to produce an impression of great richness of effect. Again, the numbers used cannot fail to arrest our attention. Viewed in connection with the use of numbers in all the other parts of the Tabernacle, they were obviously intended to be symbolical; seven the ruling number of the whole, three the ruling number of the branches, four the ruling number of the stem. Again, importance is attached to the fact that the branches and the stem were to be "of the same," were to constitute one piece, "one beaten work of pure gold." It is not, indeed, necessary to think that all were to be beaten out of one block of gold. Such a thing would probably have been impracticable. But, at all events, they were to be so fastened together that they should in the strictest sense of the word be one, in a manner similar to that in which, in the Most Holy Place, the Cherubim and the Mercy-seat were to be one. The wicks also, it deserves to be noticed, were to be arranged in a way altogether peculiar. In Exod. xxv. 37, it is said, "And they shall cause its lamps to ascend and light them to the side thereof" (not, as in our English version, "that they may give light over against it"), words from which the inference is justly drawn, that the wicks of the six lamps of the branches were to receive such an inclination to the side that their illuminating rays should fall upon the central stalk.[1] Finally, it is interesting to observe that the candlestick was to be fashioned after the form of a tree, and that tree the almond. Nor can we imagine that this particular tree was chosen for the purpose without special design. It was the blossoms and fruits of the almond-tree that Aaron's rod brought forth when it was laid up before the Ark of the Testimony (Numb. xvii.), and "the rod of an almond-tree" was the first vision presented to Jeremiah when the Almighty declared by that prophet that He was about to "hasten His word to perform it" (Jer. i. 11). The words last quoted throw light upon the symbol. The almond-tree is the first tree to awaken from the sleep of winter and to send forth its leaves and buds in spring, a circumstance indeed from which it received its name in Hebrew; and none, therefore, could be better fitted to express the vigour and activity of that life which "hastens" to shed abroad the light represented by the light of the Golden Candlestick.

There is one question connected with this candlestick to which we must advert, although feeling the difficulty of coming to a positive decision in regard to it. Did its lamps burn continually or only by night? That they burned the whole night through admits of no doubt, but did they also burn by day? The following reasons appear to determine in favour of the latter supposition. (1.) As the light of day was excluded from the Holy Place there was need of artificial light to enable the priests to perform their appointed functions in it. (2.) Night was the time when the light of the lamps was least required. It may be for this reason that attention is particularly called to the importance of having them kept burning then. (3.) The language of Lev. xxiv. 4, "He shall order the lamps upon the pure candlestick before the Lord continually," although capable of being referred only to the "from the evening unto the morning" of the preceding verse, and of thus expressing simple regularity of lighting, may have a wider application, and may mean that their light was to be in the strictest sense of the word "continual." (4.) Even the words of Exod. xxx. 8 do not necessarily imply that the lamps had been extinguished. The "lighteth" of that verse ought to be translated "causeth to ascend," and it has reference to that idea of an offering which was involved in the burning of the lamps. It need not, therefore, be so connected with "at even" that it shall be held to express a complete contrast to what was done in the morning. "Even" was the beginning of the Jewish *day*, and the lighting which then took place may have been intended to bear not only upon the night, but upon all the twenty-four hours to follow. The "dresseth" of the previous verse, too, may include not only cleaning the lamp and replenishing it with oil, but also trimming the wick and renewing the flame. (5.) The analogy of the incense which, as we have yet to see, burned continually upon the altar of incense, and of the fire burning always upon the brazen altar, would seem to lead us at least some way towards the same conclusion. (6.) It was the tradition of the Jews that some of the lamps of the Golden Candlestick were kept continually burning (Josephus, *Antiq.*, iii. 8, 3). It cannot be pretended that the reasons thus given are conclusive. They are far from being so; but, in the absence of clear proof to the contrary, it may be allowed that they lend considerable probability to the idea that the light of the Holy Place was never permitted to go wholly out.

It is only necessary, further, to observe that special instructions are given with regard to the oil that was to be used. It was to be "pure olive oil beaten" (Exod. xxvii. 20; Lev. xxiv. 2), that is, oil prepared in the way which yielded it in its whitest, purest form, by beating the unripe green olives in a mortar.

Such were the leading particulars connected with the Golden Candlestick, of which the figure in page 149 will convey a probable representation; and, looking at them as a whole, it is impossible to rest in the supposition that its only purpose was to give light in an apartment that would otherwise have been dark. The multiplicity and minuteness of the directions as to the way in which it was to be made; the elaborateness and splendour of the workmanship; the symbolical numbers

[1] Kalisch on Exod. xxv. 37.

7, 4, and 3, which played their part in its construction; the inclination given to the wicks of the side lamps; the keeping of the flame alive by night as well as day; and, not least, the general analogy of the Tabernacle as a whole, and of all the other articles of furniture contained in it, lead irresistibly to the conclusion that it too was intended to shadow forth spiritual truths. Nor, if it be so, can there be doubt as to what these truths were. Not only in the New Testament, but in the Old, light is ever the symbol of that Divine knowledge, which entering into and taking entire possession of the soul, dispels its natural darkness, and transforms it into a likeness with itself: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path;" "The entrance of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding unto the simple;" "For the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light" (Ps. cxix. 105, 130; Prov. vi. 23). And again, when light has entered into the heart and has exercised its power, "He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday;" "The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day;" "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee; and the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising" (Ps. xxxvii. 6; Prov. iv. 18; Isa. lx. 1, 3). The application of the figure thus embodied in light is, however, rendered still clearer and more forcible in the case before us when we remember that the light there spoken of was produced from oil; for oil, in its healing, strengthening, and illuminating power, is always in Scripture the symbol of that Holy Spirit of God by which men and things are sanctified and set apart for His service. Thus it was that priests and kings, that the Tabernacle and all its vessels, were anointed with oil; and thus that the prophet Zechariah, when he saw the theocracy restored in the latter days by a fresh infusion of the Divine spirit, took advantage of the very figure of the Golden Candlestick, and beheld two olive-trees by it, one upon the right side and the other upon the left, from which its seven lamps were furnished with abundant and constant supplies of oil (Zech. iv. 2, 3). We can have no hesitation, therefore, in interpreting the figure of the Golden Candlestick. It was the symbol of Israel when, having offered itself at the brazen altar and cleansed itself in the laver of the court, it entered as a nation of priests into communion with Him who had chosen it for Himself. Then the lamp of its knowledge and life was kindled into a bright and continuous flame. The Almighty had dealt with it as He had dealt with no other nation of the world, showing "His word unto Jacob, His statutes and His judgments unto Israel" (Ps. cxlvii. 19); and Israel was now in return to reflect His praise, and to send forth beams of light into the surrounding darkness, until all darkness should disappear, and the whole earth be changed into a tabernacle of God.

If the meaning of the Golden Candlestick to Israel be thus clear, its fulfilment under the Christian Dispensation is not less so. We have, in the first place, in the New Testament a use of the figures of light and oil exactly similar to that which we have already met with in the Old. God Himself is there spoken of as being "light" and as having "in Him no darkness at all" (1 John i. 5), while the same emblem designates the saving knowledge communicated to believers, when "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in their hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 6). It is not otherwise with oil, as appears in the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. xxv.), and in the language of St. John, "But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things" (1 John ii. 20). In the second place, we have not only the general tone of New Testament language to appeal to; we have the distinct application of the emblem before us in the Apocalypse. When St. John in that book turned to see the voice that spake with him, "being turned he saw seven golden candlesticks," and an explanation was given in the words, "the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches" (Rev. i. 12, 20). Again, in the same book, when he was caught up before the throne, he saw "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which were the seven spirits of God" (iv. 5), that is, the Holy Spirit in all the fulness alike of what He is and of what He bestows. Proceeding, then, upon these hints, we cannot miss the fulfilment of which we are in search. The Golden Candlestick is fulfilled in the Lord Jesus Christ and in His Church.

First, in the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. He had always been the light, "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men;" "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John i. 4, 9); and when at length the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, He spoke of Himself directly as the light: "Light is come into the world;" "I am the light of the world" (John iii. 19; viii. 12). This, too, Jesus was, in virtue of His being anointed so fully with the Holy Spirit. He lived in the Spirit; He walked in the Spirit; He was baptised with the Spirit; He was led of the Spirit to His temptation in the wilderness; He returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee; He cried in the synagogue at Nazareth, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me." It is in the Spirit given without measure that He is what He is. Therefore is He the true Golden Candlestick fed with the oil of constant communion with His Father in heaven, unceasingly exhibiting the light of life.

But, secondly, the emblem before us is also fulfilled in the members of Christ's body, who are one with Him. For they, as the Saviour Himself announces to them, are "the light of the world" (Matt. v. 14); or, as His Apostle says, "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord," "Ye are all the children of light" (Ephes. v. 8; 1 Thess. v. 5). And they are this by virtue of the same Spirit enjoyed by their Head, for they are branches of Him, the Living Vine, and the gift of the Spirit is the very essence of the ministration under which they live (2 Cor. iii. 8). A knowledge of the truth enlightens them as they are *in* Christ Jesus, and from them it shines forth on others.

One thing more only let us notice. We have said that from the members of Christ's body the light shines forth on others. It is not enough to say so. It were almost better to say simply that it shines. When the camp of Israel was buried in slumber, and there was no human eye to see the candlestick, or no human office even of the sanctuary to be discharged by its light, it shone. Nay, not only so, but at all times its lamps were so trimmed as to direct their rays not so much upon any outward circumference as upon the stem of the candlestick itself. One lamp was to shine upon another, and all were to mingle their rays around that central stalk whose gold, and knops, and flowers were rarely under any other eye than that of God. Is there not, or ought there not to be, a fulfilment of this in the Christian Church? Why not shine for the sake of shining, and without thought of the world at all? Why not send up songs in the night, although there be no ear of man to hear? Why not clothe ourselves in our garments of light, although there be no eye of man to see? Why not lamp shine on lamp, church on church, and Christian on Christian, as if there were nothing in the world to think of but themselves, as if they had nothing to do but to rejoice in each other's beams, to heighten each other's brilliancy, and to create a larger, purer, sweeter body of light than there would otherwise have been, for God alone? Such shining would be the very opposite of selfishness, of that selfishness which is, alas! often nowhere more displayed than in the efforts of Christians to dispel the darkness that surrounds them. Perhaps, too, the darkness might then flee away faster than it has as yet done.

II. *The Table with the Shewbread.*—Directions for the construction of this table are given us in Exod. xxv. 23—30:—"Thou shalt also make a table of shittim wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make unto it a border of an hand-breadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about. And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof. Over against the border shall the rings be for places of the staves to bear the table. And thou shalt make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them. And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and spoons thereof, and covers thereof, and bowls thereof, to cover [or, as it is in the margin, 'to pour out'] withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them. And thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me alway." The Shewbread Table, of which a representation is given in the following page, was thus, like all the other furniture beside it, to be constructed of the most costly materials, and to be ornamented in a manner befitting the dignity and sacredness of the apartment in which it stood. Its position, we have already had occasion to mention, was on the right hand of one entering the Holy Place, and, as seems most likely, immediately over against the Golden Candlestick. The vessels spoken of in connection with it, and which ought probably to be rendered "dishes, and bowls, and cans, and cups," were to subserve the purposes for which the table was designed. The "dishes" were for bringing the bread to the table and carrying it away; the "bowls" for holding the frankincense that was used, and the "cans and cups" for the wine which, as we have yet to see, was associated with the bread.[1]

It is in the bread itself, however, that we have the chief purpose of the table. It is known in our English version as "the Shewbread," a name adopted by our translators from the German of Luther, and expressing with a singular degree of felicity the almost untranslateable words employed in the original. This Shewbread consisted of twelve loaves or cakes which, according to the tradition of the Jews, were ten hand-breadths long, five broad, and one finger thick; but, as the hand-breadth cannot be estimated at less than three inches, it is impossible to find room for twelve such cakes upon the table without heaping them on one another to an extent which appears to be at variance with the sacred text. The tradition, therefore, which may have had reference to the size of the cakes at a later period of Jewish history, is to be rejected. It is not indeed easy to determine in what exact manner the loaves were placed upon the table. We know that they were to be in two rows, "And thou shalt set them in two rows, six on a row, upon the pure table before the Lord" (Lev. xxiv. 6), but it is not said whether the one row was to be above the other, or whether the two were to be side by side. The word used in the original for "rows," closely connected with that denoting the ranks of an army, though favourable to the latter supposition, is not inconsistent with the former; but when we remember that frankincense was to be placed upon each row (Lev. xxiv. 7), and that the table was too small to admit of many loaves being laid separately upon it, unless we diminish their size to an unreasonable extent, we shall probably not be far wrong if we understand the word "rows" to mean piles, and that the twelve loaves were placed in two piles, six in each pile.

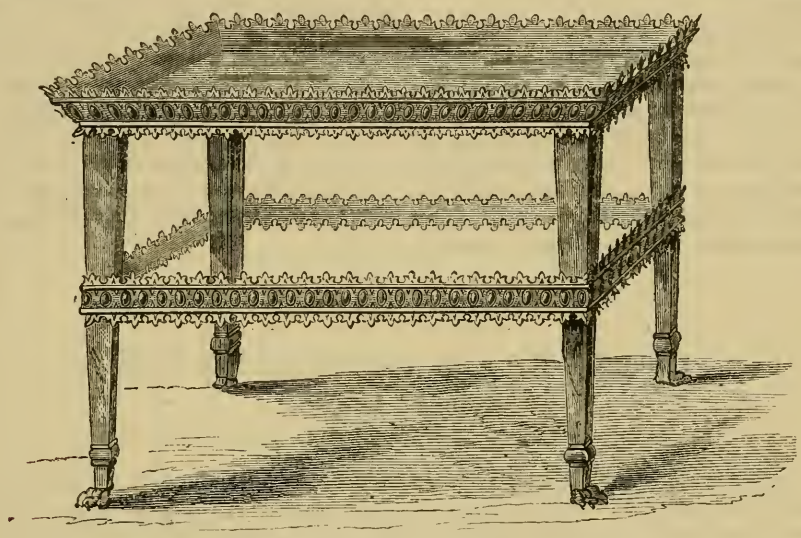
Directions for the baking of these loaves are given with great particularity: "And thou shalt take fine flour," it is said, "and bake twelve cakes thereof; two tenth deals shall be in one cake" (Lev. xxiv. 5). Each cake was thus to consist of two tenths of an ephah, or of two homers, a circumstance in all probability indicating that the loaves were to be of a full and generous size; for one homer of manna was the measure which each Israelite was to gather of that food (Exod. xvi. 16). In addition to this, there can be no doubt that they were to be unleavened. They took their place in the class of meat-offerings, and in them leaven was positively prohibited: "No meat-offering which ye shall bring unto the Lord shall be made with leaven" (Lev. ii. 11). On the other hand, they were to be baked with salt: "Every

[1] Comp. Kalisch on Exodus, Intr. to c. xxv.

oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt" (Lev. ii. 13).

Thus baked, then, it was the first duty of the priests upon the Sabbath morning to set these loaves upon their appointed table, where they lay for a week, their place being taken on the following Sabbath by a fresh supply. The mode of disposing of the old loaves was, again, strictly provided for. "And it shall be Aaron's and his sons'," is the language of Lev. xxiv. 9; "and they shall eat it in the holy place, for it is most holy unto him of the offerings of the Lord made by fire for a perpetual statute." In other words, the Shewbread was so holy that it might be eaten by the priests alone, and by them only in the Holy Place. The first thing done when the rows of loaves were removed, was to consume by fire the frankincense to which we have already referred as placed upon each row. This was wholly burned upon the altar of incense. Thereafter, although perhaps not necessarily at that particular moment, the priests were to eat the loaves. We have only to observe farther in connection with this matter, that all inquirers are agreed in believing that libations of wine accompanied the burning of the frankincense, and that to this purpose the cups spoken of were applied. There seems, however, to be no evidence that the wine stood, along with the loaves, upon the Shewbread Table.

It remains for us to notice, as briefly as possible, the meaning and fulfilment of the institution of which we have been speaking. Of the table we say nothing. Its importance is derived entirely from that of the bread placed upon it; and it has no special meaning of its own. We pass at once to the loaves, twelve in number, an offering of the "most holy" kind (Lev. xxiv. 9), "taken from the children of Israel by an everlasting covenant" (ver. 8); above all, "the shewbread" loaves, or as the words literally mean, the bread of the face or of the presence. That this "face," this "presence," is that of God, it is impossible to doubt. "Thou shalt set upon the table facebread before my face alway" (Exod. xxv. 30); and again, "For there was no bread there but the facebread that was taken from before the face of the Lord" (1 Sam. xxi. 6). The "face," therefore, spoken of in the term for the Shewbread is the face of God, and the bread was so named because it was set immediately before Him in that holy part of the tabernacle where He dwelt. But with what purpose, with what meaning was it thus set before Him? Two answers have been given to the question: the first, that of those who imagine it to represent something by which the face of God is seen, the heavenly food by the eating of which man attains to the vision of God, and enters into communion and fellowship with Him; the second, that of those who behold in it not something by which we see God, but something in us for which God looks, those fruits of righteousness in His people which are the great object of His desire, and, when produced as they ought to be, of His satisfaction and joy.



THE SHEWBREAD TABLE.

The first of these views has much to recommend it, and is capable of being presented in a light at once interesting and beautiful. For the Shewbread thus becomes the symbol of Him who is "the bread of life," of that Only Begotten who is in the bosom of the Father, and who "declares" to us that God whom no man hath seen at any time. Partaking of Him, His people "behold God's face in righteousness," and have realised in their own happy experience, that "in His presence there is fulness of joy," that "at His right hand there are pleasures for evermore." They are His priestly people, on whom all the blessings of the covenant are bestowed, and who, therefore, on the Sabbath, that day which is peculiarly the sign of the covenant, enter into the symbolic heaven, and there eat heavenly food.[1]

[1] Comp. Bähr, *Symbolik*, I., p. 431.

Much, however, as may be said for this view, it appears liable to objections which it is hardly possible to overcome. For, in the first place, the outer apartment of the Tabernacle is not really that part of it in which God peculiarly dwells. He is within the vail, and seeing Him as He is, the sight of Him which is given in His Son, is reserved for that stage in the progress of His Israel when the vail is withdrawn, and they enter into the inmost and most holy shrine. And then, in the second place, the analogy of the Shewbread with the other articles of furniture in the place where it stands is thus destroyed. Both the Golden Candlestick and the Altar of Incense represent what passes from men to God rather than what passes from God to men, the grace indeed coming first from Him, but afterwards so taking up its abode in them that they shine with sacred light, and fill with the odour of sanctity the apartment in which they dwell.

We must fall back, then, on the second view mentioned, and must see in the Shewbread loaves the symbol of those fruits of righteousness which are produced in the lives of the true children of the covenant. These are produced first of all in Christ Himself, whose life embodied every Christian grace and excellence in its most perfect form, who in action exclaimed, "My meat is to do my Father's will and to finish His work," and in suffering, "The cup which my Father hath given me to drink, shall I not drink it?" whose earthly course was one continual doing good, and His death a returning in faith and hope to the bosom of His Father, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." But, thus produced in Him, these fruits of righteousness are produced also in the members of His body, for they are "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that they may show forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into His marvellous light" (1 Pet. ii. 9). They do not merely shine with the light of Christian knowledge and discernment; they are also faithful in all "good works," and the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to them, teaching them that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they "should live soberly, righteously, and godly in the present world, looking for the blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and their Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for them, to redeem them from all iniquity, and to purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works" (Titus ii. 12—14). Should it still seem to any that thus the eating of the loaves is not sufficiently explained, it has only to be borne in mind that they were an "offering," that is, in the nature of the case, a meat-offering, and that the same rule, therefore, was applied to them as to all the other meat-offerings of Israel (Lev. vi. 16).

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

ELIJAH (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.

THE next scene in Elijah's history is a very unexpected sequence to such a triumph as that on Carmel; in a religious point of view it is as dramatic and startling as Carmel was in a material and social point of view. Immediately following the hour of his greatest exaltation was the hour of his greatest depression; his moral strength and weakness are presented in dramatic contrast. He who had dared both Ahab and Jezebel when as yet Jehovah had wrought no miracle for his public vindication, he who had been so marvellously preserved, who had just destroyed the four hundred priests of Baal and had won the applauding verdict of the nation, suddenly lost his great courage, and was terrified or disheartened into flight at the foolish and vaunting threat of a woman. Jezebel, like Pharaoh, was indomitable in her hardness of heart; and when, on his return to Jezreel, Ahab told her what had occurred on Carmel—the test of fire and the slaughter of the prophets of her god, with the prediction of the rain that had so plentifully fallen—she flamed into passionate resentment and revenge, and uttered one of those tremendous oaths of vengeance, which are often so terrible on Oriental lips. Whether or not Elijah had entered Jezreel with Ahab, does not appear; at any rate his locality was known, and Jezebel sent to him a messenger to tell him of the vow which she had recorded: "The gods do so to me, and more also, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by to-morrow about this time." Hardly could she, or indeed would she, have sent such a message without the knowledge of her weak and unstable husband. It was, however, a threat, not a stroke; probably not even she dared to touch Elijah, in the existing state of public feeling. And Elijah might have discerned the impotence which her threat covered, but his courage utterly dissolved before it. Possibly his overstrung nervous system experienced a corresponding reaction; the refluence of the wave corresponded to its flow. Perhaps he had thought the struggle over, that both Ahab and Jezebel, as well as the people, would be now subdued to the worship of Jehovah; and when he saw that the proud heart of Jezebel, the master-spirit of the struggle, was unquelled, his heart sank within him, and he fled in utter despondency, if not in fear. The flight itself is not the indication of this; it was his duty to provide for his own safety in the absence of any great reason for self-exposure; so he fled to Cherith and to Zarephath. It is the mood which is afterwards so pathetically described, which indicates to us his real condition. He now flees, not as before to the north and to a pagan territory, but

to the south and into the kingdom of Judah, which he enters for the first time. From Jezreel, Bethel, the boundary of Judah, could easily be reached in a few hours. He is accompanied in his flight by his faithful Zidonian servant, said by Jewish tradition to have been the son of the widow of Zarephath, and afterwards the prophet Jonah. He does not feel himself safe until he has interposed between himself and the exasperated queen the entire breadth of Judah. Passing by Jerusalem, therefore, and Bethlehem,[1] he hastens to Hebron in the south, and thence to Beer-sheba, on the confines of the desert, the old patriarchal homestead of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Leaving there his faithful Zidonian servant, probably because he could not take him with him further, Elijah plunged into the great desert of the wanderings, and after a day's journey threw himself down in utter weariness of soul and body, under one of the *rithem* shrubs which are found in dried-up water-courses, and which give scant but grateful shade to the traveller. There his despondency became extreme, "and he requested for himself that he might die; and said, It is enough; now, O Lord, take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers;" and with this desponding, despairing cry upon his lips, exhausted nature gave way, and he fell asleep. His spirit was utterly broken; he had fled to save his life, and now he wished for death; life did not seem worth preserving. It was more than "the jangling of sweet bells," it was the giving way of a mighty spirit—the mood which, uncontrolled by religious feeling, often impels men to suicide—an overwhelming sense of the failure and vanity of life. But it is not for us to say when "it is enough" —when we have striven enough—when our cup is full enough, or bitter enough. God in His own time will say this; not probably to a morbid, passionate, despairing mood of soul like that of Elijah, but when we have been schooled into patience, and faith, and peace. It would have been a melancholy end had Elijah died there—a broken-hearted man, in miserable abandonment, his friendless corpse, exposed in the desert, the prey of the vulture or the hyena, his mission ending in ignominy, himself in despair: not thus was Elijah to die; he was to ascend to heaven in a chariot of fire.

God answers the cry of His servant, by sending an angel to strengthen him. It is suggestive, that his first restorative is the physical ministry of sleep and food. A disordered body is often the cause of a distempered soul; the ministry itself, the sleep, the food, the urgency about the journey, all would tend to re-invigorate both body and soul. In what way or form God's angel came to him, we are not told. God has ministering angels for every desert of life. Elijah awakes, and finds provided for him Arab cake and water, the ordinary fare of the Bedouin. Again he sleeps, and is again awakened by his patient and mysterious visitant; again he takes food, which miraculously sustains him for forty days, as Moses had been sustained before, until he comes to Horeb, the mount of God. The direct distance from his sleeping-place to Sinai through what is now Khan Nhukl is not more than a hundred and fifty miles—a week's easy journeying. We must therefore suppose some purposed wandering from the direct route, or some lingering in the desert before Horeb is reached.

No passage in Elijah's history is religiously more suggestive and comforting than this—this mood of a prophet whose achievements had been so grand, and whose apotheosis was to be so triumphant, and his patient, tender treatment by Jehovah, are alike full of consolation.

What led Elijah across the desert to Horeb, we are not told. We can, however, imagine the attractiveness of the sacred scenes of the lawgiving, and especially of the mountain solitudes where, bearing similar burdens, and in a similar mood of disheartenment, Moses, his great prototype, had seen visions of God, and been comforted and strengthened in his trials; only, in Elijah the stern resentment and hard despondency of feeling takes longer to subdue to tenderness and trust.

Scarcely does the mountain-peak of the lawgiving itself (Râs Sŭfsâfeh), which commands the great plain Er Râhah, affect the traveller more than the secluded spot in the heart of the mountain block, of which it is the precipitous battlement, traditionally associated with the mystic scene in Elijah's history which follows. A pathway starting from the Convent of St. Katharine conducts the traveller to the summit of Jebel Mousa, the southernmost peak of Sinai, and 7,000 feet in height. About half-way in the ascent the place is reached. A few notes, made on the spot, may describe it as it now is. The second of two archways constructed for levying toll on pilgrims opens upon a secluded little plain, forming a singular amphitheatre in the very heart of Sinai, surrounded by magnificent peaks and walls of granite, in the centre of which is a little enclosed garden, with a solitary cypress standing at its entrance, and near it a spring and a little pool of water. A few paces from the cypress is a chapel, said to be built over the place of the prophet's abode in Horeb, one compartment of which covers the so-called Cave of the Vision. It is a hole only just large enough to contain the body of a man, and into which he might creep. Of course these details of monkish superstition demand no credence, beyond the strong probability that the Divine manifestation took place in some such locality of the mountain; and there is no other so likely as this. It is a "temple not made with hands," into which, through a stupendous granite screen, which shuts out even the Bedouin world, God's priests may enter to commune with Him. To this place, in all probability, Joshua and the elders accompanied Moses when he ascended Jebel Mousa for his great transfiguration, and God "made all his goodness to pass before him."

Here God challenges Elijah, in an abrupt, stern, and reproachful way, "What doest thou here, Elijah?" The solitudes of Horeb were no fitting place for God's prophet

[1] A convent now standing between Jerusalem and Bethlehem bears the prophet's name, and is said to mark the spot upon which he slept on his way.

to Israel; to flee from his work as a witness and worker for God in the cities of Israel, weakly complaining of the treatment that he had received and seeking personal comfort, was not the temper of a prophet. In a very pathetic way Elijah pours out the sorrow of his burdened heart, and intimates the strong fascination which had drawn him to Horeb for comfort. He is querulous, reproachful, and somewhat self-righteous. The mood of the *rithem* bush is not yet dispelled. He speaks as if he had been more jealous for Jehovah than Jehovah was for himself—as if he had been ill-treated, not only by Jezebel and the people of Israel, but by Jehovah himself. Why had matters been permitted to come to such an extremity? why had not more signal judgments been inflicted, and a more signal triumph given to him?

The answer comes in wonderfully dramatic and vivid symbols, which are not only perfectly congruous with the character of the entire history, but also full of resemblance to his own vehement mood; the wind, the earthquake, the fire, in which God was not, followed by the still small voice in which God was, were manifestly designed to teach Elijah a great lesson concerning God's ways of working. Not by great manifestations of physical power, not by coercive and destructive means, does God accomplish spiritual processes, but by means which are silent, gentle, and suasive. Spiritual forces are always such; such were the characteristics of our Lord's ministry—"He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street." So it is of all ministries which achieve the greatest and profoundest spiritual processes; there are carnal ways even of doing spiritual work. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." Achievements of miraculous vindication, and of avenging bloodshed, such as those of Carmel, are not the true spiritual forces of God's kingdom. God might sanction them, He might be in them, as in many analogous processes in the after history of His Church, and in the experiences of individual men; but in a much higher and more transforming sense He is in agencies and processes that have the still small voice for their type.

It was a lesson in the true methods of Divine working that would not only correct and instruct the prophet, but would also comfort him. It would rebuke his yearning for more palpable judgments or miracles; it would qualify his estimate of what had really been effected on Carmel; and it would encourage him by the suggestion that in thousands of hidden Israelitish hearts quiet, unrecognised spiritual processes were going on.

The resemblance of this symbolical manifestation of Jehovah to that which Moses beheld is too striking to be overlooked; the preparatory forty days in the desert, sustained by the food eaten under the *rithem* bush, was clearly analogous to the forty days' sustentation of Moses, and was probably intended to teach the same lessons concerning the reality of the Divine presence, and the sufficiency of the Divine support. The presence of the definite article—"He came thither unto *the* cave and lodged there"—seems to point to the well-known cleft of the rock (Exod. xxxiii. 22) in which Moses stood while the glory of Jehovah passed by. The difference in the phenomena of the Divine manifestation is sufficiently accounted for by the difference in the states of feeling of the two prophets. Moses, though despondent at the idolatry of the people, simply craved Divine revelation and assurance; it was enough for him that "the Lord merciful and gracious" should be proclaimed. The religious feeling of Elijah was much more corrupted by human passion; he needed correction concerning Divine ways of working, as well as rebuke for his resentment at God's dealings with him. To him, too, the revelation is of the graciousness of God's ways.

It is sufficient indication of the depth of this feeling that neither the forty days' sustentation, nor the symbolical manifestation of Jehovah, sufficed to correct it. When, after the latter, the interrogation "What doest thou here, Elijah?" is repeated, he bemoans his condition in precisely the same words. Even this great parable of Divine operations had not dispelled his hypochondria; the feeling of causeless, overpowering depression, which so many great natures so well know, that cannot be reasoned with or rebuked, that clings and disables in spite of all the convictions of the understanding, the rebukes of the conscience, or resolutions of the will, hung about him still. It is neither relieved nor convinced. Elijah cannot think of the issues of the events on Carmel, of the bitter rage and burning revenge of Jezebel, when he expected that the glorious manifestation of Jehovah would have been decisively acknowledged, without deep despondency. His work had been a failure; he still stood alone, not one true servant of God by his side. Many a solitary worker, overwhelmed with the burden of his commission, apparently failing in its purposes, and without any one to share his anxieties, cheer his heart, and help his faith and his prayers, can sympathise with this feeling. It is easy to be bold and ardent when a great and definite work has to be done; it is not so easy when nothing especially has to be done, and when, amid seeming discomfiture, the worker has to wait, not knowing what to do next. It is here that we see that "Elijah was a man of like passions to ourselves."

His forbearing, patient God completes the cure of his despondency, by giving him a commission which implied that He was not so unmindful of necessary retributions as Elijah supposed. He is first to go to the wilderness of Damascus, the desert on the north-west edge of which Damascus stood, and to anoint Benhadad's general, Hazael, king of Syria, in the stead of his master; he is next to anoint Jehu, the son of Nimshi, king of Israel, instead of Ahab; and he himself is to be superseded in his prophetic office by Elisha, the son of Shaphat, whom he is to anoint as his successor. The instructiveness of these lies not so much in the incidents themselves, nor in the light which they throw upon the functions of an Israelitish prophet, as in the fact that the corrective prescribed for Elijah's desponding solitude in the wilderness is an immediate return to ordinary duties. The greatest passions of the soul are often quietly and effectively corrected by the necessity of attending to the minor duties of life. It is *not* enough. Elijah is to

continue the work about which he so desponded. Next, God would teach him that necessary retribution would be inflicted: these three, Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha, were to be God's instruments of retribution upon Ahab's guilty house, as is strikingly seen in the after history: "Him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay, and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay." Hazael was to chastise the nation for their idolatry; Jehu was to extirpate its authors, Ahab and Jezebel; and Elisha was to be the instrument of various Divine judgments, especially in directing the retribution of Jehu.

Light is also thrown by the terms of this commission upon the tropical style of many of these records. Elijah did not personally anoint either Hazael or Jehu; both these commissions being left for Elisha to execute. Elisha was not literally a man of the sword, he did not slay any spared by Jehu. The general sense thus rhetorically expressed clearly is, that through these three men God would execute judgment. Neither can we understand the number of the faithful of whom, in correction of his blind despondency, God assures the prophet, as being literally seven thousand, which is simply a round number—the perfect number seven—for the elect of God. The latter information was a striking rebuke of Elijah's morbid estimate of the state of Israel, in which he took no note even of Obadiah and the prophets whom Elijah knew him to have hidden.

Leaving Horeb, and again traversing the great desert of the wandering, Elijah again enters Judah, probably by Beer-sheba and Hebron; but, avoiding Jerusalem, he descends through Engedi into the great Jordan valley; ascending it he comes to a field at Abel-meholah in the north, where he finds Elisha ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen before him, himself with the twelfth. Elisha was the son of the proprietor of the farm, and presumably, therefore, a well-to-do man. For three years and a half this was the first spring-time that gave promise of a harvest, and we may imagine the joyous toil of the husbandmen. The appearance of Elijah was sudden and startling. It would lose none of its weirdness by the visit to Horeb, and the journey through the wilderness; while his name was associated with stern and awful miracle.

Apparently without speaking a word, Elijah throws his prophet's mantle over the shoulders of the young farmer—a well-understood symbolical act—and passes on. Whatever Elisha may have felt, he expresses no surprise, utters no remonstrance either of unwillingness or modesty; but leaving his plough, he runs after Elijah, accepts his calling, and simply requests permission to bid his family farewell. In laconic speech, strange as his abrupt action, Elijah bids him go: "Go, and return, for thou knowest what I have done unto thee." Elisha turns back for this purpose, and kills the yoke of oxen with which he had been ploughing, for a farewell feast, as well perhaps as to indicate his renunciation of his old calling, and then follows Elijah. And for the next six years, during which we hear nothing of Elijah's doings, his solitary spirit was to find companionship in the gentle, soothing ministry of this young prophetic Timothy. The chief thought with Elijah would be that his mission was ended, and his successor appointed—"Elisha, the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah." It is not easy for a great servant of God to accept such an intimation, or heartily to welcome his successor; and especially to commit a great work, of which he has been the especial instrument, into other and feebler hands. Moses leaves his leadership to Joshua, Elijah his prophetical office to Elisha. It is a strange succession: Elijah, the rough Bedouin of Mount Gilead, the prophet of fire—Elisha, the gentle son of a pastoral home, a herdsman of the valley; the one a Boanerges, the other a Barnabas. Yet such is the succession whereby God carries on His work, and whereby it is best carried on; these men represent the two elements that must enter, perhaps alternately, into all great spiritual work.

The six years' seclusion of Elijah that now followed would probably lead Ahab and Jezebel to think that Elijah had retired from his long struggle with them, and that he was virtually discomfited.

A plot of ground on the north-eastern slope of Gilboa, just outside the walls of Jezreel and adjacent to the new summer palace which Ahab had built, attracted Ahab's desire, as being conveniently situated for a garden. It belonged to Naboth of Jezreel, apparently one of Ahab's nobles. It was his paternal inheritance, which, according to the Mosaic law (Numb. xxxvi. 7—9), it was not lawful to sell. Probably it was part of the portion assigned to his family at the settlement of the tribes. It was not, therefore, a feeling of mere tenacity or obstinacy that prompted Naboth's refusal to sell it, but a feeling of religious obligation. Even if reduced to the utmost poverty, no Israelite could sell his inheritance; he could sell only the leasehold of it, which at the year of jubilee reverted to his family. This obviates all appearance of churlishness on Naboth's part, and makes prominent the irreligiousness as well as the iniquity of Ahab. In a small country like Palestine, the rights of landowners were held very sacred; no ruler might invade them. This Ahab tacitly acknowledged; but he was greatly angered; he went home "heavy and displeased;" abandoning himself to his vexation, he threw himself upon his bed, and refused to take food—a very characteristic record, for Ahab was both wicked and weak, a combination often more mischievous than wickedness and strength. But if Ahab is imbecile, Jezebel is daring; her pride of conscious superiority to her husband, and the craft with which she ruled him, come out very strikingly in her remonstrance: she upbraids him for want of energy, and, confident of his approval, promises to secure for him the vineyard; she does not even condescend to inform him how. The contrast is true to nature and to history; so, in the *Odyssey*, Homer represents the ascendancy over Ægisthus of Clytemnestra; so Shakespeare represents Lady Macbeth as moulding and ruling the feebler wickedness of her husband, "chastising it with the valour of her tongue." While Ahab let "I dare not" wait upon "I would,"

Jezebel tried to "screw his courage to the sticking point;" told him it was "shame to wear a heart so white," and "laid the daggers for him."

But her craft was equal to her boldness. Open assassination would have been perilous; forcible wresting of the sacred inheritance would have roused even the subservient people; the murder must be cloaked in a religious garb. An accusation of blasphemy against God, and of high treason against the king, is to be brought against Naboth; a fast is to be proclaimed, as if his outrage of religious feeling could not otherwise be assuaged; false witnesses are to be suborned to give testimony, and Naboth is to be put to death under forms of the law. It is a melancholy proof of the corruption and craven subserviency of the magistracy of Jezreel, that they should lend themselves to such a diabolical crime. The twofold accusation, its shameless falsehood, the venal magistracy, the suborned witnesses, the semblance of religious zeal, and the ostentatious appeal to the popular verdict, are strikingly parallel to the proceedings in the judgment-hall of Caiaphas, when our Lord was accused.

The punishment for blasphemy was stoning to death (Deut. xiii. 10; xvii. 5), which, after a mock trial, was immediately executed upon Naboth, as also, it would appear, upon his two sons (2 Kings ix. 26). This, according to the traditional law, which involves confiscation in the very idea of high treason, enabled Ahab to confiscate the property of Naboth. Jezebel simply tells Ahab that the obstacle to his desire is removed, and bids him go and take possession.

The effect of the crime upon Ahab is not intimated until a later stage in the narrative. It is in accordance with his imbecile character to suppose that it was very startling; that he felt like the guilty Scottish thane, his mind "full of scorpions;" reasoning against his conscience and his fears, "Thou canst not say I did it," and feeling

> ——————"better be with the dead
> Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace,
> Than on the torture of the mind to be
> In restless ecstacy."

But this was only for the moment. "He arose up and went down from Samaria, and came to Jezreel to take possession of the vineyard." From 2 Kings ix. 25 he would seem to have gone in state, attended by two of the great officers of his household; one of whom, Jehu, the son of Nimshi, bears a name of terrible import to the house of Omri.

But when Ahab reaches Jezreel, and proceeds to the vineyard of Naboth—with none, as he thinks now, to oppose his taking possession—he sees, standing in the midst thereof, a solitary figure, whose form was burnt in upon his brain, whose words never ceased to reverberate in his ear. It is no Banquo's ghost, and yet the ghost of the murdered Naboth could not more have appalled him. The prophet of Gilead and of Mount Carmel, sent by Jehovah, stood before him, and warned him off his unlawful acquisition. Elijah is there like a fate—like Tiresias in the Greek tragedy—there in the very hour of his triumph, to proclaim the doom of his house.

Elijah's appearance to Ahab this third time is like the former, very sudden and very startling; no one knows whence or how he comes, but simply that he is there. Again Elijah "brake forth as fire, and his word burned as a torch."

Elijah's words are as laconic, lofty, and appalling as ever: "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" Like a thunderbolt from a lofty storm-cloud they must have fallen upon Ahab and his courtiers. Ahab attempts a blustering reply, half-defiance, half-whimper, feebly endeavouring to suggest a persecution of personal enmity. Elijah's reply is direct and terrible. It consisted in one of the most uncompromising and appalling of the curses which the Old Testament records; his posterity was to be utterly cut off; not so much as a dog should be left; his house was to be utterly destroyed, like those of Jeroboam and Baasha; his own blood should be shed, as that of Naboth had been shed; and in the very spot where his victims had perished, the dogs of the city should eat the flesh of Jezebel; while those pertaining to him, who died in the field, should be devoured by the vultures of the air. So tremendous was the curse that, twenty years afterwards, Jehu, who heard it, unconscious that he himself was to be the chief instrument in its fulfilment, reminded his companion, Bidkar, of it. How unconsciously men prepare the future! How little Ahab thought that he was taking with him, to Naboth's vineyard, the very man who should fulfil the curse by piercing the heart of Joram, Ahab's son; and should command that same Bidkar to cast his body in dishonour into the portion of the field of Naboth, on purpose to fulfil this very curse! (2 Kings ix. 16—26.) So utterly cowed was the guilty king, that he humbled himself in what was apparently sincere repentance; he "rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly;" which led to a modification of the curse so far, that the utter destruction of his house was not to occur during his life-time; although his penitence was, no doubt, as characteristic of his shallow feebleness as his guilt; and the historian does not forbear the terrible summary of his character which accompanies the record of his penitence.

It was the last meeting of Ahab and Elijah, and is every whit as characteristic of both as the first. The representatives of the two great principles that had so long struggled with each other in Israel meet again, in sudden, dramatic, and decisive conflict. One is glad to think that the king's last act before the prophet was an act of penitence, and that the prophet's last words to the king were words of mercy.

There is a momentary appearance of Elijah during the short reign of Ahaziah, the son of Ahab. The young king walked in the ways of his father Ahab, and became a worshipper of Baal. A sickness, brought on by a fall through a lattice from an upper room of his palace, in Samaria, caused his death, after a reign of two years. During his sickness he sent messengers to Ekron, a city

of Philistia, to enquire of Baal-zebub whether he would recover; but the oracle is nearer than Ekron. Divinely directed, Elijah suddenly meets the messengers, and rebukes them for seeking a heathen deity. Where this meeting occurred is not stated. It could hardly have been, as Dean Stanley supposes, on the heights of Carmel, or on "the haunted strand" between the sea and the mountain; for Carmel, especially the promontory that juts into the sea, is a long way to the north of Samaria, while Ekron is as far to the south. The messengers did not know Elijah; but they were so impressed with his appearance and rebuke, that they at once returned to deliver his message to Ahaziah. From the description which they gave of the prophet, Ahaziah knew that it could be no other than the terrible antagonist of his father. His wrath is kindled; and, in the old spirit of his mother, Jezebel, he foolishly thinks to chastise Elijah for the insult, and to apprehend him by force; he sends, therefore, one troop after another for the purpose. He is scornfully accosted as "a man of God," and commanded to surrender at the behest of the king; the fitting reply is stroke after stroke of Divine punishment, the precise character of which it is impossible to picture to ourselves. It was some signal and terrible judgment, fitly described as consuming fire from heaven, such as fully vindicated his claim to be really what he was mockingly designated. The third captain of fifty, fearing for his life, approaches God's prophet in another spirit, and entreats him to come to the king. Elijah, having vindicated his character and dignity, complies, and delivers to Ahaziah the word of the Lord, which he had already transmitted by the messengers. No attempt to arrest him is made, and he departs. It is his last recorded interview with the house of Ahab. Ahaziah dies, and Baal-worship in Israel receives another heavy blow and discouragement.

The conduct of Elijah has been condemned as harsh and intemperate; but if it had not had the Divine sanction, the fire from heaven would not have fallen. The incident is to be estimated as part of the great theocratic conflict waged in Israel with Baal. After all that had been done on Carmel, after all the judgments and mercy that God had shown, the court of Israel seemed more bent upon Baal-worship than ever, and openly and scornfully defied Jehovah and His prophet. The incident is of Christian interest, insomuch as, nine centuries afterwards, it suggested to two ardent disciples of our Lord, not far from the same place, a similar retribution upon a village of the Samaritans which refused to receive them. Our Lord rebukes them, not in condemnation of Elijah, but as forgetful of his own peculiar mission of salvation.

This was the last act of Elijah's public career; the only mention of him in the Book of Chronicles is of a letter, which probably about this time he sent to Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah; who, having married a daughter of Ahab, "began to walk in the ways of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab, and to do that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah;" "there came a writing to him from Elijah the prophet," denouncing his sin, and predicting his death (2 Chron. xxi. 12—15). This is the only scrap of Elijah's writing, and it bears a strong resemblance to Elijah's spoken words. It is, too, the only recorded communication between Elijah and the southern kingdom.

It is probable that during the eight or ten years of Elijah's life, after the anointing of Elisha, the two prophets were quietly and actively ministering in the cities and villages of Israel. Taught by the "still small voice" of Horeb, Elijah would speak to the people of Jehovah's goodness and mercy, and seek to win them to spiritual service and love. We read also of sons of the prophets settled in Bethel, which had been one of the chief seats of idolatry; and there are indications that "schools of the prophets" were organised and established throughout the land, and that to these Elijah devoted some years of assiduous culture, indicating that under his influence true religion made considerable progress in Israel.

At length the time came that Elijah's warfare should be finished. His wanderings and his hidings, his loneliness in the desert and his public triumphs, his conflicts with the court, and his visions of God are now ended; the God whom he has so greatly served will signally honour him, will spare him the pain and humiliation of dying, and will visibly translate him to heaven.

Objections have been taken to this part of the narrative, as being an inextricable interweaving of fact and figure. No doubt both are here, and both are to be recognised. The essential fact is that Elijah was translated without dying. Not only does the credibility of the history demand this, but the entire Biblical conception requires it also. If the Gospels do not accept myths as veritable history, if the transfiguration of our Lord be a fact and not a mere vision or legend, if there be any significance in the representation of Moses and Elias appearing with Him in glory, we must literally accept the representation that Elijah was translated without tasting death.

No doubt, the manner of his translation is figuratively represented; all that the description necessarily means is, that he was caught away as in a fiery storm-cloud—poetically, God's "chariot and horses of fire;" "as a fire" Elijah "brake forth;" in a fiery storm-cloud he was taken away; the prophet of fire to the end.

His approaching departure being made known, apparently not to him only, but to Elisha and others, he resolves to spend his last hours in visiting the schools of the prophets at Gilgal, Bethel, and Jericho. His bearing is calm; the coming glory does not overpower him; he makes no reference to the honour which awaits him; he is self-possessed, leisurely, quiet. He does not summon his friends to witness the strange spectacle; in his great humility, he sought to disengage himself from his faithful companion, that there might be no human witness of his departure.

Elijah and Elisha are at Gilgal—clearly not the Gilgal of Joshua's first encampment in the Jordan valley, but a Gilgal from which they could "go down" to Bethel; probably in the mountains of Ephraim,

and represented by the modern Jiljilia. Looking upon the scenes of his triumphs—Carmel, Jezreel, and Samaria—for the last time, with a touch of the deep and delicate tenderness that was in him, he suggested to Elisha that he should remain there while he fulfilled a mission at Bethel. With a foreboding of what is about to happen, Elisha vehemently protests that he will not leave him. When they reach Bethel, they find the sons of the prophets in a great excitement at Elijah's approaching departure; they confer together in earnest groups, and at length take Elisha aside, and ask him whether he knows what is about to happen: "Knowest thou that the Lord will take away thy master from thy head to-day." "Yea, I know it; hold your peace." It is like the furtive conversation of friends round a death-bed. It is not a complaint, nor a rebuke on the part of Elisha. He simply shrinks from what must be; there are sorrows that will not bear to be anticipated in articulate words—sorrows for which words of consolation are only cruel; best, therefore, borne in silence; wounds are angered when opened even to dress them. Again Elijah attempts to escape to Jericho, and again Elisha refuses to leave him. At Jericho, the sons of the prophets proffer to Elisha the same information, and are answered in the same words. With delicate reticence, no allusion to it is made to Elijah himself. It is for him to speak of it if he thinks fit, not for them; they will silently wait in quiet awe. It is a pious conception of Elijah's departure, God will "take him."

No record of Elijah's parting intercourse with these sons of the prophets is given. We are left to imagine the seriousness, fidelity, and tenderness of his last words to these pious youths, whom he had gathered and trained for the religious ministry of the land. It is touching and beautiful to think that such should have been his last earthly occupation, his last counsels and blessings; that his last words should have been words of help to those who were to be God's witnesses in the land. Again Elisha refuses to be left behind; and they two leave Jericho, and advance towards the Jordan.

Jericho stands on the eastern slopes of the central mountain ridge of Palestine; one mountain spur of which, the Quarantania, the traditional scene of our Lord's temptation, almost overhangs the site of the old city. Fifty of the sons of the prophets climb one of the eminences of this mountain, whence a view may be obtained right across the valley to the river, and beyond it up the corresponding slopes of Gilead; thence they watch the departing footsteps of their father and friend, as he descends the long, weary, burning tract that leads to the Jordan, some eight or nine miles across the low levels of the Jordan valley. In that clear atmosphere the eye can travel very far, and they would not lose sight of the two travellers until they descended the wooded sides of the terraced ravine, at the bottom of which the river flows. It was a touching parting; like the elders at Miletus, when they bade farewell to Paul, "they sorrowed most of all because they would see his face no more." It is a sufficient indication of the deep fount of human tenderness that lay beneath that rough, shaggy exterior, and of the affection and reverence in which his pupils held him.

Whether it is by Divine direction, or whether it is the instinct of the old Gileadite to finish his course in his native mountains, we are not told; but Elijah and Elisha are to cross the Jordan. Elijah's life is to end, as it had been lived, in the fulness of miracle. He ungirds himself, rolls his mantle into a staff, and smites the river, which like an arrow rushes to its mysterious destiny in the Dead Sea; and "the waters divided hither and thither, and they two went over on dry ground." They are now on the slopes of Gilead; one of the peaks overhanging them is Pisgah, where Moses had died. Silently they journeyed for a while; the sons of the prophets at Jericho probably again, from their distant observatory, following their steps. At length Elijah speaks: "What shall I do for thee, before I shall be taken away from thee?" Elisha's single-hearted reply is, "I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me;" not, "Let me be endowed with twice thy zeal and power;" but, "Let mine be the double portion of the first-born," the birthright blessing. He wishes to be endowed as the heir and successor of his illustrious master, to have a ratio of two among his brethren. It was a "hard thing." It rested with Jehovah, not with Elijah; he refers it, therefore, to the Divine decision. Elijah had wished for no witnesses of his departure, but Elisha had refused to leave him. If, then, God permitted Elisha to see his miraculous assumption, he might regard it as an indication that his request would be granted. Still they went on, and "they talked as they went:" precious parting words, not preserved to us, but yet to be imagined by us: solicitudes for the kingdom, for the schools of the prophets, and for Elisha and his prophetic mission; recollections, thanksgivings, and lessons for the use of Elisha; with perhaps some anticipation of what was now to be. They would talk as men on death-beds and surrounding friends talk to each other. when words are crowded into precious moments, and more is meant than can be expressed.

And while they talked, "behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them asunder, and Elijah went up in a whirlwind to heaven;" the only embrace possible to Elisha, the only farewell, the only sign of his reverence and love, being the tender, piercing cry, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." To him, Elijah had been a father; to Israel, the simple prophet had been a defence and a glory, more than armies, more than chariots and horses. They are not the phenomena of death that are so wonderful, they are the characteristics of the life that death crowns. So God testified to his servant, "not that he was unclothed, but clothed upon—mortality swallowed up of life." So, after the great conflicts and depressions of his life, this great servant of God entered into his rest—"an abundant entrance administered unto him"—the supreme and typical instance of the glorious end of a good and great

career. Elisha *did* see it, and this was the assurance of his sonship; the birthright portion should be his. But he felt like a bereaved child; he felt as if Israel had lost its only champion, its best defence. And in his bitter grief he "rent his clothes," catching, however, the prophet's mantle as it fell from him—the precious souvenir of his father and teacher, the instrument of so many marvellous deeds—the *pallium* of his own investiture with Elijah's prophetic office and spirit. He returns to the Jordan, and, with a fine inspiration of faith, he smites the waters with Elijah's mantle, exclaiming, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" and again the smitten torrent divided; a sure and precious token that the God of Elijah was indeed with him. Whether the sons of the prophets had beheld the translation, is not stated; but they regarded Elisha's passage of the Jordan as a conclusive sign: "The spirit of Elijah," they said, "doth rest upon Elisha;" and they came across the plain to meet him, and did him homage. Not unnaturally, however, they doubted about the reality of Elijah's translation. He had been wont suddenly to come and suddenly to disappear. Into some lonely valley, or upon some mountain-top, the fierce whirlwind might have cast him. At any rate his body might be found. "And they sought him three days, but found him not." "He was not, for God took him."

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

HAGGAI.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

HAGGAI stands next on the prophetic roll to Zephaniah; but between these two prophets there is a wide interval of time, at least a century; and this interval was marked by events so momentous and tragic as to change the whole face of the goodly land and to effect a corresponding change on the character, conditions, and prospects of its inhabitants. The Captivity had intervened, and the Return. The land had been invaded, depopulated, reduced to a jungle haunted by wild beasts. The cities had been broken down and burned with fire; the very Temple had become a charred and blackened heap of ruins. Zephaniah had foretold the judgment which was to sweep through the land, and to sweep away not only man and beast from it, but their offences with the sinners, in terms so sombre and terrible as that they still make our hearts tremble when we read them;[1] and his prediction had been utterly fulfilled. No greater, or apparently more irreparable, calamity could well have fallen on a nation than that which fell on Judæa. Not only was a large majority of the men capable of bearing arms cut off; not only were the statesmen, priests, farmers, merchants, and even the skilled artisans, and the able-bodied peasants and labourers, carried away captive, so that the land was left well-nigh without inhabitant; but its central and most fertile valley was given to an idolatrous and half-barbarous horde of aliens, who were unable to recover the soil from the tropical jungle which had sprung up over it, or so much as to keep the lions that haunted it at bay.[2]

Nevertheless the purpose of God stood fast, his purpose to redeem his people, and to restore them to the land of their fathers. During the seventy years of the Captivity he kept their hopes alive by the ministry of the great prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, assuring them that, if they should confess their sins and return to Him, He would deliver them from their bondage, lead them back in triumph to the country and the city in which He had dwelt among them as a king among his subjects, and raise them to a height of welfare and privilege such as they had never reached before. As the term of the Captivity drew to an end, the voice of prophecy grew more clear and bright; and, at last, the promise was fulfilled, or began to be fulfilled. Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, the conqueror of Babylon, whom God had chosen to be his servant and "the shepherd" of his people, issued an edict, authorising as many as were so minded to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild the House of the Lord God of Israel. Some 50,000 of the captives, led by Zerubbabel, a prince of the house of David, and by Joshua, a priest of the house of Aaron, came back to their abandoned city and ravaged land; and among these returning exiles there was probably a young man named Haggai, and another named Zechariah, who were soon to receive the prophetic inspiration, as they may already have received a prophetic training from the seers of the exile.

The first task to which the returned exiles addressed themselves was that of rebuilding the Temple. At first "they offered freely for the house of God to set it up in its place," and that not simply because they had been commissioned to build it by Cyrus and were aided by imperial gifts and grants, nor simply because they desired once more to worship God after the manner of their fathers. Their motives ran deeper than this. For the Temple stood in the closest relation to the kingdom of God, and was essential to the Hebrew form of that kingdom. It was the palace of the Great King. It was the sign that God dwelt among his people, receiving their homage, guiding, ruling, and protecting them in all their ways. And

[1] Zeph. i. 14—18. [2] 2 Kings xvii. 24—28.

how could their King come and reside with them once more, until his palace, the Temple, was rebuilt—until they had provided a habitation for Him?

In the second year of Cyrus, then (B.C. 534), they laid the foundation of the new Temple, and offered freely and largely in order that it might soon be complete. But they were few, and poor, and weak. The conditions of their life were hard, almost intolerably hard. The fields had to be cleared of the jungle, the land ploughed and sown and tended. Their own houses had to be built and furnished. And there were many enemies. The barbarous insolent Samaritans often plundered their fields of the scanty harvest they had laboriously reared, or rode into their unwalled city to plunder, and burn, and kill. Within a few months of the Return, many of them would be disappointed, broken, helpless men. Fired by the bright words and promises of their seers, they had braved the dangers of the mountains and the desert, expecting, no doubt, that when they reached Jerusalem all would go well with them. Cyrus was their friend. And had not the prophets assured them that God Himself would be their friend, and succour and bless them? But here they were, poor and helpless, the prey and scorn of an insolent foe!

We cannot greatly wonder that they lost heart, that the work dragged heavily, and soon ceased. We may forgive men who, in so sore a strait, thought first of themselves, of how they were to live, rather than of God, and how they might serve Him. That their weariness and disappointment was the true cause of their flagging zeal for the Temple is beyond doubt, I think, though it has been commonly attributed to the edict procured from Smerdis, a successor of Cyrus on the Persian throne, which forbad them to carry on the work of building either the city or the Temple; for this edict was not published till twelve years after the foundation of the Temple had been laid (B.C. 522); and had the Jews retained their early zeal, they would have completed the Temple before it was issued.[1]

It was to revive this cooling, if not extinct, zeal, that Haggai and Zechariah were raised up. The prophecy of Haggai indeed is wholly concerned with the sacred structure. It is simply a series of expostulations and appeals intended to spur the people on to the work, by showing them that the calamities under which they groaned were a judgment on their remissness, and assuring them that, if they would set their heart to the work, they would soon complete it, and that, so soon as the Temple was complete, God would come and dwell among them, to load them with His benefits and to give them peace. The zealous prophet was greatly aided in his task by the fact that the impostor and usurper Smerdis, who had interdicted the building of the Temple, had been succeeded on the throne of Persia by Darius Hystaspes (Darius, the son of Hystaspes), a just and clement prince, who walked in the ways of Cyrus. Darius repealed the edict; the Jews were free to build; and, inspired by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, they did build, and build with such vigour and to such purpose that, within four years from the time at which Haggai first spoke, the Temple was formally opened and dedicated to the service of Jehovah (B.C. 520—516).

Of Haggai himself we know nothing, save that he was a man and a prophet. Even this much, however, is an advance upon previous knowledge: for some fourteen centuries ago the common belief of the Western Church was that he was not a man but an angel—a belief founded on a misapprehension of a phrase in chap. i. 13, where he is spoken of as "the Lord's *messenger*," or "*angel*." But though we *know* nothing more of him, it is the received and probable opinion that Haggai, then a young man, came up to Jerusalem with the first band of exiles who returned from the Captivity, and that he lived at least long enough to see, as the fruit of his ministry, a completed Temple and a restored worship.

The *date* of Haggai's labours, unlike that of most of the minor prophets, is fixed beyond all possibility of doubt. Ezra tells us that "the work" of building the Temple, which had been begun so hopefully twelve years before, ceased unto the seventh year of Darius, king of Persia, and that "*then* the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied unto the Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem, in the name of the God of Israel," and that "Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Jozadak, rose up and began to build the house of God which is at Jerusalem; *and with them were the prophets of God helping them*."[2] Nay, Haggai himself dates each of his five prophecies in full, naming not only the year, but the month and the very day of the month, on which he delivered the Divine message. They all fell, he tells us, within the narrow limits of four months, from the first day of the sixth month to the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, in the second year of Darius the king, in the year 520 B.C.

In Haggai's *style* there is little to commend. If he is a *minor prophet*, he is also *a minor poet*, and even a very minor poet. His style does not lack a certain vivacity indeed, and at times he gives us a graphic description. But none the less, "he never rises very far above the level of good prose;" and though there is only one place in which good prose is out of place, even the best prose is out of place in a poem. One critic says of him that his style is "not distinguished by any peculiar excellence;" and another affirms it to be "generally tame and prosaic, though at times it rises to the dignity of severe invective," and accuses him of remarkable "poverty of expression." Even the English reader can see that he is too fond of formulas, and of

[1] There is a curiously exact coincidence between Isaiah's prophecy concerning Cyrus and its fulfilment. The prediction of Isaiah was (chap. xliv. 28) that he should say to Jerusalem, "Thou shalt be *built*; and to the Temple, Thy *foundation* shall be laid." So, precisely, it came to pass. For during the reign of Cyrus the rebuilding of the city went on without any marked interruption; but of the Temple, though Cyrus had decreed its restoration, only the foundation was laid.

[2] Ezra iv. 24—v. 2.

repeating the same formulas; and that, in his desire to be emphatic, Haggai often becomes somewhat monotonous. Like one or two other of the later prophets, he is for ever repeating the Divine Name, in order to give weight to his utterance. In the following passage, for example, one feels that the constant recurrence of the same burden, though not without a certain rhythmic force, like that of a warning bell, or the heavy stroke of a hammer, is very different from what we find in the loftier strains of the greater prophets of the Old Testament:—

"And I will fill this house with glory,
Saith the Lord of hosts.
Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold,
Saith the Lord of hosts.
The last glory of this house shall be greater than the first,
Saith the Lord of hosts;
And in this place will I give peace,
Saith the Lord of hosts."

We cannot imagine Habakkuk, or Isaiah, or David writing in such a style as this; and though one a little shrinks from criticising the style of any of the men who were inspired by the Holy Ghost, we should lose much instruction if we were to refrain from criticising it, and should incur the charge of being unequal in our ways. For if we praise the sweetness of David's song, or the sublimity of Isaiah's strain, or the abrupt grandeur of Habakkuk's ode; if we single these out for admiration, we imply that other of the Hebrew singers are inferior to them, and should honestly acknowledge their defects. Nor, in admitting these defects, do we in any way detract from the value of their work; still less do we depreciate the Word of God. We have the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels, and when we point out that one of these earthen vessels is less noble and finished in form and workmanship than another, we allege nothing against the excellency or the heavenliness of the treasure they contain.

And, indeed, the merit of Haggai does not lie in his style, but in the clear perception he had of the principles on which God rules men and their affairs; on his conviction that only as men maintain a sincere communion with Him, and render Him a frank obedience, can they reach their true blessedness; and in the zeal with which he devoted himself to the task of implanting these convictions in the breasts of his fellows. His value to us lies not in the finished beauty of his verse, but in the example he has left us, and in the light he pours on an obscure period of the Hebrew story. We know little of the life of the exiles for the first twenty years after their return to the land of their fathers, of the thoughts that were habitual to them, of the motives by which they were inspired. Even if we read the first six chapters of the Book of Ezra, which covers the history of this period, we learn comparatively little of what was most inward and peculiar to the men of the time. But as we study Haggai and Zechariah, we see this very period from the inside rather than from without, and learn what we most need to know of the moral conditions of the time, of how the world and human life shaped themselves to the men of that day, and how the will of God worked out through their weak and erring wills to ends of mercy that comprehend the welfare of mankind at large. This is Haggai's "glory"—not that he was a great poet, but that he was emphatically a good man, with a stedfast faith in the Divine laws when they seemed incredible, a keen sense of their application to the wants and conditions of his time, and that he was possessed by a burning zeal for the House and honour of God.

FIRST PROPHECY.

CHAP. I.

HAPPILY for us, Haggai, unlike most of the Hebrew prophets, is very accurate and precise in dating his prophecies. The date of his first prophecy is given in the following terms:—"*In the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, on the first day of the month, came the word of the Lord, through Haggai the prophet, to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, the governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jozadak, the high priest.*" By this precision and fulness he enables us both to recover the historical facts which gave meaning and force to his words, and to picture to ourselves the scene amid which he was impelled to utter them.

Perhaps we shall best recover the sequence of historical facts we need to bear in mind, by glancing at the history of the two men to whom this and the subsequent prophecies of Haggai were addressed.

When Cyrus conquered Babylon, then (B.C. 535), Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, was the recognised "prince" of the Jews who were captives in that city and empire; and Joshua, who had been born during the Captivity, was their recognised priest, or high priest. So soon as Cyrus issued the decree which liberated the captive Jews and encouraged them to return to the city of their fathers, Zerubabbel the prince and Joshua the priest put themselves at the head of those "whose spirit God had roused to go up and build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem." Probably Zerubbabel had long been in the service of the king of Babylon, since like Daniel and "the three children," he had received a Chaldee name, *Sheshbazzar*. Certainly he was now taken into the service of Cyrus, for he was appointed *pechâh*, that is, *pasha*,[1] or governor of the province of Judah. It was a happy choice; both because the governor appointed by Cyrus was already reverenced by the Jews as a prince of the house of David, and because he was a man of singular piety and courage.

Led by Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua, some 50,000 of the released captives set forth on their homeward march, bearing with them the sacred vessels of the Temple, and large presents from Cyrus of gold and silver and goods. When they arrived, they at once built up the altar on its old site, and restored the daily sacrifice. Then, in accordance with the decree of Cyrus, they set themselves to the great work of rebuilding the Temple. Cyrus had made them a grant of timber and stone for

[1] Not that the two words *pechâh* and *pasha* have any real connection, but that the two offices were similar.

building; and now they applied themselves to getting cedars from Lebanon, and stone from the quarries, and gathering together masons and carpenters. By the opening of the new year their preparations were completed (B.C. 534), and on the second month of the year the foundation was laid with all the pomp and circumstance they could command: the priests decked in their sacred vestments, blew the silver trumpets; the choir, led by the sons of Asaph, sang the very same psalm of praise to Him "whose mercy endureth for ever" which was sung when Solomon dedicated his Temple; and the people responded with a great shout of joy, "because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid."

But the zeal of the Jews soon flagged. The work was very great. The city lay waste; the land was overrun with weeds and thorns; there were many enemies. The heathen colonists of Samaria first claimed to take part in the work, and, when the claim was refused, they hindered the building, intercepting the supplies of stone and timber probably, riding into the undefended city and cutting down the workmen, jeering at these feeble Jews and their mad enterprise, calumniating them at the Persian court. Daunted and disheartened, the Jews gradually ceased from the work, and gave themselves up to their private and selfish pursuits. For fourteen years the task was suspended. Nor do Zerubbabel and Joshua seem to have been altogether blameless. For Cyrus was their friend, and would soon have put an end to the Samaritan outrages, had an appeal been made to him during the seven years he still lived and reigned. Nor does Cambyses, his successor, seem to have been inimical to the Jews, though his constant wars may have prevented him from interposing on their behalf. It was not till Smerdis, the usurper, sat for a few months on the Persian throne —not, that is, till twelve years after the Temple foundations were laid—that any formal decree was passed forbidding the Jews to continue the work they had commenced. And even this decree had so little real force that, when their zeal for the Temple was rekindled, they paid no heed to it, but took up the abandoned task even before the new king, Darius, issued an edict in their favour. All the old hindrances were still in their way. Their old enemies stirred up the royal officials to come upon them, and demand by what authority they had resumed building, and to take down the names of those who were responsible for the act, that they might be reported to the Persian Court. But still Zerubbabel and Joshua, with the elders of the Jews, feeling that the eye of God was upon them, refused to cease from the work; nay, prosecuted it with zealous industry, till the edict of Darius arrived, commanding the royal officials to discharge the expense of the building out of the imperial revenue, and to "give them day by day without fail," bullocks, lambs, rams, wheat, salt, wine, oil; in short, whatever they required for the completion of the Sanctuary and the maintenance of daily worship.

When the Jews resumed the work, then, the circumstances of the time were no whit more favourable to them than they had been for the previous fourteen years. And if we ask, What was it that, in spite of the most formidable difficulties, induced them to take up and complete the work they had so long neglected?—the answer must be that the spirit of prophecy suddenly blazed up among them with a keen brilliance in which they saw their national duty and privilege as they had not seen it before. The word of the Lord "burned" in the breasts of Haggai and Zechariah, so that they were weary with forbearing and could not stay.

Haggai, moved by God, was the first to speak, and chose his occasion very wisely. The first day of the sixth month in the Hebrew calendar—and it was by the Hebrew calendar that he took note of time, though he gives *the year of Darius*—was the Feast of the New Moon. Now, on this day, according to the Hebrew ritual, not only was a sacrifice laid on the altar and a feast eaten in the sacred precinct; but there was also a religious service in the Sanctuary, and a service at which it was the wont of the prophets to deliver an exhortation to the people.[1] What more likely occasion could Haggai find than this? Here were the people gathered within the foundations of the unfinished Temple, amid the stones and beams which had been left unused for years, the House of the Lord, as it were, dumbly pleading with them and rebuking them for their neglect! When Haggai spoke, the Jews, softened by worship, must have felt as though the very Temple itself had found a voice, as though the very beams and stones were crying out against them, charging them with their sin, and warning them that all the miseries which oppressed them in their daily course were the Divine chastisement of their sin.

The simple truth was that they had not much cared to have God dwelling among them as their King, or they would not have been so dilatory in providing a dwelling-place for Him. They had not felt their need of Him, their dependence on Him. They attributed the miseries they suffered to their own lack of power, or to the might and insolence of their enemies, or to the ordinary course of natural laws. They did not see that God sat behind and above Nature, administering its laws, and that He ruled the wills of men, and restrained or enlarged their scope. It was to bring Himself home to their thoughts and their duty to Him, that the Lord now spake to them "*through* Haggai," his messenger and prophet, and stripped their impiety of the disguises under which they strove to hide it from themselves.

They had said, "The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built:" *i.e.*, they had tried to cloke their indifference to the Divine Presence under the excuse that, while they were so few, and poor, and weak, it was impossible for them to undertake so great and costly a work. Let them once establish themselves, give them a little time to make themselves prosperous and secure, and then they would acknowledge that it was time for them to build a palace for their King. But how could they do that while they

[1] Cf. 2 Kings iv. 23.

were so poverty-stricken and insecure? Something may be said in behalf of this paltry excuse. From the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which coincides with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (*i.e.* the year of the first deporture to Babylon) to the first year of Cyrus (*i.e.* the date of the first return) there is a period of exactly seventy years. But a second period of seventy years elapsed between the destruction of the first Temple, which occurred eighteen years after the Captivity commenced, and the completion of the second Temple, which was delayed and obstructed for eighteen years after the Return, viz., from the first year of Cyrus to the sixth of Darius. Still, curious as the parallel is, the voice of prophecy is dumb on this second period; whereas Jeremiah's prophecy of the first period, that of the Return, is definite and absolute: "After seventy years be accomplished at Babylon I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you in causing you to *return* to this place" (Jer. xxix. 10).

To this excuse Haggai, in the name of the Lord, gives a double reply. First he says (verse 4)—

> "Is it time for ye yourselves
> To dwell in your wainscoted houses,
> While this house lieth waste?"

a reply which, as they listened to it, must have made them feel that they were not only hypocrites, but clumsy and detected hypocrites. Their plea of poverty was a false plea. If they were rich enough to build themselves houses, were they not rich enough to build a house for God, their King? And the houses they had built for themselves were sumptuous structures. The Hebrew word I have translated "wainscoted" really means that the walls were covered or inlaid with costly woods—even with, as the word in most cases implies, *cedar*. So that it is by no means improbable that many of the cedars brought at so great cost and pains from distant Lebanon, instead of being employed in the building of the Temple, were used to adorn the houses of Zerubbabel and his leading functionaries. By this single ironical question, therefore, the prophet cuts away from them the ground on which they stood. They could not honestly plead that the times were too hard to allow them to build a house for God while they were erecting sumptuous houses, inlaid with cedar, for themselves. Had they had the spirit of David, to whom it was a pain to dwell in "a house of cedar" while "the ark of God dwelt within curtains," and who resolved, "I will not go up into my house," nor "give sleep to mine eyes or slumber to mine eyelids, until I find a place for Jehovah, a dwelling for the Mighty One of Jacob," they would long since have completed a habitation for the Most High.

And yet, as the prophet proceeds to admit, the times *were* hard. Not only were the streets still cumbered by ruins, and the city undefended by walls; not only were they surrounded by enemies whom they were not able to resist; but even Nature herself, ordinarily so bountiful, seemed to have turned a niggard against them. Their lives were harassed by a constant fear of want and evil. The land, smitten by drought, yielded but a scanty harvest to their toils, or if their fields were laden with a wealth of corn, the Samaritans rode up and plundered field and homestead; and they, depressed by care and fear, had no true enjoyment even of such things as they had. All these disappointments and miseries they had set down to ill-fortune, to bad seasons, to the implacable hostility of their freebooting neighbours. Till more prosperous days came, they had no heart to arise and build. The prophet now teaches them that the calamities under which they groaned were Divine judgments—not the results whether of the niggardliness of Nature or the hostility of man; teaches them, too, that they can make no more fatal mistake than to wait for more prosperous times before they build, since they will never rise to prosperity until they have built a house for God, in which He may dwell among them. Starting with his favourite formula, "Set your heart upon your ways"—a formula which indicates a certain habitual thoughtfulness on the part of the prophet, and a thoughtfulness mainly bent on the laws of human life and conduct—he graphically depicts the misery of the time, its unsatisfied longings, its habitual dejection (verse 6):

> "Ye have sown much, and brought in little;
> Ye have eaten, but have not had enough;
> Ye have drunk, but have not been full;
> Ye have clothed you, but have not been warm;
> And he that worked for wages worked for wages
> To put them in a bag pierced with holes."

It would be hard to find words that more graphically set forth a time in which men got little by their toils, and had no heart to enjoy what little they got. In such a time they might well fling up their hands in despair, and cry, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit!" Instead of inciting them to despair, however, Haggai discloses the meaning and secret of their misery, and shows them the true remedy for it. Repeating his favourite formula, he once more summons them to a thoughtful review of their ways. As they review them he is sure they will discover that it is God who has visited them, who has called a drought upon the land and upon all the labour of their hands; that it is He who has caused them to gather little when they looked for much, and blown away even that little when they had brought it home; that it is He who has bidden the heaven withhold from them its dew, and the earth its fruit. Nay, if they ponder all these things in their heart, they will discover *why* He has thus visited them; that it is because, while they could run with cheerful alacrity to get their own houses built or adorned, they had been content to let His house lie waste. If they have any doubt that this is the true cause of their broken and defeated hopes, let them put it to the proof. Let them prepare to build. Let them go up to the mountain—*i.e.*, Lebanon, with its cedars—and fetch wood, since they have used much that they have already fetched in wainscoting their own houses. Let them complete the Temple, and then see whether God will not take pleasure in dwelling in it, and glorify Himself in their midst (verses 7—11).

Thus, at one stroke, the prophet Haggai proves to the

Jews that their conditions were not, as they alleged, so hard but that they might build the Temple; assures them that they could hope for no happier conditions until they did build it; and promises them that, if they do build, God will both protect them from their foes and bless them in all the labour of their hands. As they sat on the Temple hill, amid the piles of stone and stacks of timber which had now been exposed for fourteen years to rain and wild weather, and felt as though the place with all its sacred memories were enforcing the prophetic appeal, what wonder that "they hearkened unto the voice of the Lord their God, and did according to the words of Haggai the prophet, since their God had sent him?" A holy fear fell on them (verse 12); they saw that it was their forgetfulness of God their King from which all their miseries had sprung, and they dreaded to remain forgetful of Him, lest worse miseries should overwhelm them. They seem at once to have set about their preparations for the work. And on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, only twenty-three days after Haggai had uttered his rebuke and challenge, they made an actual commencement of the work. And as they began, the prophet brought them a new message from Jehovah, a message all the more impressive for its brevity (verse 13):

"*I am with you*, saith the Lord."

According to the Hebrew conception, God was only with them when they had erected a palace for Him; but, for their encouragement, and that the joy of the Lord may be their strength, He announces Himself as already present, though some four years must elapse before His habitation will be complete. He will be with them while they build, that they may not fear what men can do against them—with them, to bless them when they labour for themselves as well as when they build for Him; so that the heaven shall no longer withhold its dew, nor the earth its fruit; but when they look for little, they shall behold much, and, instead of creeping about with dejected and hopeless hearts, they shall eat their bread with gladness, praising their God and King.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. MARK.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

"For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good; but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another."—ST. MARK ix. 49, 50.

FEW passages present greater difficulties to the Biblical expositor than this, and few have been more differently or more unsatisfactorily interpreted. The chief difficulty of the passage consists in determining the true sense in which the words "salt" and "fire" are employed in it, and the purposes for which they are represented as being employed.

It has been assumed by some that the 49th verse of this chapter must be taken in exclusive connection with the 44th, as repeated in the 46th and 48th verses, and, consequently, that it must be interpreted only in a retributive or punitive sense.[1] It seems to have been overlooked that "salt" and "fire," like leaven, are symbolically used in Holy Scripture in a double signification; that they have reference in some passages to the righteous, and in other passages to the wicked; and, consequently, that they must not only be interpreted in a different manner in different passages, according to the connection in which they are found, but that they *may* also admit of a twofold interpretation in the twofold application of the same passage.

The import of the first clause of the 49th verse, if understood, as it is by many expositors, with exclusive reference to the fire spoken of in the preceding verse, amounts to little more than the simple truism that every one who shall be finally consigned to the "fire" of which that verse speaks, shall be salted, as in the case of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the other Cities of the Plain, with that enduring fire of which theirs is set forth as an example. There are other objections to this interpretation, and, as it seems to us, objections yet more insuperable. For (1) the terms of the proposition, πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, "for *every one* shall be salted with fire," seem to demand a general and not a restrictive interpretation; (2) the symbolism of Holy Scripture suggests, if it does not require, a different interpretation of the words "fire" and "salt," as regards their primary signification in this verse; and (3) whilst the interpretation above mentioned may seem at first sight to explain the connection with the preceding verse which the particle γὰρ, "for," suggests, it destroys the connection with the general subject of discourse as contained in the verses which precede, and in that which follows; and it seems absolutely inconsistent with that symbolical use of the word "salt" which is found not only in verse 50, but also in the two parallel passages of St. Matthew and St. Luke (Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34), with which the whole of this passage must be compared.

When taken in its plain and obvious signification, and in that which the context (verses 43—48) appears imperatively to require, the first clause of verse 49 asserts the necessity of trial in the case of all Christ's disciples. Numerous passages of a similar character

[1] It is altogether foreign from our present subject to inquire into the genuineness or spuriousness of verses 44 and 46. The genuineness of verse 48 is not called in question.

might be adduced. The following will suffice, in one or more of which it seems probable that allusion is made to the verse under consideration. In 1 Cor. iii. 13, St. Paul writes thus: "Each man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by [or in] fire; and the fire itself shall prove each man's work, of what sort it is." And St. Peter, assuming the necessity of the same fiery ordeal, πύρωσις, not as some strange thing (1 Pet. iv. 12), but as a part of the Christian's appointed course of discipline, encourages and consoles those whom he addresses by the assurance that the designed end of the trial of their faith, which is "much more precious than of gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire," διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, is that "it might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 7).

If any further illustration were required of the symbolical use of "fire" for the purpose of purification in the case of the righteous, as well as of punishment in the case of the wicked, it may suffice to refer to Matt. iii. 11, 12, where John the Baptist declares concerning our Lord (1) that He would baptise His own disciples "with the Holy Ghost, and with fire;" and (2) that He would burn up the chaff "with fire unquenchable."

Salt is symbolically used in Holy Scripture in the same double signification. As symbolising the enduring character of the punishment of the wicked, it will suffice to refer to the case of Lot's wife, who became "a pillar of salt," "a monument," as the Book of Wisdom expresses it, "of an unbelieving soul;"[1] and, again, to the threatened curse pronounced on the land of Israel, that it should become "brimstone, and salt, and burning" (Deut. xxix. 23).

Elsewhere, however, salt is employed in Scripture to denote purification, perpetuity, or exemption from corruption. We may refer here to the healing of the waters of Jericho by the infusion of salt, as recorded in 2 Kings ii. 19—22. Again, in the fundamental passage to which allusion is made by our Lord, viz., Lev. ii. 13, we find the universal law laid down, first and particularly with regard to the *minchah*, or offering of flour and oil, and then with regard to every *korban* or offering of every kind, whether vegetable or animal, that it should be "seasoned," or rather "salted with salt." The words may be literally rendered thus: "And every oblation [or *korban*] of thy vegetable offering [or *minchah*] shalt thou salt with salt; and thou shalt not suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy vegetable offering; with all thine offerings [or with every *korban* of thine] thou shalt offer salt." "The concluding words of the command," says Kalisch, "are too distinct to allow us to doubt that salt was meant to be an ingredient not of bloodless only, but of animal sacrifices also, so that the application of salt with the latter class of offering (Ezek. xliii. 24; Mark ix. 49) was no deviation from the ancient laws."[2]

[1] Book of Wisdom x. 7.
[2] *Commentary on Leviticus*, p. 486 (1867).

With the passage just quoted from Leviticus, prescribing the use of salt with every offering, we must combine another to which our Lord (especially in the word "*their*") appears to make direct reference in verse 48, viz., Isa. lxvi. 24: "For *their* worm shall not die, neither shall *their* fire be quenched." Now in the 20th verse of the same chapter the following prediction is found in connection with other prophecies of the Church of the latter days: "And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering [literally, a *minchah*] unto the Lord out of all nations." As, then, every legal sacrifice was to be salted with salt as a symbol of incorruption, and as a type of the perpetuity of the covenant between God and His people, described in this respect as "a covenant of salt" (Numb. xviii. 19), so Christ's disciples must, in like manner, be salted with the salt of the sanctuary; "cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," and thus presented as "a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God."

It is thought by some commentators that the καὶ, "and," of verse 49 (as the corresponding Hebrew copula, ו[3]) may properly be rendered by *as* or *even as*. "For every one shall be salted with fire, *even as* every sacrifice shall be salted with salt." In addition, however, to the difficulty which, in this case, arises out of the use of the future tense in the latter as well as in the former clause, and the doubt whether the copula καὶ is used in the sense of *as* in the New Testament,[4] this proposed rendering seems rather to weaken than to strengthen the meaning which the verse, when taken in connection with its context, clearly demands.

Our Lord, in the preceding verses, 43—48, teaches the absolute necessity of surmounting all obstacles, and of removing all stumbling-blocks, which would impede His followers in their efforts to "enter into life." He then proceeds, as it would seem, to assert here, as elsewhere, the necessity of trial as a course of preparation for glory. He who would escape the fire that "is not quenched" must be content to endure the purifying fire to which the great Refiner subjects those whom He designs to reflect more clearly His own image. As, under the Levitical law, every sacrifice was salted with salt, so every one who would now offer and present himself, his body, soul, and spirit, as "a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice" unto God, and thus escape the final and enduring doom of "barrenness" (literally saltness, Ps. cvii. 34), typically represented in the salt of Shechem (Judg. ix. 45), and of unbelief, typically represented in the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was changed, must himself be seasoned with the salt of the sanctuary, and must seek to become, as in the parallel passage of St. Matthew's Gospel it is predicated of Christ's true disciples, "the salt of the earth," by means of which the surrounding mass of ungodliness is to be pervaded and leavened, and by which, instrumentally, the whole lump is to be rescued from destruction.

[3] Cf. Job v. 7: "Man is born unto trouble, as [lit. and] the sparks fly upward."
[4] The alleged parallel in Luke xi. 4, as compared with Matt. vi. 12, is one which is not conclusive.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

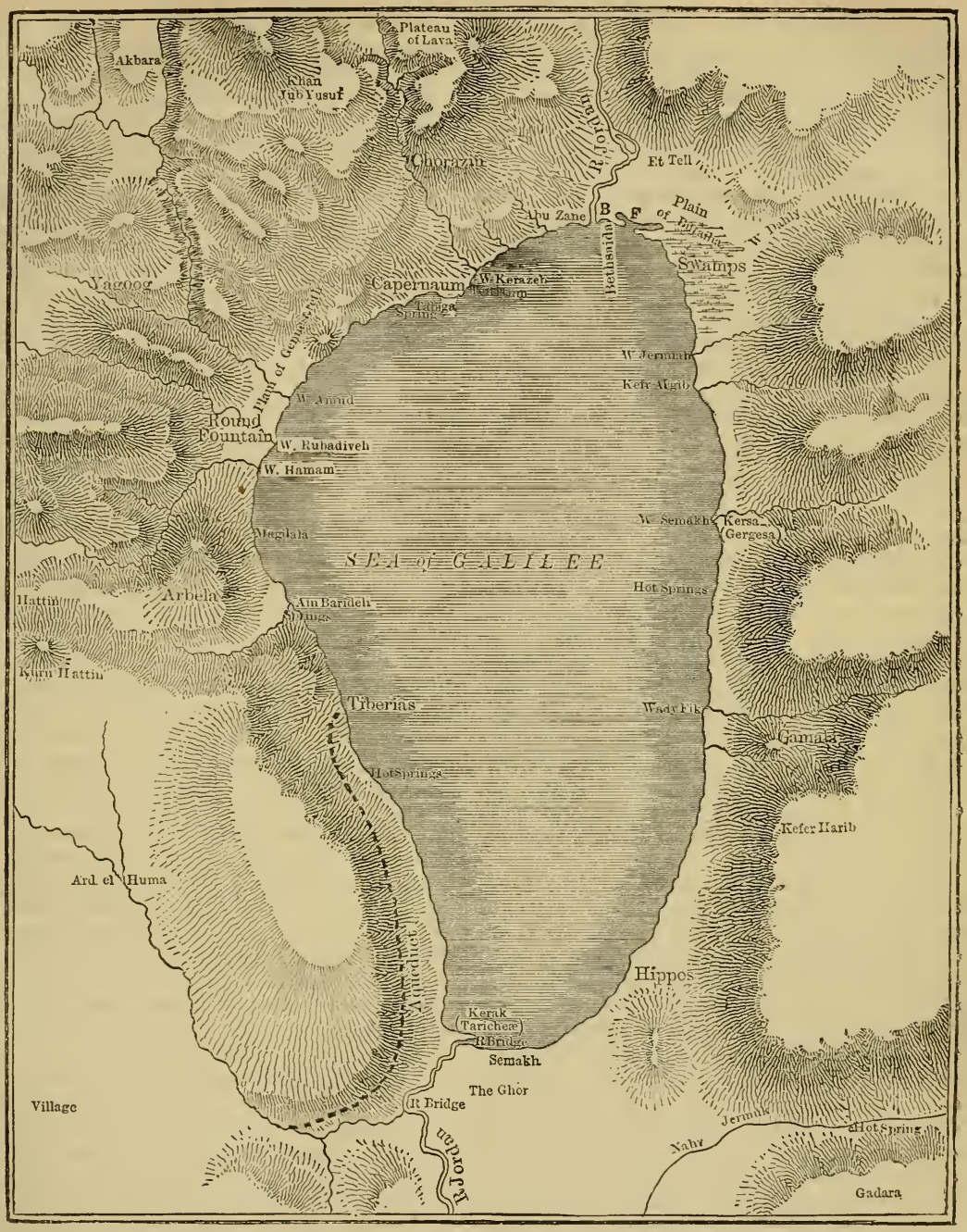
II.—THE JORDAN FROM LAKE HULEH TO THE SEA OF GALILEE.

AFTER leaving Lake Huleh the Jordan flows onward with a gentle current to the bridge of "Jacob's daughters," Jisr Benat Jakub, two miles from the end of the lake: here, however, its character changes to that of a mountain torrent. There are no falls or cascades, but the river "makes a sweep or two to right and left, as if with a struggle to get free," and then "a white-foamed bursting rush of water hurries between rocks thick set with oleanders, which often meet across the stream, not a dozen feet in width."[1] Seven miles below the bridge the Jordan issues from its confined bed on to the plain of Buteiha, and two miles beyond, after many windings, it pours its waters into the Sea of Galilee. Between Lake Huleh and the bridge the Jordan flows through a narrow tract of cultivated plain, but beyond this the country becomes exceedingly wild and rugged; the river forces its way between steep banks of limestone and basalt, whilst the only road through the gorge is a narrow path over the heights on the west bank, often winding along the edges of steep precipices where the footing is not always of the best; at one point in the pass there is a hill from which an interesting view is obtained of the exit of the Jordan from Lake Huleh, and its point of entrance into the Sea of Galilee. On leaving the hills the current is sluggish, and the stream, fordable in several places at certain times of year, flows along the western part of the plain of Buteiha. The only point of interest between the two lakes is the Jisr Benat Jakub, by means of which one of the great lines of communication between Damascus and Palestine crossed the Jordan. The bridge has three arches, and is sixty feet long, but it does not appear to be older than the fifteenth century, as William of Tyre and other writers speak of the place as Jacob's ford; on the east bank of the Jordan are the ruins of a large khan, at which caravans halted on their way to or from Damascus, and at the west end of the bridge is a round tower, probably the custom-house, at which toll was levied on all passing over the road. On the west bank, a mile below the bridge, are the remains of the castle built by Baldwin in 1178 A.D., to keep the Saracens in check, and command the Damascus road. The route over the bridge must always have been the principal line of communication between Damascus, the Sea of Galilee, and the port of Acre, on the Mediterranean; in the Middle Ages it was called the *via maris*, and it is the "way of the sea" alluded to in Matt. iv. 15, but whether the name was derived from the Sea of Galilee or the Mediterranean is not quite clear. The remains of the old Roman road which followed this line can be clearly traced as it passes Khan Jubb Yusuf; and between the Jordan and Damascus there are large portions of it in perfect repair. The Jisr Benat Jakub is connected by tradition with Jacob's flight from Haran, as the place at which he crossed over Jordan, but we know from the Bible that Jacob's route lay through Gilead, and that he passed over the ford of Jabbok, the Zerka, a tributary of the Jordan much further to the south, and thence journeyed by Succoth to Shechem, the modern Nablus. There is more reason for the belief that it was at this point our Lord crossed the Jordan on his way to Cæsarea Philippi, and that Saul followed the Roman road, mentioned above, on his way to Damascus (Acts ix. 2, 3).

[1] *Rob Roy on Jordan*, 307.

THE SEA OF GALILEE.

This lake is called in the Old Testament the Sea of Chinnereth (Numb. xxxiv. 11), apparently from a town of that name on or near its shore, which has sometimes been identified with the modern Tiberias, but there are several difficulties connected with this identification which will be noticed hereafter. In the New Testament the lake is known under the more familiar titles of "Sea of Gennesaret," a name of uncertain origin, also applied to a portion of the coast, "the land of Gennesaret;" the "Sea of Galilee," derived from the district of Galilee on its western shores; and at a later period, when Tiberias became the chief town of Galilee, the "Sea of Tiberias" (John xxi. 1). The lake is pear-shaped, the broad end being towards the north; its length from north to south is twelve miles and a quarter, and its greatest breadth from Mejdel to Khersa six miles and three-quarters; the level of its surface has never been accurately ascertained, and the estimates of various travellers differ greatly; perhaps 626 feet below the level of the Mediterranean is as close an approximation to the truth as we can make at present. The lake was at one time supposed to be of great depth, but Lieut. Molyneux, R.N., who examined it by means of a boat in 1847, found its greatest depth to be 156 feet, and this result has been confirmed by more recent observations. At the time of our Saviour there appear to have been numerous boats on the Sea of Galilee, and Josephus describes a naval engagement which took place on its waters between the Jews and the soldiers of Vespasian; now, a sail is rarely seen on its surface, and in 1866, when the writer visited the lake, there was only one boat belonging to some fishermen at Tiberias. The water of the lake is bright, clear, and limpid; it is well stocked with fish, and at certain seasons of the year large shoals may be seen near the shore darkening the water, as they may have done when the disciples let down their nets into the sea and "inclosed a great multitude of fishes, and their net brake." The scenery of the lake presents no striking features,



MAP OF THE SEA OF GALILEE (OR LAKE OF GENNESARET) AND SURROUNDING DISTRICT.

(From Surveys made for the Palestine Exploration Fund.) Scale, 2 miles to 1 inch.

but it has, nevertheless, a natural beauty of its own, particularly in the spring months when all is green and the surrounding hills glow under the rich tints of sunset and sunrise. In the time of our Saviour, when Art aided Nature, making its shores one of the gardens of the world, and when the hill-sides were clothed with trees, the whole country must have presented a very different aspect, and fully merited the praise which Josephus bestows upon it. "The hills except at Khan Minyeh, where there is a small cliff, are recessed from the shore of the lake or rise gradually from it; they are of no great elevation, and their outline, especially on the

eastern side, is not broken by any prominent peak; but everywhere from the southern end the snow-capped peak of Hermon is visible, standing out so sharp and clear in the bright sky that it appears almost within reach; and towards the north, the western ridge is cut through by a wild gorge, 'the Valley of Doves,' over which rise the twin peaks or horns of Hattin."[1] The climate during the winter months is very enjoyable, and even in summer the heat is tempered by a morning and evening breeze, but occasionally, when the south wind blows, the heat is excessive, and fevers, possibly of the same type as that with which Peter's wife was afflicted, are very prevalent. There is little cultivation now, but Josephus tells us that in his day all the forest trees throve there, and that walnuts, figs, olives and palms grew in profusion; the date-palm, pomegranate, indigo, rice-plant, and sugar-cane are still found; and the district seems peculiarly suitable for the growth of both tropical and temperate productions. There does not appear to be anything volcanic in the origin of the lake, which is simply part of the great Jordan depression. The hills on either side are limestone, capped in places with basalt, which has three distinct sources; one at Kurn Hattin, or in its neighbourhood; another near Khan Jubb Yusuf, north of the lake; and a third in the Jaulan district. Earthquakes are frequent, and sometimes of great violence, as that of 1837, when nearly one-third of the inhabitants of Tiberias perished, and the town was left little more than a heap of ruins. There are several hot springs in the vicinity of the lake, the principal ones being those of Tiberias, which are said to have been sensibly affected by the earthquake of 1837: not only was the temperature higher, but the body of water poured into the lake was much greater than at any previous period within the memory of man.

We may now pass to a fuller examination of the district bordering on the lake which is so intimately connected with the history of the last three years of our Lord's life on earth, and in which so many of his mighty works were performed, and commencing with the point at which the Jordan enters the lake, make a complete circuit of its shores. The Jordan, as mentioned above, for the last two miles of its course, flows with a sluggish current along the western end of the plain of Buteiha, and in winter after heavy rains, or in spring on the melting of the snow, overflows its banks, forming a large tract of marshy ground near its mouth. It was here that the skirmishes took place between Josephus and the Romans under Sylla, in the first of which Josephus was injured by the fall of his horse in one of the marshy places, and had to be carried to Capernaum. On the western bank at the mouth of the river are a few small mounds which Dr. Thomson, the well-known author of *The Land and the Book*, considers to be the site of Bethsaida of Galilee, and not far from the eastern bank, beneath the shade of some palm-trees, are old foundations, heaps of rubbish, Arab tombs and fragments of basaltic columns, which he identifies with Bethsaida Julias, the burial-place of Philip the Tetrarch. The question of the position of Bethsaida has always been a difficult one: in the account of the feeding of the 5,000 in the New Testament, St. Luke states (ix. 10) that it took place in a desert place "belonging to the city called Bethsaida;" whilst St. Mark tells us (vi. 45), that after the miracle Jesus directed the disciples "to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida;" and in order to reconcile these statements, many commentators have adopted the theory that there were two Bethsaidas. If, however, we accept the readings of the ancient MS. of the Bible which have recently been brought to light, there appears to be no necessity for the creation of a second Bethsaida; in the Sinaitic version, and in the ancient Syriac recension, published by Mr. Cureton, the words "belonging to a city called Bethsaida," in Luke ix. 10, are omitted, and the reading of John vi. 22 in the Sinaitic version places, as we shall see further on, the scene of the feeding of the 5,000 near Tiberias. From the Bible we gather that Bethsaida was a town of Galilee (John xii. 21), and the native place of Andrew, Peter, and Philip; that it was not far from Capernaum and Chorazin; and that, from the place at which the 5,000 were fed, near Tiberias, according to the Sinaitic version, it was spoken of as being on "the other side" of the lake (Mark vi. 45). The name would seem to imply that it was near the water's edge. Josephus informs us that Bethsaida was a village raised to the dignity of a town by Philip, who changed its name to Julias, and built himself a tomb there in which he was afterwards buried with great pomp. He also states that it was a town of Lower Gaulonitis (*B. J.* ii. 9, 1), that the Jordan passed by it (*B. J.* iii. 10, 7), and that it was situate at the Lake Gennesaret (*Antiq.* xviii. 2, 1). With this also agrees the account of the battle with the Romans (*Vit.* 70—72), which requires that Julias should be close to the Jordan, and not far from its mouth. Eusebius and Jerome mention that Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida lay on the shore of the lake, and St. Willibald, A.D. 722, after visiting Capernaum, proceeds to Bethsaida, where he passes the night, and then goes on to Chorazin and the sources of the Jordan; he also informs us that there was a church on the site of the house of Andrew and Peter. These indications are all satisfied by identifying Bethsaida with the ruins on the east bank of the Jordan, and there is a curious topographical feature which may explain the difference between the Bible and Josephus, as to the district in which the town was situated. East of the ruins marked B, in the map on page 169, there is a deep inlet from the lake, marked F, which may possibly have been an old channel of the Jordan, or an artificial excavation made for the protection of the town of Bethsaida; the town of Taricheæ, at the point at which the Jordan leaves the lake, was, as we shall see presently, protected in a similar manner; and it is not unlikely that a town so situated may at one time have formed part of Galilee, and at another part of Gaulonitis.

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 338.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

THE SCRIPTURAL CONTRAST OF PSYCHE AND PNEUMA.

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IN the history of the inductive sciences discovery is at times brought to a stand-still, and the path of progress arrested, because there is some link missing in the chain of evidence. A fact, it may be a little one, lies in shadow, a principle apparently unimportant is overlooked, and so the most magnificent generalisation remains useless for a time because it wants complete verification in all its parts. The stand-still in Newton's discovery of gravity till the apparent perturbations in the moon's movements were accounted for, is a case in point, and every science has had to pass through the same stage of delay before it has attained that complete verification which we may describe as the positive stage.

The study of Divine things is no exception to this law that one truth waits upon another, and that the chain is not complete until the one missing link is picked up and riveted. It is a great mistake to speak of science as inductive and theology as deductive. On the one hand, no science is verified till we can reason deductively from an inductive discovery. We have no right to call it a law till we can rigorously apply it, and account for its apparent exceptions. In the same way theology is only the deductive application of certain inductive discoveries in the open page of God's Word. The mistake of theology has been the same as that of science—we have taken account of some of the facts, not of all—our induction has been hasty, and our deduction arbitrary. It is the neglect of certain psychological truths which meet us in God's Word that accounts for the difficulties and contradictions into which systematic divinity has fallen. As Delitzsch well remarks, "Much which is only incidentally dealt with in dogmatics is in psychology—which herein is subsidiary to it—a main feature: for example, the relation of the soul to the blood as essential to the doctrine of the atonement; and the question as important to the doctrine of original sin whether the soul is propagated *per traducem* or not, as, on the other hand, the Scriptural doctrine of the Tri-unity of God—of the good and evil angels—of the Divine-human personality of Christ, which in dogmatics are principal matters, are only so far treated of in psychology as they are connected with the formation of the Divine image in man, with the good and evil influences of the spiritual world upon him, and with the restoration of the true human nature. The new relation of God to humanity in Christ, which is the real centre of theology, is also the centre of psychology as well as dogmatics."

But, from inattention to Biblical psychology, many precious truths have been overlooked by systematic divines. Our right course, then, should be not to discard systematic theology *in toto*, but to revise our systems, to look out for the missing links—if any—and to sound for these, as they do who pick up our Atlantic cables and mend them after sending shocks through the wire, measuring where the fault is by testing the point where the current runs to earth. This is a delicate task, and calls for patience and perseverance, yet it is needless to add that it not only repays our test, but is also a greater triumph of skill than the relaying of a fresh cable, which may be open to the same faults as the old.

This leads us to remark what the missing link is in theology, and where we are to sound first and expect to find a fault. Christianity being a redemptive system, and as such adapted to the nature of man, it should therefore take account of, and fit into their right place in the regenerate nature, all those faculties and powers which lie confused or inactive in the unregenerate man. Not only should it bring cosmos out of chaos, it should also see that nothing is lost; as it extends to the whole race, so it must reclaim the whole nature of each individual of that race—the redemption which is universal must also be entire. It should not represent regeneration as a mere soul-saving process, the redemption of one part of man's nature at the expense of the rest. Too often it has been taught in this way. The nature of original sin, the true doctrine of regeneration, the intermediate state after death, and the final resurrection of the body, are four truths, the cardinal points, as we may describe them, of theology. Their misunderstanding by some has led to their rejection by others. Infidelity has thus triumphed against the truth, because the truth, like an army unskilfully led, has only wasted its strength in useless attacks, in carrying positions which were not worth assailing, and surrendering others which were the key to the whole position. The difference between doctrine and dogma may be seen in this. True scriptural theology contains a doctrine which is simple, and to some extent self-evident. Scholastic theology, on the other hand, contains a dogma, which it fences up and protects by outworks of authority, as if half confident of its own ability to hold the position. It is against these irrational outworks thrown out as the buttresses and abutments of an ill-built bridge, that the current of Rationalism rages. The more stone thrown in the river, the less likely the arch above the river is to withstand its current long. When divines come to see this they will give up scholastic dogma for Biblical doctrine; in other words, they will seek to harmonise reason and revelation, the laws of human nature with the principles of the Book, and then Rationalism will disappear with the main cause of offence. In the language of the poet, religion will be as a river—

> "The current that with gentle motion glides,
> Thou knowest, being stopped impatiently doth chafe,
> But when its sweet course is not hindered,
> Making sweet music with enamelled stones."

But before dogma can be thus replaced by doctrine, theology must so far retrace its steps as to pick up the

missing link we have referred to. As is often the case, the lost truth lies in our path, if we will only patiently look out for it. Let us take such a passage as this, which will suggest to us what the missing link really is: "But the psychical man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are pneumatically discerned; but he that is pneumatical judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. ii. 14—16). In these verses two characters are contrasted, the psychical and the pneumatical—the one acting according to one set of impulses, those of the *psyche*, the other acting under a different inspiration, that of the *pneuma*. The characters are contrasted—on that point there cannot be a second opinion. Christian experience in all schools and ages of the Church uniformly attests to this truth. But what is the root of this difference? Why should one man possess the Spirit which "searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God," and another not? Is the difference between the psychical and the pneumatical character an intellectual or a moral difference, or something higher than either, and not accountable by ordinary considerations of the right use of moral and intellectual helps? Are there any aids to reflection by which we may rise as on a kind of natural ladder from the prudential to the moral, from the moral to the spiritual, as Coleridge seemed to think? The dogmatic divine settles these perplexities offhand by reference to one of the old antinomies of fate and free-will. Either he is an Augustinian, and he decides that all things are decreed of God, and that the differences of character between the psychical and pneumatical are part of God's eternal councils; or he leans to Pelagianism, and then the responsibility lies with man—the right use of moral and religious helps raises a man up from the psychic or carnal condition into the higher state of knowing and serving God.

But there is a pretty general agreement now among most thoughtful minds that these explanations leave us exactly where they find us—they do not really advance the question, or account for the difference. They only tell us that one man is spiritual because it is the will of God that he should be so, or because he has used the right means to that end; which is only saying, in other words, that whatever is, is. What we want to know is how it is so, and why it is so, and sterile references to fate and free-will do not advance the question, but leave us where we were before. It is at this point that psychology may be made to throw light on theology, and by using this Scriptural contrast between *psyche* and *pneuma* we may recover the missing link in systematic theology, the want of which has turned so much wholesome doctrine into sterile dogma. According to Aristotle, the *psyche* is the life or highest function which distinguishes each creature, and gives it its place in the scale of creation. As every organ has its proper function, so the sum total of these organs is the living creature, and the sum total of these functions is its *psyche* or soul. Every plant as a whole has its own *psyche*; it has life in which there is sensation wholly devoid of perception, and therefore of volition, which is a kind of transformed perception, as a perception is a transformed sensation. The passive sensation becomes active as a perception, and that results in a still higher stage of activity that we call volition. The *psyche* of the plant is sensitive only, that of the animal is perceptive as well, and as we rise in the scale volition begins to dawn, from the fish to the bird, from the bird to the mammal. "Thus Nature through five stages ran, and in the sixth she moulded man." In man the *psyche*, or centre of life—located, as we now know, in the brain, not in the heart as the ancients conceived it to be—is not only sensitive and perceptive in a much higher degree than in any other mammal; he has also two other faculties, one that we loosely call reason, and another that we call will. By reason we mean the power of generalising on experiences. The mind is not a passive centre of sensation from without, as is the case with animals; man has three faculties—attention, abstraction, and consciousness, which distinguish reason from instinct. Man has attention, by which he chooses which class of sensations it will admit into the sensorium of the brain, opening, as it were, one of the five gateways of knowledge, and closing for a time the others. In proportion as men have this power of concentration are they superior to the animals. In the child or the savage it is almost wanting. In an intellect of the highest order, such as Newton's, it is there in an eminent degree. He described himself with apparent modesty as excelling other men in no other faculty but this of attention. And yet, rightly considered, genius is nothing else than attention intensified: the power of turning the thoughts in on themselves, and holding the mind fastened on itself.

The next characteristic of man's *psyche* from that of animals is abstraction. The elementary properties of number are probably possessed by animals as well as men. A sheep-dog can tell his tale of sheep almost as well as his master. He has a rough-and-ready sense of addition and subtraction. But the principle of the square, much more the cube, applied to numbers, is wholly beyond his conception. Abstraction lies at the root, not only of mathematics, but also of all the higher branches of thought. If attention is somewhat the result of the will, being only another form of intention, abstraction is different. It is a purely intellectual faculty. It is the power of thinking out our thoughts, choosing some and refusing others, as attention is the power of choosing among our sensations, rejecting some and retaining others. By abstraction we rise from one generalisation to another until, when thought is sublimated to the last degree, we fail for want of a foothold for thought.

> "Upon the last and sharpest height,
> Before the spirits fade away,
> Some landing-place to clasp and say
> Farewell! we lose ourselves in light."

Abstraction is the power of fitting facts and ideas

rightly together. As Kant observes, "Facts without ideas are blind, and ideas without facts are empty." He is the best thinker who generalises on sound data, and who will not generalise at all until all the facts of the case are before him, and they are marshalled in their right order. As in a building neither the bricks by themselves nor the architect's design by itself is of much use, all depends on the right collocation of the two; so it is in thinking. Abstraction is the power of generalising aright. As in speaking we must master language or language will master us, it is the same with thinking. A good deal of what passes for thought —in Germany, for instance, since Hegel—is no more thought than Italian improvising is poetry, or Irish oratory eloquence. It is only castle-building in the air, the art of piling up epithets or abstractions, which come down with a touch like a house of cards.

The last and highest faculty which distinguishes the *psyche* in man from that of animals is consciousness. As attention is more of the will, and abstraction of the intellect, so consciousness is something deeper than either; it is the moral faculty properly so called. It is the power which man has of turning in on himself. He can not only open and shut the gateway of the senses, and also generalise on these sense-perceptions in the higher world of ideas, but he has also the almost divine faculty of looking in on himself, passing the whole of his conduct in review, and thus without the law becoming a law to himself. Self-consciousness is more than thought-consciousness or abstraction—that is a condition of the case, as attention also is, but it is not its cause. Self-consciousness is the power of thinking on self as a whole, of reviewing character and conduct. A man without self-consciousness—in other words, moral reflectiveness—must be something more or less than man. What is meant by the beatific vision is when a saint loses this self-consciousness, and is absorbed in the one overwhelming thought of the glory of God. But this experience is exceptional, and is not to be tasted more than momentarily on this side of eternity. Those who have been so favoured—as Isaiah, when he beheld the Lord in his temple, sitting between the cherubim—are recalled to self-consciousness a moment after: "Ah, woe is me! for I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell among a people of unclean lips." Self-consciousness is a painful more often than a pleasurable faculty. Much as Pascal excelled us in his powers of attention and abstraction, it was in this gift that he was transcendently great. His *Pensées* is set to this one key, the grandeur and misery of man, this thinking reed—this pendulum between a smile and tear —this worm and angel—this discrowned king. He exhausts language in describing the sacred sorrows of self-consciousness. There is much that is morbid in Pascal, we must admit, partly owing to disease, and partly to distorted views of religion which made him an ascetic. But making allowance for all this, there remains something which can only be set down to the workings of self-consciousness in its purest and most elevated form.

This faculty, which is moral rather than intellectual, enables us to draw in on ourselves, and to make a comparison between the whole of our life, its aims and intents, as well as to judge of each particular case of conduct. It is by using this faculty that we are led to take long views of life and our true interests, to decline the mess of pottage and to choose the birthright. It is not, as we may judge from the case of Jacob, a distinctly spiritual principle; on the contrary, it has its roots in self-interest, and is only another form of enlightened self-love. The prudential, the moral, and the spiritual, as Coleridge has pointed out in the *Aids to Reflection*, are a kind of scale by which we may measure our religious growth. We begin with motives of self-interest, which, as we advance in the knowledge of God's divine things, are replaced by others less and less self-interested, until at last perfect love—the love which is perfected in true holiness—drives out fear. This is a slow process—the tense of continued action (ἔξω βάλλει, 1 John iv. 18) marks this act. Not all at once, but as the Canaanites, little by little, the self-regarding principle of the psychical life is replaced by the unselfish motive of love. The two are antagonistic; he that feareth is not made perfect in love. Still, though opposed, they are made to work together for the same end, and the Author of our being, He who knoweth our frame and remembereth that we are but dust, does not disdain to use the inferior motive of fear as well as the superior motive of love. The first impulse felt in religion is what we may call the soul-saving principle. Charity in that sense begins at home, though it certainly does not end there. Like Noah, moved with fear, we prepare an ark for the saving of our house; like Lot, we flee out of Sodom; with Bunyan's Pilgrim we escape from the City of Destruction. But no sooner are we thus roused to take the first step under a class of motives which are little else than selfish, than a change occurs—our heart is purified by faith. Acquaintance with God, and the sublime self-surrender of the cross of Christ, transmutes our motives—the dross of self is burned away, and only the pure silver of surrender to do the will of God is left in its place.

Rightly to divide the Word of Truth is a delicate and difficult task, especially to divide rightly between the psychical and pneumatical faculties in man. Hard and fast lines on such a subject only mark a shallow and superficial knowledge of the question itself. The problems of life and character are far too complex to be solved by a short and easy method, such as that which divides mankind into the converted and unconverted, those who have and those who have not the *pneuma*. As a matter of fact, this moral self-consciousness is on the dividing line between the psychical and the pneumatical. It is clearly not "flesh" in the sense that it is part of our animal nature; clearly, again, it is not spirit, that divine and unselfish principle of love in which self is forgotten in the good of others. It is introspective, anxious, self-regarding; in this respect it is psychical. On the other hand, if it turns inward to self, it also turns upward to God for light and direction, and so it is pneumatical. There is a correlation of

forces in the soul by which things human pass into things divine, and things divine in their turn pass back into human. The philosophic Emperor Marcus Antoninus seized this thought: "Whatsoever[1] comes before thee, deal with it in constant remembrance of the close connection which exists between these two; for never wilt thou do anything well in human matters without reference to divine ones, nor in divine matters without reference to human ones." Beginning thus with things human, we may rise thence to things divine, and end with the connection between the two. And thus we accomplish what St. Bernard prayed for: "May I gather myself in from things outward to things inward, and then ascend from things inward to things upward."

In moral consciousness we have reached the dividing line between *psyche* and *pneuma*. It is reason turned in on itself, our thoughts one with another (μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων, Rom. ii. 15) accusing or else excusing. Thought in itself is discursive and goes out of self; but there is this peculiarity in moral consciousness, that thought there turns inwards and arraigns us before a bar in which self is at once the prisoner, the accuser, the advocate, and the judge. No one can read the 7th of Romans thoughtfully without feeling that here is a striking picture of the workings of conscience, intensified, it is true, under the remarkable strivings of the Holy Spirit with a character of such force and originality as that of Saul of Tarsus, but still not different in essence from the action of conscience in every-day characters. One feature in this picture is common to all—the double personality, the feeling that there are two selfs, a better and a worse. Looked at psychologically, this phenomenon of double consciousness is a form of mental disease, it is incipient madness; but regarded ethically it is the first stage towards a recovery of mental soundness. As in theological phrase we must be lost before we can be saved, Christ having come not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance, so the psychological equivalent for this truth is the discovery of two selves, a depraved and a divine self. "So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." To settle down contented in this state of moral dualism is impossible. A man with aspirations after good and desires which draw him away towards evil is in a state of mental misery little short of that of the demoniac, at once casting himself at the feet of Christ, and then entreating Him to torment him not. There must be some issue and settlement of such a conflict as this. Either the carnal must choke the spiritual, or the spiritual must subdue the carnal. No man can contentedly settle down into a state of moral dualism such as is expressed in the law, that "when I would do good, evil is present with me." The crisis must end in one direction or the other—either the man becomes carnal, sold under sin, or he rises up to the great conflict. He learns that Christ has condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness or right principle of the law may be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. The man who walks in the Spirit—who, in other words, is under divine impulses, and who sets God always before him, he has in him the righteous principle of the law, that obedience of faith which is the essence of all love. This is conversion, when the soul is brought where two ways meet, and where the two tendencies of the flesh and the Spirit come to a final conflict. Salvation depends on the issue. If the man declines the conflict, and falls back under the dominion of the flesh, under either of its three lusts of the flesh, the eye, and the pride of life, then he becomes carnal, sold under sin. If, on the other hand, he is led of the Spirit, then he is no longer under the law, or consequently in the flesh. Law and flesh are joined to each other and inseparable as man and wife, till death do them part. The man who is under the Spirit is above law, not as without law, only as under law to Christ. He is equally above the flesh, not as out of the flesh or superior to its temptations, but as given an antidote to its desires, so that he is in a sense poison-proof—he is under a counter-attraction, so that temptations have not the same strength which they once had. The spiritual man is thus the same as before, but changed. He is conscious of the same frailties and infirmities as ever, but he is also conscious of higher desires and aspirations. It is in virtue of this that he feels that old things are passed away, "Behold, all things are become new." The desires of the flesh are subdued to those of the Spirit, so that while he is not as yet all he ought to be, he can at least say that he is not what he once was. His present stand-point as a spiritual man, with the psychical or carnal nature broken but not destroyed, is best expressed in the words of the Apostle: "By the grace of God I am what I am."

These are some of the contrasts between *psyche* and *pneuma*. To carry them out into detail would be to write a treatise, not on Biblical psychology, but on experimental religion. The point, however, for the psychologist to determine is the dividing line between soul and spirit. That, as we have seen, is to be sought at the point where our intellectual and moral faculties meet, where consciousness rises into self-consciousness. Our intellectual powers are, as we have seen, to be traced in the following ascending scale:—(1) Attention; (2) abstraction; (3) generalisation. It is in virtue of the crowning faculty of generalisation that man is able to take in his own conduct as a whole, to become a judge, not only of each detail of duty as it rises before him, but also of character as a whole. He thus becomes a law unto himself, sees into his own motives, can distinguish between occasional slips when a man is overtaken in a fault, and that general bias towards evil which is the ground of his despair as to any real and lasting work of self-reformation. Self-consciousness thus leads on to God-consciousness. The man who finds out and feels his own radical imperfection, must look up and cry out for help: "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help." The one clause is the last word of true self-consciousness; the other the answer of God to that cry for help. Where

[1] *Antonini Comment.*, iii. 13.

these two thoughts meet, there we may trace the dividing line between soul and spirit. The man who is only psychical ("having not the Spirit," Jude 19) understands not these things; he feels no interest in them. To the spiritual nature, on the other hand, they are a joy and delight. When we ask ourselves what is the difference between the two, we have no answer but that of the Apostle: "I exercise myself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men." Where this discipline is attended to, resulting in happy, holy communion with God, and diligent endeavour for the good of our fellow-men, there we may affirm that the pneumatical or spiritual nature is alive and active; where not, we may predicate the reverse. In that case, however outwardly moral the life, the man is unawakened; he is conformed to the course of this world. He has not entered as yet into the higher sphere of being. He is only of the generation of the first Adam, of the earth earthy; not of the Second Adam, who as the Lord from heaven, and as a life-giving Spirit, has come to give spiritual life to all who are grafted into living union with Him.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

COINS are known of seven princes of the Idumean dynasty. Mr. Madden[1] describes nineteen coins of Herod the Great. Eight of these bear on the reverse the symbol which has been called the double cornucopia, and the others bear either vessels of the Temple, or fruit, referring to the offerings at the festival. On the obverse occurs either a helmet, a caduceus, or the emblem called an anchor, but which sometimes more closely resembles a suspensory lamp, with the name of "Herod the King" in Greek. Some of these coins are dated, apparently, by the regnal year of Herod, the latest being either the tenth or the fifteenth year.

Of Archelaus, ten coins, very similar to those of his father, bear the name "Herod Ethnarch." There are seven coins of Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee, bearing a palm, with "Herod Tetrarch," on the obverse; and either the word Tiberias, or the name Caius Cæsar, on the reverse. The numbers 33, 34, 37, and 43 have been remarked on some of these coins, dating, apparently, from the death of Herod the Great. Three coins of Herod Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis, are known; they are of pagan character, bearing the name of Tiberias on the obverse, and a tetrastyle Temple, with the name "Philip, Tetrarch," on the reverse. The dates 19, 33, and 37 occur on the field.

Of Herod Agrippa I., grandson of Herod the Great, who is the "Herod the King" mentioned in Acts xii. 1, two classes of coins exist. The first are properly Jewish, bearing the *tabernaculum*, a figure resembling an umbrella, on the obverse, and three ears of barley on the reverse. The latter evidently refer to the three ears of barley, from the three provinces of Judæa, the ripening of which was requisite for the declaration of the paschal moon. The former probably refers to the Feast of Tabernacles. The dates Anno 6 and Anno 7 occur on coins of this type. The regnal years of the kings of Judæa were regulated by the first day of the month Nisan, which commenced the year. If a king had acceded on that day, and reigned for that day alone, the whole year would have been called his first year. If he had reigned for twelve months, from 2 Nisan to 30 Adar, the year in question would not have been reckoned as his regnal year at all. Thus Anno 8 was the last year of the life of Agrippa.

Eight of the coins of this prince are of pagan type; one bearing, it has been thought, his own profile, and others that of Caius, or of Claudius, with human figures on the reverse. It is probable that these coins were struck for circulation in the dominions of Agrippa beyond the limits of Judæa.

As many as twenty-eight extant coins are attributed to Agrippa II. The greater number of them are pagan coins, bearing the heads of Nero, Vespasian, Titus, or Domitian; and coming down to the last year but one of the latter emperor, viz., A.D. 95. One coin, which has the anchor-like emblem on the reverse, with the date 10, bears a profile on the obverse which has been supposed to be that of Agrippa himself.

Thus, under the Idumean dynasty, seven princes, reigning in Judæa and other parts of Syria during 135 years, are represented by seventy-nine coins; of which thirty-eight only are of lawful Jewish type; one of Agrippa I., and one of Agrippa II., bearing the profiles of kings, and the remaining thirty-nine bearing

[1] *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 81, 91.

idolatrous or pagan emblems. Under this head the Decalogue, as explained in the Oral Law, included all representations of the human figure; as far, at least, as they were produced by Jewish artificers.

We have engraved three coins of the Idumean series, which are printed above.

The first of these is a *hanitz* of Herod the Great. The object represented on the reverse is not determined; but it is possible that it represents a musical instrument of percussion. On the obverse is a tripod, very similar to figures found on the coins of Crotona, with the legend ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of King Herod) in Greek letters, and the date Α. Γ., or year 3. The weight of the specimen is 97 grains troy.

To the left is a *shemun* of Archelaus. On the obverse is a cluster of grapes, with the legend ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. On the reverse is a plumed helmet, with the legend ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ (of Herod the Ethnarch). The weight of the specimen is 39 grains troy.

The third coin is a *shemun* of Agrippa I., the "Herod the King" of Acts xii. 1. On the obverse is the object called the *tabernaculum*, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (of King Agrippa). On the reverse are three ears of corn, with the date L. 6, being the year of the imprisonment of the Apostle Peter. These coins are all of copper, which is denoted by the mark Æ, and are drawn of the actual size.

A group of coins yet remains to be described, which includes all the known specimens of Jewish silver money, consisting of twenty-eight types, together with seventeen in copper. With two exceptions, above referred to, these coins bear no name of high priest or king. Many of them bear numbers which have been taken for dates, but none of which are higher than four.

Four words occur as legend, or inscription, on these coins. The most frequent is one which is written as *Shemo*, and also as *Shemonu*, with the three last letters variously arranged. Of these *Shemo* coins twenty-four are known. They have been ascribed to Simon Maccabeus, and to two other Simons, viz., the son of Gioras, the bandit, and the son of Gamaliel, who was president of the Sanhedrin at the time of the destruction of the Temple. They have been also attributed to Barcochebas, who has been for that purpose accommodated with the name of Simon, by a gratuitous hypothesis. Thus, in a coinage numbering 143 types, and ranging over 208 years, no fewer than forty-five distinct mintages are attributed to, at most, eight or nine years, which were either the earliest, or the latest and most troubled, of the entire period.

The reason of this anomaly is, that the numismatists have taken the word *Shemo*, which the *Tosaphta* explains to mean coin, as a proper name.

The word, or its derivations, occurs repeatedly in the Pentateuch and in the Prophets, and is explained as referring to money in several places. It is first used in the history of Abraham,[1] where it is translated "I have heard" by the LXX., and "hearken unto me" by St. Jerome, and, consequently, by the Authorised Version. With this interpretation it becomes necessary to supply a word (in italics) to make sense, while the sentence contains an unnecessary phrase. But the sense of the word *Shemo*, attributed to it by the custodians of the law, makes a simple sentence: "My lord, the land is worth to me 400 shekels of silver."

The Hebrew words that occur on the particular kind of coins in question seem, indeed, to have all been mistranslated by numismatologists. On some are found the words "Shekel Isral." This has been taken to mean that the piece was *a* shekel. But this legend is also found on small silver coins of about sixty grains' weight, corresponding to the *garmes*, or sixth part of a shekel, of the Talmud; so that it cannot be taken to be an actual statement of value.

Leheruth, another of these words, has been translated "redemption." There are no points on the coins. We are thus reduced to consider the letters alone. The word *heruth* occurs in Exod. xxxii. 16, where it is translated "insculpta." Thus, we have three names for money, each conveying a distinct idea—*shemo*, *signum*, that of its legality or authorisation; *shekel*, that of its weight; and *heruth*, that of its stamp.

Finally, the word *ligullath* has been also translated "redemption;" and this is one reason for the attribution of the coins in question to periods of revolt. The word, when it occurs in the Pentateuch,[2] relates to the return of alienated property to the owners on the seventh year. An almost identical word, in the Second Book of Kings and in the Book of Jeremiah, is translated "captivity." The idea common to the two passages is that which is also etymologically correct—namely, cycle, It is on these *ligullath* coins that dates are found invariably, hitherto, under the number seven. It is our conclusion that the reference is to the cycle of the weeks of years; whether to the year of the week, or to the week of the jubilee, or to the jubilee period itself, in which the coin was struck. When we remember the extremely simple sign by means of which we can identify the year in which any piece of English plate has been "hall-marked," it seems more than probable that the date of the *ligullath* coins was no less intelligible to the Jewish silversmith than our own stamps are to his successor of the present day.

We thus consider this large and interesting group of coins to be no other than the "Jerusalem money" of the Talmud; coinage issued at Jerusalem for the requirements of the poll-tax and the second tithe; bearing, in one instance, the name of the high priest, Eleazar; in others, the authorisation of the *nasi*, or president of the Senate; but all marked with the name of either the city or the people, and issued, at dates not yet determined, contemporaneously with the civil coinage of foreign monarchs, and, possibly, with that of Asmonean and Idumean princes. They accord with the descriptions given by Maimonides, Abarbanel, and other writers, of the *tebhaim*, or sacred half-shekels.

[1] Gen. xxiii. 15.

[2] Lev. xxv. 24, 32.

which are described as bearing an urn, with the inscription, "Shekel Israel," and the flowering rod of Aaron, with the legend, "Jerusalem the Holy." Both emblems and both inscriptions occur on existing specimens of this very interesting group of coins.

The smaller coin figured below is a specimen of the *thumen*, or eighth part of a shekel. On the obverse is the *kinnur*, or *cithara*, one of the five kinds of musical instruments employed in the daily service of the Temple. The legend (when complete) was "Stamp of Jerusalem." On the obverse is the word *Shemnou*, in a wreath. The specimen weighs 40 grains troy.

The larger coin is a *righia*, or three-quarter shekel. This coin was legalised, towards the close of the Jewish polity, as the Temple shekel, the annual payment of each Israelite being reduced, after long dispute, to a half *righia*. On the obverse is a three-flowered rod, with the legend "Jerusalem the Holy." On the reverse is the "Cos," or goblet, one of the vessels employed in the daily service of the Temple, with the legend "Shekel Isral," and the mark שג (year 3). The boldness of the letters is such as to resemble the later rather than the earlier examples of the dated series of royal coins. The specimen weighs 228 grains troy. Both these coins are silver.

So much importance was attached, by the Oral Law, to the duty of carrying to Jerusalem not merely the equivalent of the *maaser sheni* money, but the actual coin taken as its valuation, that some method of distinguishing these coins from other money would seem to have been quite necessary. No method could be simpler than to mark on certain types the number of a year. For this purpose four numbers would be enough. The fifth year of the week resembled, in all its legal arrangements, the first and second. The sixth resembled the third, as in these years the second tithe was paid to the poor. The fourth, with regard to a portion of the crop, came under the provisions of the seventh, or year in which cultivation was forbidden. Thus the numbers one, two, three, and four, which are actually found on the Jerusalem money, would have afforded ample and adequate security against even a casual breach of the prescriptions which regarded its use.

Forgery of Jewish money is extremely common. De Saulcy mentions some pieces that are issued in *facsimile*, even to the hole which had been bored through the original. The practice of counterfeiting these coins is of great antiquity. Much attention has been directed to the fact that certain pieces of money are not very rare in which the Jerusalem type has been struck on *denarii* of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, or Trajan. The explanation given is, that these coins represent a re-issue of Roman money, under Jewish auspices, during the struggle with the Roman power. This is far from impossible. At the same time it is to be borne in mind that, while the earliest possible date of these coins is fixed by that of the Roman coinage, there is nothing whatever to denote the latest possible date of the re-stamping. This might have taken place at any time from the second to the nineteenth century. All that these re-struck *denarii* can therefore be considered to show, is the wonderful permanence of the type of the Jewish coins, a permanence which is as remarkable as that of the Phœnician or old Hebrew letters which form these legends. These letters have but little varied during a period of more than a thousand years. Some of the bolder types resemble the Greek letters in which the Sinaitic Codex is written, and it is possible that dates may be hereafter fixed by the slight variation in form. But it is curious to remark that these round and Greek-like letters occur on coins which, although we are disposed to rank them very late on the series, are attributed by M. de Saulcy to the High Priest Jaddua, and by Mr. Madden to Simon Maccabeus. As yet, therefore, we can only describe that portion of the Jewish coinage which is anonymous, or bearing no name of king or sovereign pontiff, as of undetermined date.

(B.) MONEY NOT JEWISH.

The references which occur in the various books of the Bible to the coins and moneys of the countries surrounding Jerusalem are numerous, although frequently they are but slight. In the time of Abraham we find the silver shekel, and a gold piece, which probably bore the same relation to that piece of silver which we shall afterwards find established, to be current. From the coincidence between the weight, which, as we learn from Maimonides, was that of the first Jewish shekel,[1] and the Babylonian system of weights, it is probable that that great commercial emporium regulated the currency throughout the East from a very early date. The term used to describe the silver paid by Abraham for the field of Machpelah, appears to denote a known mercantile currency. The silver which Abimelech gave to Abraham is mentioned by tale, not by weight. The silver and gold which Eliezer brought with him to Bethuel[2] is described by a word which is there translated "jewels." The LXX. translate it "vessels;" and it is well known to be employed frequently in that sense, one of the tracts of the Talmud bearing the name, viz., *Kelim*. But the word has a wider signification than that of vases or drinking vessels, which is inapplicable in some places where it occurs. In the Book of Genesis[3] it is used to signify sacks. In the description of the Tabernacle[4] it is

[1] *Constitutiones de Siclis*, i. 2.
[2] Gen. xxiv. 53.
[3] Gen. xlii. 25.
[4] Exod. xxxix. 33.

translated "furniture." In the passage which describes the spoil taken from the Midianites,[1] in that which narrates the "spoiling of the Egyptians" on the night of the Exodus,[2] and in the account of the presents to Rebekah,[3] it is translated "jewels of gold." It is extremely improbable that gold cups, which exemplify the rarest mode of employing this metal, with the one great exception of the service of the Temple of Solomon, were carried by Eleazar, or sought as convenient in their flight by the Israelites. And the weight (17,000 *aurei*) of the gold taken from the Midianites, as well as the absence of any other reference to money in these passages, lead to the inference that *kelim* here means coin. In 2 Chron. v. 21, a cognate word is translated "perfections."[4] A comparison of the amount of the tribute sent to King David by the king of Hamath, with the known provisions of the law of Moses, leads us to arrive at something like critical certainty as to the use of the word *kelim* for coin.[5] *Keli* of gold, *keli* of silver, and *keli* of brass were brought by Joram to David, and dedicated by that king to the Lord. It was illegal to dedicate to the Divine service any vessels that had not been expressly made for that service.[6] Money might be dedicated at any time. The word, moreover, in this case (and it is extraordinary that Buxtorf should have omitted to notice the fact) is in the singular, though translated both by Jerome and by the LXX. in the plural, in which form it must have been written if it meant σκεύη, *vasa*, or vessels.[7] That it should occur in the singular, as meaning money, is intelligible. Standard gold, or gold coin melted down, is a very possible rendering.

In the above instances we find references to the current medium of the merchant, to that in use in Egypt, and to that possessed by the Phœnician inhabitants of Palestine. Exchange between Palestine and Egypt was carried on by a silver currency, in the time of Solomon,[8] reckoned by tale. Indian gold was brought to Jerusalem by the Queen of Sheba, and by the maritime expeditions of Solomon, of which the Talmud speaks as gold dust. The *lason* or ingot of gold secreted by Achan is mentioned in company with a Babylonian garment, and was an aliquot part of the Babylonian talent. After the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, we have seen that a change occurred in the weight of the shekel, according to the distinct statement of Maimonides, and we have thus a strong reason for concluding that the *darkonoth*, *adarkonim*, or drachms of gold, which are mentioned in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, are none other than the Persian *daric*. That coin has been taken to owe its name to the victorious monarch, as in the case of the *Louis d'or*. Dr. Levy gives good reasons for thinking it means the "archer," from the representation of a crowned archer on the obverse. The derivation of Gesenius, from the word *dara*, "king," would describe this ancient coin by a name equivalent to our own sovereign, which it exceeded in weight by only five grains.

Under the empire of Alexander the Great, no doubt can be entertained that his coins were current in Palestine. The money of Alexander was succeeded by the coinage of the Ptolemies and of the Greek kings of Asia. We thus come down to the time at which we are told by the Book of Maccabees, that Simon Maccabeus, the high priest, was permitted by King Antiochus to coin money bearing his own *komma*, or stamp.

The coins of the Asmonean kings and princes, and those of the Idumean dynasty, we have described as Jewish coins. At the Advent, the current money in Palestine was that of Herod the Great, to which succeeded, in Judæa alone, the coinage of Archelaus, bearing the name of that prince, not as king, but as ethnarch. On the banishment of Archelaus, A.D. 6, commenced the issue of a series of coins by the Roman procurators. Specimens of these coins are still extant, bearing the names of Augustus, of Tiberius, of Claudius, and of Nero, always in Greek letters. No coins of Caligula have been yet found in Judæa. The devices on these coins are the seven-branched palm-tree, the emblem of Judæa; the cluster of grapes; the vine-leaf, which was a device on the coins of Herod; one or three ears of barley, or wheat; a triple lily; or one of the vessels of the Temple. Coins are also found, bearing the name of Julia, either the mother or the wife of Tiberius, and of Agrippina, the wife of Claudius.

We thus find no fewer than seven distinct systems of non-Jewish money referred to in the Bible. In the time of Abraham we hear of the current money of Phenicia, and of both gold and silver pieces. Jacob paid a hundred *keshita* for his field at Shechem. Joseph was sold for twenty units of silver. The money of Egypt, possibly the curious ring money represented in the tombs, must have been at least comprehended in the *kelim* of which the Israelites, at the Exodus, spoiled the Egyptians. The *lason* of gold, of fifty shekels' weight, secreted by Achan, was a definite unit of the

Babylonian system, being the *maneh*, or sixtieth part of a talent of that currency. This noble piece of gold, which would have coined into 125 sovereigns, recalls by its name the oblong rounded money of Japan, in which

[1] Numb. xxxi. 50.
[2] Exod. xii. 35.
[3] Gen. xxiv. 53.
[4] *Constitutiones de Siclis*, i. 2.
[5] 2 Sam. viii. 10.
[6] Maimonides, *De Domo Selecta*, i. 20.
[7] *Codex de Sacris Solemnibus*, iii. 2.
[8] 1 Kings x. 29.

form the heaviest gold coins in the world now exist. The Persian *daric*, and a silver currency framed in accordance with its value, superseded the use of the shekel that had been employed in Jerusalem from the time of David to that of Zedekiah. The presence of Alexander the Great, in Palestine, must have led to the introduction of the noblest silver coins of all time, those bearing the profile of the Macedonian conqueror,[1] represented on the preceding page. The money of the Ptolemies must have been exchanged, under the rule of the Sanhedrin in Judæa, with that of the Greek kings of Asia. And thus, through the link of the Asmonean and Idumean money, we come down to the *denarii* of Tiberius, and the copper coinage of the Roman procurators.

The money mentioned in the Gospels is either Roman or Jewish. The use of the names of Greek coins, as equivalents for Jewish money, is as old, at least, as the LXX. At one time the Eginetan drachma was the exact equivalent of the Jewish *zuza*, making, as Josephus writes, the shekel equal to the *tetradrachm*. In Acts iv. 3, the Greek word χρῆμα, *res*, is employed as synonymous with ἀργύριον (silver), for money. The silver pieces of the parable would naturally suggest to the hearers the Jewish *zuza*. The modest amount of the offering made to the treasury is denoted by the word "coppers." The example which we have above figured, from the British Museum, of a coin bearing that name on its field, possesses a value, as a weight of copper, considerably below that of our present farthing. It was this χαλκὸς that the apostles were forbidden to bear in their belt-purse when sent forth on their errand.

The copper coins, indeed, of Palestine are so minute, and so irregular in their weight, that we must conclude that their value, like that of the English copper coinage of the present day, was chiefly legal, or conventional, and did not represent the relative value of the two metals—silver and copper. We are thus on certain ground only where we can refer anything to a silver price, and when again we compare the relative values of silver and of gold.

We are brought face to face, not only with a definite coin, but almost with the very species of that coin, in the passages of the Gospel which speak of the *denarius* shown to Christ. The three Evangelists use the same word, and agree in the statement that the coin bore the likeness and name of Cæsar. Tiberius had then been emperor for seventeen or eighteen years; and we, therefore, have good reason for believing that the coin in question was a *denarius* of that prince. We must revert to the Hebrew literature in order to understand the full force of the simple rebuke of Christ. A passage in the Talmud speaks of Abigail as refusing to acknowledge the title of David to the throne, so long as the coin of Saul was current. It may well be remarked that this anecdote pertains rather to the *Agada*, or poetical part of the Ghemara, than to the historic record. But it is important as one among numerous passages that show the great importance which attached, in the minds of the Jewish teachers, to the exercise of the royal right of coinage. The production of the Roman coin, at the call of Christ, was a mute but irrefragable testimony to the *de facto* rule of Cæsar, and thus to his right to impose and enforce tribute. No reply could have been at once more simple and more incisive. The cavils of Strauss, and the defences of Christian writers, have been equally wide of the true import of this dignified protest on the part of the heir of David.

During the existence of the Roman procuratorship, it is clear, from the evidence of Maimonides and the Mishnic writers on the one hand, and from that of the coins themselves on the other, that the Jewish and Roman currency must have been mingled in Palestine. It is most probable that the former was gradually displaced by the latter, and confined to those purposes of sacred tribute for which it was illegal to employ any other. At the same time the debasement of the Roman coinage was going on—the *denarii* being struck, from time to time, of a lighter weight. We must not, therefore, attach too much weight to the use of terms, by Josephus or by the Evangelists, as equivalent, which are not precisely exact. The *zuza* at one time was of the exact weight of the *denarius;* but the *denarius* grew smaller and smaller, while the *zuza*, at least, as far as the services of the Temple were concerned, was maintained at its true weight.

The coin which is translated "a farthing," in that touching reference to the remembrance of the sparrows before God which has lightened so many a day of care, is called, in each account, by the Hebrew name of *assarion;* and was thus equal to a little more than half a silver penny of the present day, being the twenty-fourth part of the day's wages of a labourer. The coin called the mite, in our translation, of which the poor widow threw two into the treasury, is called by the Greek name λεπτον (*lepton*) both by St. Mark and St. Luke, and is said by the former to be equal to half a *quadrans*, a Roman coin. The *quadrans* was, as matter of account, the fourth part of the *assarion*, and, originally, the fortieth part of the *denarius*. The *denarius*, at the time referred to, did not contain more than sixty troy grains of silver, so that the value in amount of the *quadrans* was a little less than the fifth of an English penny. But the copper coins, as before remarked, were at this time mere counters, and did not contain a weight of copper coinciding with the nominal value. Small Roman coins exist, weighing as little as fifteen grains. Small Jewish coins run as low as thirty-five grains. The χαλκᾶ, or *coppers*, which the crowd cast into the treasury, may have comprehended numerous varieties of these minute coins, as well as that which bore on its obverse the word χαλκὸς.

The *kōlbūn* or *kalbon*, the meaning of which it is

[1] The *tetradrachm* figured in the preceding page bears the name of Lysimachus, but the type and profile are those of Alexander the Great. The specimen is in the British Museum, and weighs 236 grains troy.

necessary to know in order to understand the word, used by St. Matthew (xxi. 12) and St. Mark (xi. 15), which is translated "money-changers" in our version, was not a coin, but an *agio*, or small payment for exchange, which was imposed by the Oral Law on those who were unprovided with the proper silver *beka* or *tebha*, required for the Temple tax.[1] No other coin was acceptable for this sacred tribute. It was, therefore, necessary to provide these coins for those persons who had not procured them. On the 15th day of Adar, the last month of the Jewish year, the tables of the collectors were set in the provinces, and on the 25th day of the same month in the courts of the Temple, that no hindrance might occur to the obligatory payment of the *beka* on the 1st of Nisan. Under the second Temple, the smallest coin payable as a *kalbon* was a *pondion*, the equivalent of our silver penny.

It only remains to inquire into the coin which was taken by the Apostle Peter, at the command of his Master, from the fish that he was sent to catch. The collectors, in this case, were those of the *didrachma*, which was the Greek expression for the half-shekel, or *beka*, that is to say, the Temple tax.[2] The *denarius*, before referred to, was the Roman tribute, κῆνσος, *census*, or poll tax. On the occasion of the application for the *beka* (which is thus fixed for the 15th of Adar), Christ at once asserted His royal claim not to be subjected to the payment. At the same time, as it was a sacred tribute, he directed his follower how to provide for the discharge of this claim. It is thus certain that the *stater* found in the mouth of the fish must have been the silver *righia*, which was then the lawful Temple money; and that, for paying this, in one coin, for two persons, instead of paying two half-shekels, the apostle must have added the small fine of the *kalbon*.

TABLES OF COINAGE.

1. HEBREW MONEY.

Note.—All coins bearing square Hebrew letters are considered to be forgeries.

Down to A.M.		Legend.
3766	Under Senate	Unknown.
4233	Under Kings of Line of Judah .	Unknown.
4696	Under Senate	Old Hebrew letters.
4773	Under Asmonean Princes . .	Hebrew, or Bilingual.
4815	Under Idumean Princes . .	Greek letters.
4879	Under Procurators . . .	Greek letters.
—	Coins without name of Prince, bearing emblems of Temple service .	Old Hebrew letters.

[1] Esger thinks that the word קֹלְבוֹן (*kōlbōn*) is derived from the Greek κόλλυβος, which Aristophanes uses to denote a small coin, so called because an ox was stamped upon it. Such a derivation for the name of a Jewish institution may well be thought incredible. Where no true equivalent for a Hebrew word exists in the Greek language, the word employed in its place is often a very loose translation. There is a Chaldean word קָלְבָא (*pitch*), from which the term may naturally come, as something attached, or adhering, to the half-shekel. In the Pentateuch we have a very similar instance. The word כֹּפֶר is translated "pitch" in Gen. vi. 14, and *redemptionis pretium* in Exod. xxi. 30.

[2] Tract *Shekalim*, ch. i. 3.

2. LIST OF KNOWN JEWISH COINS.

Anno Sacro	Dynasty.	Silver	Copper	Letters.
	ASMONEAN.			
4696	(1) Johanan, high priest (Hyrcanus I.)	—	4	Hebrew.
4705	(2) Judah, high priest (Aristobulus I.)	—	1	Hebrew.
4706	(3) Jonathan, high priest (Alexander I.)	—	3	Hebrew.
			4	Bilingual.
4722	(4) Alexandra, Queen . . .	—	1	Bilingual.
	(5) Alexander II., King . . .	—	2	Bilingual.
4770	(6) Mattathiah, high priest (Antigonus)	—	3	Bilingual.
	IDUMEAN.			
4773	(1) Herod, King	—	19	Greek.
4806	(2) Archelaus, Ethnarch . . .	—	10	Greek.
4815	(3) Herod, Tetrarch . . Pagan	—	7	Greek.
	(6) Herod, Philip . . . 3	—	—	Greek.
4846	(4) Herod (Agrippa I.) . . 8	—	2	Greek.
4857	(5) Agrippa II., 4904 . . 28	—	—	Greek.
	(7) Herod, King of Chalcis . 2	—	—	Greek.
—	Jerusalem, Zion, or Israel, dates not understood	28	17	Hebrew.

3. MONEY USED IN PALESTINE, NOT OF HEBREW COINAGE.

An. Sac.		
2888	Phœnician	Mercantile currency shekel.
3269	Egyptian	Possibly ring money, afterwards that of 18th, 22nd, and 25th dynasties.
3309	Babylonian.	Gold lason, or ingot.
3771	Hamath	Gold, silver, and copper money.
4272	Persian	Daric, and Sela shekel.
4478	Macedonian	Tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, and its aliquot parts.
4497	Asian	Coinage of the Seleucidæ.
4815	Roman	Coinage of the Emperors and Procurators.

4. JEWISH CURRENCY DOWN TO CLOSE OF THE MONARCHY OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID.

Name.		Value.	Weight.
GOLD.			Grains Troy.
	Aureus . .	Estimated at . .	$106\frac{2}{3}$
SILVER.			
	Shekel . .	Unit of account . .	320
	Beka . . .	Or Half Shekel . .	160
	Garmes . .	Or One-sixth of Shekel .	$53\frac{1}{3}$
	Rebah . .	Or Quarter Shekel .	80
COPPER.			
	Gera . . .	Estimated at . .	560
	Half Gera . .	Estimated at . .	280
	Quarter Gera .	Estimated at . .	140

5. JEWISH CURRENCY FROM EZRA TO AGRIPPA II.

Name.		Value.	Weight.
GOLD.			Grains Troy.
	Darcon . .	Estimated at . .	128
	Tresith . .	Or one-third of Darcon.	$42\frac{2}{3}$
SILVER.			
	Sela . . .	Unit of account . .	384
	Righia or Stater.	Three-quarter Sela .	288
	Tebha . .	Half Sela . . .	192
	Half Stater .	Three-eighths of Sela .	144
	Zuza . . .	Quarter Sela . .	96
	Garmes . .	One-sixth part of Sela .	64
	Octave . .	One-eighth of Sela .	48
COPPER.			
	Asper . .	Estimated at . .	660
	Pondion . .	Or Half Asper . .	330
	Assarion . .	Or quarter . . .	165
	Musmes . .	Or eighth part . .	82
	Kontrinek . .	Or sixteenth part .	41
	Prutha . .	Or thirty-second part .	20
	Hadres . .	Or third . . .	220
	Hanitz . .	Or sixth . . .	110
	Shemun . .	Or twelfth . . .	55
	Danca . .	Or twenty-fourth. .	27

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. A. S. AGLEN, M.A., INCUMBENT OF ST. NINIAN'S, ALYTH, N.B.

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE.

THE poetical complexion of the Hebrew tongue has been already noticed. Sensuous, teeming with words descriptive of natural beauty, it was of necessity intensely metaphorical. The ordinary speech of an Israelite was figurative; the images of his poetry must therefore of necessity be abundant and rich. It is sown with images, as the midnight Eastern sky with stars, and of their own orient brilliance.

To attempt to reduce the employment of these to an art, with definite rules and precise names, would be absurd. As well think that the bard himself, with his heart rapt into a passion of melody, would pause to consider how his figures shall be introduced, from what objects drawn, and how managed to produce the grandest effect. Such rules are the invention of degenerate ages, when the fire of inspiration has died out. The poet goes to make way for the rhetorician, who, with a rare faculty for inventing names with which to label the component parts of a poem, rarely has the insight into its spirit. When the flower lies crushed and dead in the botanist's case its grace and charm are gone.

The grammarian's skill will not therefore admit us to the awful sanctuaries of Hebrew song. But for our guidance in so rich and boundless a field as that of Hebrew imagery some simple principles are plainly necessary. The present paper will be devoted to a statement of the primary forms assumed by figurative language.

The poet's office is to see, and to speak what he sees, so that men of weaker vision may not remain altogether blind to the beauty and inner worth of things. To this end he is the guardian of the vast treasury of language. With words he weaves, and builds, and paints till the edifice of his thoughts stands forth in its perfect and shining beauty.

Now the poet may produce his impression by the sheer force of vivid description. Coleridge has remarked in a lecture on Dante, that there is perceptible in that poet a passion and miracle of words which gives to language a virtuous quality and power independently of the thoughts or images it conveys. The great Florentine does certainly know how, with a few intense and vivid expressions, to make a thing visible for ever. Such passages give a sense of strength, because they come of restraint. The passion of the poet, the kindled emotion, is held in check by an intense earnestness. Something has to be said quick keen, decisive, for ever.

Such a will reigned over the heart and hand of him who wrote the story of Creation. "Let there be light: and there was light." The poetry of that lies in its brief simplicity. We feel the grandeur of this divine command, and the quick obedience of Nature to her God. The great lyrical prophet too, who is so potent a master of imagery, knows how to make a scene vivid without one metaphor. How intense in its visuality is the following description of a scene from the workshop of an idol-maker:—

"The smith melteth off a portion of iron;
He worketh it in the coals, and with hammers he fashioneth it,
And he worketh it with the force of his arm:
Yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth him;
He drinketh no water, and is faint.
The carpenter stretcheth out his rule;
He marketh it out with a line;
He worketh it with the sharp tool;
He figureth it with the compass;
He maketh it after the figure of man;
According to the beauty of the human form, that it may dwell in a temple:
He heweth him down cedars,
And taketh the cypress and the oak,
And layeth in good store of the trees of the forest.
He planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it;
Then it is of use to men to burn;
Yea, he taketh thereof and warmeth himself;
Yea, he kindleth it and baketh bread;
And out of it too he maketh a god and worshippeth it,
He maketh of it a graven image, and falleth down thereto;
Part of it he burneth in the fire;
And with part thereof he eateth flesh;
He roasteth roast, and is satisfied;
He warmeth himself, and saith,
Aha! I am warm, I see the fire;
And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even a graven image;
He falleth down unto it and worshippeth it,
And he prayeth unto it, and saith,
'Deliver me, for thou art my god.'" (Isa. xliv. 12—17.)[1]

It is not the sententious form which redeems this passage from being mere prose, but the concentrated energy of expression and the keenness of its irony.

But the poet has fulfilled but half his task when he has roused our faculty to see. His thought comes glowing from the inventive fire of his own feeling, and must kindle an answering flame. The bond of sympathy which unites him to the world of Nature and the infinite forms of human life must be attached to other hearts. Such is the spell of mighty verse. It has a magic power, and draws all hearts within its own charmed circle.

To set our imagination to work, the poet addresses our faculty of association. This is the basis of all poetic images. The poet is our mediator between matter and spirit, and sends forth his winged words as angels to invite us upward. But to this end his messengers must make themselves understood. The imagery which is to suggest the form of the artist's thought, or express what is hidden or strange, must be taken from obvious and intelligible Nature.

[1] This is taken from the English version compared with those of Lowth and Ewald.

Moreover, it must be alive with common human instincts, and touch chords of feeling that vibrate in every heart. In this way a sense of companionship in the poet's imagination is created. Associations are started which are of permanent possession, a distinct and visible image is framed which the mind can appreciate and store up for future use. Perhaps the following instance from Dante's *Purgatory* exhibits the conscious purpose of the poet as well as any simile:—

"Remember, reader, if e'er in the Alps
A mist o'ertook thee, through which thou couldst see
Not otherwise than through its membrane mole,
How, when the vapours humid and condensed
Begin to dissipate themselves, the sphere
Of the sun feebly enters in among them,
And thy imagination will be swift
In coming to perceive how I re-saw
The sun at first, that was already setting."
(Canto xvii., Longfellow's Trans.)

Great thoughts unconsciously clothe themselves in metaphor. Nature seems to recognise whatever is worth saying by lending from her store some rich dress in which it may clothe itself. Coleridge has said that melody and rhythm in words indicate something deep and true in their meaning. In the same way thought, which readily translates into sensuous or figured expression, asserts thereby its quality and power. "Many thoughts find, after beating about for them, natural analogies—they strain a tribute." The thought of genius precedes its image only as the flash of the lightning the roar of the near thunder; nay, they often seem identical. Now the images of Scripture are peculiarly of this description.[1]

Images enter into poetry in one of two principal ways.

(1.) The similitude proper, or *simile*, where the illustration is introduced by some sign of comparison:—

"As the hart panteth after the water-brooks,
So panteth my soul after Thee, O Lord."
(Ps. xlii. 1.)

"As cold waters to a thirsty soul,
So is good news from a far country."
(Prov. xxv. 25.)

(2.) The *metaphor*, in which no mark of comparison appears, but the image is substituted for the object that needs illustration:—

"My soul *thirsteth* for God, for the living God."
(Ps. xlii. 2.)

"Thy word is a *lamp* unto my feet,
And a *light* unto my path." (Ps. cxix. 105.)

"Thou hast given me the *shield* of Thy salvation."
(Ps. xviii. 35.)

The following examples of an image, used both in the way of simile and metaphor, show how the figures differ:—

"Who whet their tongue *like* a sword,
And make ready their armour, *even* bitter words."
(Ps. lxiv. 3.)

"Whose teeth *are* spears and arrows,
And their tongue a sharp sword." (Ps. lvii. 4.)

"Swords *are* in their lips." (Ps. lix. 7.)

Or compare the words of our Lord—

"O Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered
Thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood
Under her wings, and ye would not!" (Luke xiii. 34.)

with the Psalmist's expression of trust—

"And the children of men shall flee under the shadow of Thy wings." (Ps. xxxvi. 7.)

Under one or other of these fall the other figures of constant occurrence, *fable, allegory, personification.*

Similitudes are properly at home in epic or narrative poetry. There they are frequently extended to a great length, and elaborated into a complete picture by the introduction of numerous details, which in themselves have no direct bearing on the subject which the poet wishes to illustrate. The following well-known beautiful passage from the first book of the *Paradise Lost* will serve as an instance. To render his picture the more distinct, the poet has followed one simile by another, which, while it reflects the impression of the first, adds to it a new and wonderfully vivid touch:—

"Nathless he so endured, till on the beach
Of that enflamed sea he stood, and called
His legions, angel forms, who lay entranced
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallambrosa, where the Etrurian shades,
High overarch'd embower; or *scattered sedge*
Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd
Hath vex'd the Red Sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcases
And broken chariot-wheels: so thick bestrewn,
Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change."

Of similes so elaborate and extended the Bible affords but few examples. Didactic poetry offered the most natural occasions for its use, and the prophets employed it in their grand utterance of Jehovah's word. The following, from Isa. lv., is one of the longest similes in the whole Bible:—

"For as the rain cometh down,
And the snow, from the heavens;
And thither it doth not return;
But watereth the earth,
And maketh it bring forth and bud,
That it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater;
So shall the word be that goeth forth out of my mouth:
It shall not return unto me void,
But it shall accomplish that which I please,
And it shall prosper whereto I have sent it."
(Isa. lv. 10, 11.)

Ps. cxxix. contains a somewhat more elaborate example of simile than is usual in short lyric pieces. It depicts the exultation of an Oriental mind over a defeated foe by an image drawn straight from Oriental experience:—

"Let them be confounded and turn backward,
As many as have evil will at Sion;
Let them be even as the grass upon the housetops,
Which withereth afore it be grown up;
Whereof the mower filleth not his hand,
Neither he that bindeth up the sheaves his bosom,
So that they who go by say not so much as,
'Jehovah prosper you;
We wish you good luck in the name of Jehovah.'"

But there is not in the whole range of literature an image which for vivid truth of representation and power of illustration surpasses a simile in the mouth of

[1] See Gilfillan, *Bards of the Bible*, p. 19.

Job. It is a life-like picture from the desert country in which the scene of the poem is laid, that land "ever in extremes—now dried up as in a furnace, now swarming with loud waters"—where man is a bondman to the caprice of Nature, and knows not at any moment if a blessing or a curse will fall upon him from the skies—where the violence of hope is only equalled by the intensity of disappointment and despair. Job is hurling on the hollow friends, whose tender mercies proved so cruel, all the fierceness of his wrath and contempt, and thus he paints his sense of their pretended consolation:—

"To him that is afflicted pity is due from his friends,
Even if he has abandoned the fear of the Almighty;
My brethren have been deceitful as a torrent,
As the stream of a brook that passeth away;
Which is fierce and black with snow,
And choked with floating ice.
In the dry season it vanishes away,
And the first hot weather it has gone from sight.
To seek it the caravans turn aside from their path,
Enter the empty desert, and there die.
The troops of Tema were counting on it,
The companies of Seba placed their hopes on it;
They were deceived in their hope,
They came thither and were confounded.
Thus *you* have deceived me—
At the sight of misfortune you have fled."
(Job vi. 14—21.)

But the most effective illustrations are generally those which are conveyed by an image condensed into a few quick words. They are like lightning-flashes which light up the night with a momentary but vivid splendour. Hebrew poetry abounds in these. They suit the character of its verse, and the rapid movement of its lyric dance. Often they follow one another in quick succession, brightening the crest of each new wave of song with a new image. Such is the opening of Moses' great song (Deut. xxxii. 1). The Psalmist's appeal to Jehovah against his enemies is impetuous with this rush of images:—

"O my God, make them like unto the chaff,
And as the stubble before the wind,
Like as the fire that burneth up the wood,
And as the flame that consumeth the mountains.
Persecute them even with Thy tempest,
And make them afraid with Thy storm."
(Ps. lxxxiii. 13—15.)

The following passage from Isaiah exhibits the richness and impetuosity of Hebrew poetry in its use of the simile, and ends with an instance of one finished and complete:—

"Woe to the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
And to the fading flower of their glorious beauty!
To those that are at the head of the rich valley, that are stupefied with wine!
Behold the mighty one, the exceeding strong one!
Like a stormy hail, like a destructive tempest;
Like a rapid flood of mighty waters pouring down!
He shall dash thee to the ground with His hand,
They shall be trodden under foot.
The proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
And the fading flower of their glorious beauty,
Which is at the head of the rich valley,
Shall be as the early fruit before the summer,
Which whoso seeth he plucketh it immediately,
And it is no sooner in his hand than he swalloweth it."
(Isa. xxviii. 1—4, Lowth's Trans.)

The Hebrew poets employed metaphors even more lavishly than simile. Their verse resembles towers of precious stones, each gem an image. "The figures hurry forth thick and intertangled, like sparks from the furnace." In one breath David calls Jehovah his Rock, Defence, Saviour, Redeemer, Shield, Horn, Fortress, Refuge, and still unsatisfied, repeats the image, made so real and living to him in his escapes among the mountains—"Thou art my God and rock in whom I trust." It seems as if, to quote an author already referred to,[1] the thought of the Hebrew bard having come from heaven, must incarnate itself in earthly similitudes, or remain unuttered. Figures, in some cases a luxury, were here a necessary of speech. And it will be seen, when we examine the sources from which Hebrew imagery was derived, how the whole realm of Nature put itself in subjection to the poet, so that he enriches his verse as much by the variety of the images he employed as by their profusion and number. But it remains first to speak of the more complex forms of comparison into which simile or metaphor, or the union of both, grew, and which enter so largely into the poetic literature of the Hebrews.

[1] Gilfillan.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

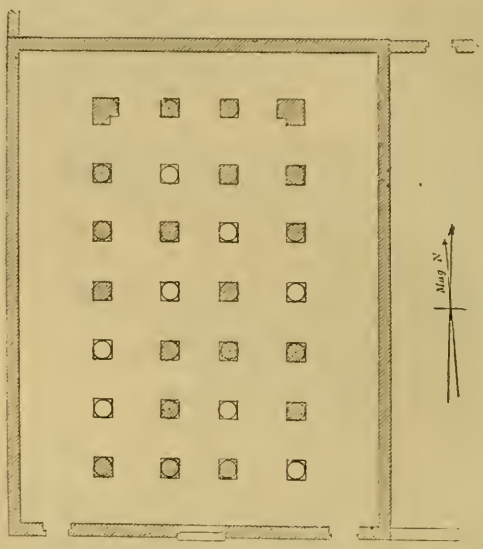
BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

PALESTINE.

II.—THE JORDAN DISTRICT (*continued*).

PROCEEDING westwards from the mouth of the Jordan, we pass two small springs, Ain Zany and Ain Aysheh, and after two miles reach the ruins of Tell Hum (*Capernaum*), pleasantly situated on the shores of the lake. The most remarkable ruin is that of a Jewish synagogue, and round this, and stretching up the gentle slope behind it, are the remains of the ancient town, covering a space of ground half a mile long, and one quarter wide. The walls of many of the private houses can be traced, and amongst them what appears to have been a main street, leading towards Chorazin. The synagogue, the walls of which are nearly level with the surface of the ground, was built of hard white limestone, almost marble, and when perfect, its glittering walls, standing out in sharp contrast to the black basaltic rocks on which they were built, must have been one of the most conspicuous objects on the margin of the lake.

The original building, or synagogue proper, is seventy-four feet nine inches long, and fifty-six feet nine inches wide, the longest dimension being north and south; and at the southern end there are three entrances. Excavations made in the interior, for the Palestine Exploration Fund, disclosed many of the pedestals of the columns in their original position; several capitals of the Corinthian order were uncovered, and blocks of stone, which had evidently rested on the columns and supported wooden rafters. Outside the synagogue, but connected with it, the walls of a later building were brought to light, possibly those of the church which Epiphanius says was built at Capernaum, and which was described by Antoninus, 600 A.D., as a basilica enclosing the house of Peter. If Tell Hum be, as we believe, Capernaum, this is undoubtedly the synagogue built by the Roman centurion (Luke vii. 4, 5), and one of the most sacred places on earth. It was at Capernaum, His own city, that our Lord healed the centurion's servant (Matt. viii. 5); the mother of Peter's wife (Mark i. 31), and the man sick of the palsy (Mark ii. 3); and it was at the gate of the town that he "healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils" (Mark i. 34), in the presence "of all the city," who, as the sun was sinking below the western hills, had "gathered together at the door," as the people do still in many of the villages of Palestine, when the day's labour is over, to talk over the events of the day and speculate on the morrow. At Capernaum Matthew was called whilst sitting at the receipt of custom (Matt. ix. 9), and Peter and Andrew had their home; in the synagogue itself our Lord pronounced the well-known discourse in John vi.; and it is not unworthy of notice that on the lintel of one of the doors a representation of the pot of manna was found, recalling the words, "I am that bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead." The illustration (p. 185) represents a portion of the ruins of the synagogue after the excavations; on the right is all that is left of one of the side walls of the building, and in the lower left-hand corner is the base of a column, *in situ*, with a curious fragment resting upon it, giving apparently a representation of the front of a synagogue; in the distance are some of the ruins of the town, with a few trees scattered over the gently rising ground beyond. It may be of interest here to give some account of the general character of the Jewish synagogues in Galilee, derived from an examination of the existing remains. The buildings are always rectangular, having the longest dimension in a nearly north and south direction, and the interiors, with one exception, are divided into five aisles by four rows of columns. The walls are well and solidly built of native limestone, no mortar being used in their construction; the exterior faces of the stones are well dressed, but the backs are left rough, and were formerly covered with plaster. The entrances are three in number, one large doorway opening into the centre aisle, and a smaller one on either side; these doorways, except in the synagogue at Irbid, are at the southern end, an arrangement which obliged every Jew on entering to turn his back upon Jerusalem, contrary to the generally received opinion that the worshippers as they entered, and as they prayed, looked towards the holy city. The entrances were closed by folding doors with socket hinges, and in the synagogue at Kefr Birim, used as an Arab house, the modern doors are hung in the old fittings.



PLAN OF SYNAGOGUE AT TELL HUM (CAPERNAUM).
(From Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund.)

On the lintels over the doors there is much variety of ornament; in one case a representation of the seven-branched candlestick was found, in another two lambs, in others the pot of manna, vine-leaves with bunches of grapes, &c., and at two places there were inscriptions in Hebrew. One synagogue, at Kefr Birim, has a porch with a sunk court in front of the entrance, but this arrangement appears to be unusual. The floors of the synagogues are paved with slabs of white limestone; the columns are placed very close to each other, but it is not easy to say whether this arose from want of constructive skill, or from a desire to assimilate the buildings to something of the same kind in the Temple at Jerusalem. There is one striking peculiarity found in all the synagogues, and that is the form of the two corner columns at the northern end, which always have the two exterior faces square like pillars, and the two interior ones half-engaged columns. The style of architecture varies, some of the synagogues have Corinthian, some Ionic capitals, whilst others have a capital which seems to be of pure Jewish growth. The columns carried heavy blocks of stone which received the rafters of the roof; these latter were of large dimensions, apparently for the purpose of supporting a flat roof covered with earth, the best possible protection against the intense heat of the sun. The synagogue at Tell Hum, of which a plan is given, was better finished than the others, and its ornamentation more profuse:

RUINS OF THE SYNAGOGUE AT TELL HUM (CAPERNAUM).
(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

on the exterior were pilasters, over which a heavy cornice ran of which several fragments were found, and the capitals were Corinthian. Unfortunately, the excavations gave no clue to the interior arrangements of the building, the position of the ark, pulpit, women's partition, &c.

Not far from the synagogue at Tell Hum is a building that forms rather a prominent object in the landscape, and which has been described by some travellers as of ancient date; it is, however, almost entirely built with fragments of the older synagogue. North of the town are two remarkable tombs, one below the surface of the ground constructed with limestone blocks brought from a distance, a work of great labour, as the hard basaltic rock had in the first instance to be cut away; the other, a large rectangular building above ground, intended for the reception of a number of bodies; this tomb was whitewashed within and without, and may be of the same class as that referred to by our Lord in Matt. xxiii. 27, where he compares the Scribes and Pharisees to "whited sepulchres," beautiful in outward appearance, but within "full of dead men's

bones:" a similar tomb may possibly have been the home of the demoniacs at Gergesa. The coast-line was searched without success for any remains of an artificial harbour, but Mr. Macgregor, in his canoe, was more fortunate, finding clear indications of a pier at one point, and at another a "line of big stones, forming a sort of wall, twenty feet long and ten feet broad," possibly the remnants of an ancient quay; along the shore are several fish-traps made by the Bedawin, consisting of enclosures, made with large stones, in the shallow water, an opening being left for the fish to enter; a few fish are caught each night in this manner. Whilst at Tell Hum we had an opportunity of watching the Bedawin fishing, and as their nets are probably similar to those in use at the time of the apostles, a description of them may be of some interest: the first is the "casting net," somewhat in the shape of a tent with a long cord, which is tied to the arm of the fisherman, fastened to the top, and pieces of lead round the bottom to make the net sink. The fisherman, with nothing but a cloth wrapped round his loins, wades into the water, and directly he sees a fish casts his net so as to fall directly over it; the cord is then gently drawn, enclosing the fish in the meshes of the net. Another is the drag net or "wade," which is let down into the water and drawn to the shore in a similar manner to that prevailing on the coasts of England; whilst a third is the "bag net," thrown out in deep water and drawn up into the fishermen's boats.

We may now give some of the reasons that induce us to identify Tell Hum with Capernaum; the chief authorities are Josephus, the Bible, and the accounts of travellers who visited the country before the Crusades. Josephus tells us that having been hurt by a fall from his horse in a skirmish near the mouth of the Jordan, he was carried to the village of Capharnome, whence he was removed by boat to Taricheæ, and it seems natural to suppose that he would be taken to the nearest town to the scene of the combat; this, excepting Julias, which there may have been many reasons for his avoiding, would be Tell Hum. Josephus also mentions a fountain called Capharnaum, which irrigated the plain of Gennesaret, and this we may almost certainly identify, as will appear hereafter, with the spring at Et Tabigah, a mile and a half west of Tell Hum. The passages in the Bible bearing on the position of Capernaum do not throw much light on the question; in Matt. iv. 13, the town is said to be "on the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nepthalim," but this does not help us, as the position of the boundary between the two tribes is not known, and the word translated "borders" would be better rendered by "district;" so, too, the expression "the way of the sea" in Matt. iv. 15 appears to be used in a general sense to indicate the district in which our Lord passed a great portion of the last three years of his life. We also gather that Capernaum was in or near the district of Gennesaret; that it had a synagogue built by a Roman centurion, who probably had troops under him, and that there was a customs' station at which dues were collected. Some writers have inferred from Matt. xi. 23, "And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven," that the town was built on a hill; but the two oldest known MSS. of the New Testament do not support this view, as they both give the following reading: "And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down to hell." In the accounts given in the four Gospels of the feeding of the 5,000, there are several indications which would be of assistance if we could only determine the exact scene of the miracle. It has generally been assumed that the desert or unfrequented place was on the eastern shore of the lake, but there seem good grounds for supposing that it was really near Ain Barideh, not far from Tiberias; adopting this view, an examination of the map will show that the directions given by our Lord to his disciples as recorded by the three Evangelists—in Matthew, to go before "to the other side;" Mark, "to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida;" and in John, to go "over the sea toward Capernaum"—present no essential points of difference, for the expressions might all fairly be applied to the course of a boat from Ain Barideh to the mouth of the Jordan. St. John tells us that a storm overtook the boat after they had rowed twenty-five or thirty furlongs, or, according to the other Gospels, in the midst of the sea; after the storm Matthew and Mark state that they came "into the land of Gennesaret;" John, that "immediately the ship was at the land whither they went:" these accounts may be reconciled by supposing that the force of the storm, perhaps a northerly gale blowing down the valley of the Jordan, turned the boat out of its course and compelled them to land in the sheltered harbour at Et Tabigah. Amongst the early travellers, Eusebius and Jerome mention that the three cities were on the shore of the lake, and Jerome adds that Chorazin was two miles from Capernaum, which agrees with the respective positions of the ruins at Tell Hum and Kerazeh. Epiphanius states that a church was built at Capernaum, and this was seen by Antoninus when he visited the place at the close of the sixth century. Arculf, a French bishop, who visited Palestine towards the end of the seventh century, describes Capernaum as having no walls, and lying on a narrow piece of ground between the mountain and the lake; and he adds, "On the shore towards the east it extends a long way, having the mountain on the north, and the water on the south," which agrees with the position of Tell Hum. In concluding these remarks, we may point out that the ruins at Tell Hum are the most extensive and important on the northern shores of the lake, and that if they be not those of Capernaum it is difficult to say what they are; so also the remains of the synagogue, and of the later building attached to it, are the only ones which answer to what we might expect to find left of the synagogue of Capernaum and the church mentioned by Epiphanius and Antoninus. The argument that Tell Hum cannot be Capernaum because there is no harbour there, has no force when we take into consideration the fact that

there are at Tell Hum the ruins of a large town on the shore of the lake without any trace of a regular harbour.

About two and a half miles north of Tell Hum, and on the eastern side of a valley which falls into the lake near it, are the ruins of Kerazeh (Chorazin). The ruins, from the peculiar character of the masonry, can barely be distinguished, at a distance of only one hundred yards, from the black basaltic rock on which they lie; they cover an area as large as those of Capernaum, and are situated partly in a shallow valley, partly on a rocky spur formed by a sharp bend in the valley, which at this point presents the features of a ravine eighty feet deep. On this spur are the ruins of a synagogue, which, though not so striking in appearance as that at Tell Hum, must, from the labour expended upon it, have been of considerable importance; the whole building was of an extremely hard black basalt, yet the details of the Corinthian capitals, the lintels, and other ornament, were rendered with great delicacy and beauty of finish. From this point there is one of the most lovely and extensive views of the Sea of Galilee that can be obtained, embracing its southern extremity, and the deep chasm of the Jordan valley beyond. In the centre of the town, which spreads over the shallow valley mentioned above, is a fine tree that overshadows the tombs of two Bedawi sheikhs and a spring of cool sweet water. Towards the north are traces of the paved road that connected Chorazin with the great route to Damascus which crossed the Jordan at Jisr Benat Jakub, "the bridge of Jacob's daughters." Amongst the most interesting remains at Kerazeh are those of the private dwelling-houses, the walls of which are in some cases still six feet high; the houses are generally square, but vary greatly in size, the largest examined being thirty feet square; the walls are about two feet thick, sometimes of masonry, sometimes of loose blocks of basalt; on one side there is a low doorway, and each house has windows twelve inches high and six and a half inches wide. In the interior are one or two columns to support the roof, which, like those of the modern Arab houses, appears to have been flat; a few of the houses are divided into four separate chambers. The house in which our Saviour dwelt at Capernaum may have been of this description, as also the house in which the man sick of the palsy was cured (Mark ii. 1—12); we read here that not being able to reach Jesus, the bearers of the sick man "uncovered the roof, and when they had broken it up let down the bed wherein the sick of the palsy lay," and this they would find no difficulty in doing if the roofs were constructed in the same manner as at present. The roof being not more than six or seven feet above the ground, the bearers, by holding the corners of the bed and stooping down, could easily lower it to the floor, and the breaking up of the roof may be explained by a short description of its probable construction. In the modern houses beams of wood about three feet apart stretch from wall to wall, and across these poles or sticks are laid close together, over which is spread a covering of earth, forming a good protection against the heat of the sun. In some cases the woodwork of the roof is covered only by thick matting, and in others, as in the so-called "cities of Bashan," stone slabs are used. Either of these classes of roof could be easily broken up, and this is, in fact, frequently done at the present day, when the Arabs wish to let grain or other articles down into their houses.

The notices bearing on the site of Chorazin are exceedingly slight: from the Bible we gather that it was near Capernaum and Bethsaida; Jerome says that it was two miles from Capernaum, but adds that it was on the shore of the lake. He does not, however, appear to have visited the place, and the expression need not imply that it was at the water's edge; the distance agrees with that of Kerazeh from Tell Hum, and the ruins are visible from the lake. Willibald, A.D. 722, tells us that after visiting Capernaum he went to Bethsaida, where he passed the night, and that on the next morning he proceeded to Chorazin, where there was "a church of the Christians," whence he passed northwards to the sources of the Jordan. If Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin were respectively at Tell Hum, the mouth of the Jordan, and Kerazeh, he would naturally visit them in the order mentioned, and then continue his journey by the Roman road to the crossing of the Jordan, there being no road up the valley of the Jordan from its mouth. The principal evidence in favour of Kerazeh is, however, its name, which is identical with Chorazin, and the existence at that place of extensive ruins, including those of an undoubted Jewish synagogue. In conclusion, we may add that in no passage of the Bible is it directly stated that either of the three cities were in the land of Gennesaret, though many commentators have assumed this to have been the case.

THE MINERALS OF THE BIBLE.

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II. METALS, MINING, AND METALLURGY.

IN a singular and striking passage of the Pentateuch all the metals of the Bible, with one exception, are named together. The 31st chapter of Numbers gives an account of the war of vengeance against the Midianites, in which the Israelites destroyed great numbers of their enemies and captured large quantities of spoil. Concerning the spoil we read: "This is the ordinance of the law which the Lord commanded Moses: Only the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead, every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make it go through the fire, and it shall be clean: nevertheless it shall be purified with the water of separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make go through the water. And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and afterward ye shall come into the camp" (vs. 21—24). With the single exception of antimony, this passage gives the common names of all the varieties of metals referred to in the Bible. It has been thought by some that "the water of separation" here named is really quicksilver or mercury, which is used for the purification of the precious metals. But this hypothesis is more ingenious than sound. There is no evidence that the Oriental nations knew anything of quicksilver. The Romans of Pliny's time imported it from Spain, and also obtained it artificially from the native sulphide, which likewise came from Spain; but there is not a trace of it in connection with the early Egyptians, Assyrians, Arabians, or Persians. Moreover, the hypothesis that "the water of separation" here means quicksilver is entirely out of harmony with the context. In consequence of yielding to the evil counsels of Balaam, the Israelites had been smitten by a loathsome disease through contact with the neighbouring Moabites and Midianites. The plague was stayed; but the command went forth from Jehovah to Moses, "Vex the Midianites and smite them" (xxv. 17). The Midianites were vexed and smitten, and the spoils of their camp were taken; and then, lest the pestilence should break out once more, "the Lord commanded Moses" to take stringent and effective sanitary measures to destroy the possibility of infection. Whatever can be purified by fire, let it be purified by fire; whatever will not stand the fire, let it pass through "the water of separation." The 19th chapter gives a full account of the preparation of this "water of separation;" and the reference in our passage undoubtedly is to sanitary precautions, and not to metallic purity. The provisions of the law of Moses made sanitary science a religious duty; and this is only one instance out of many in which the utmost care was taken against the dangers of malignant disease. To explain this "water of separation" as the quicksilver which is used to separate gold and silver from mechanical impurities is absurd.

This passage is noticeable chiefly as bringing together all the metals in use at the time. The Midianites were in all probability those enterprising Arabs who either conducted the commerce between Phœnicia and the lands of the East, or on the other hand preyed as robbers on the mercantile caravans; and in either case they might be expected to possess all the common and well-known metals. The omission of antimony, as a metal, from the list is easy to understand, because it was not used by the ancients as a metal, but as a paint, and as a means of personal adornment. The Hebrew name is *pûch*, a word which denoted some sort of dye or paint used in decorating the eyes and eyelids. Jezebel, immediately before meeting her death at the command of Jehu, is represented (2 Kings ix. 30) as putting "her eyes in painting" (*pûch*). So also Jeremiah (iv. 30) and Ezekiel (xxiii. 40) use the word as a feminine adornment. There is nothing in the mere text of the Hebrew to indicate from what material this paint was made, but the Septuagint, Syriac, and other versions agree in tracing it to antimony or stibium. There is distinct evidence both from Egypt and from Assyria that the practice of painting the eyelids, &c., was common in ancient times. The practice is retained in the East to the present day. Antimony, black oxide of manganese, preparations of lead, and lampblack or soot are employed for the purpose. Mr. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, gives a graphic account of the method of adornment, showing that a small tapering probe of wood, ivory, or silver, smeared with the paint, is squeezed between the eyelids so as to tinge their edges. The result is to add much to the brilliancy of the eye, and to increase the beauty of the long black eyelashes, of which the Eastern ladies appear to be proud. Sir J. G. Wilkinson states (*Anc. Egypt.* iii. 382) that many of the bottles or pots in which this cosmetic was kept, together with the bodkin used in its application, have been found in the Egyptian tombs; and that figures with painted eyes appear on the monuments. The third daughter of Job seems to have received her name from one of these vessels, Keren-happuch meaning literally "paint-horn" or "paint-pot"—a curious name for a young lady, but one, we are told, in strict accordance with the custom of the Orientals, who force into prominence the materials of personal adornment. May not the name rather mean that she was so beautiful naturally as to be able to dispense with these artificial aids, that her eye-lashes and eye-brows were so exquisite that the paint-pot was unnecessary?

This use of antimony or *pûch* will serve to explain two other passages in which the word occurs. Among the treasures prepared by David for the Temple, and transmitted by him to his son Solomon, are "stones of *pûch*," translated in our English version "glistering

stones" (1 Chron. xxix. 2). And in Isaiah's grand prophecy of the Church of the Gentiles we find, "I will lay thy stones with *pûch*" (Isa. liv. 11)—in our version, "with fair colours." The reference in both these passages appears to be to some kind of ornamental stone which, when set in its appropriate cement or matrix, would present an appearance resembling the brilliant eye surrounded by the lustrous eye-lash.

Passing now from this metallic cosmetic, we shall proceed to consider in detail the metals above named, and shall begin with the noblest of all.

GOLD.

Gold is referred to in the Old Testament under six different names, and four of these occur in Job xxviii. 15—17. To go fully into the etymology of these terms would be unprofitable for the general reader, but their diversity is interesting as showing the universal attention which gold must have received from the very earliest times. Its yellow colour, its brilliant lustre, undimmed by moisture or rust, its weight, its many useful properties, have caused it to be valued from the most remote antiquity. Unlike most other metals, it occurs in nature only in metallic form; and whilst this fact forced it early into notice, its valuable qualities made it highly prized. Its earliest and most common name, *zâhâb*, is derived from its yellow colour; *pâz* is native gold as found naturally in the metallic state; *bĕtsĕr* is the term applied to fragments of ore or the dust of gold; *châr̂ûtz*, a name found generally in association with silver, is regarded by Rosenmüller and some Hebraists as indicating lustre or brilliancy, and by others (perhaps with more probability) as implying "dug out;" and the other two names, *sâgûr* (treasured) and *kĕthĕm* (concealed), have reference to the careful and jealous guard with which precious substances are preserved.

Gold is named in Gen. ii. 11 as found in the land of Havilah. In Palestine itself there is no indication either of streams or valley deposits in which alluvial gold might be found, nor of mines from which it might be obtained in its original rocky matrix. The Israelites must have obtained it by commerce. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, on the authority of Agatharchides and other writers, maintains the existence of gold mines in Egypt, and states that they have been discovered by M. Linant and Mr. Bonomi some distance to the south-east of Assouan (*Anc. Egypt.* iii. 227). He also states that "so diligent a search did the Egyptians establish throughout the whole of the deserts east of the Nile, that he never remembers to have seen a vein of quartz in any of the primitive ranges there which has not been carefully examined by miners." The countries named in the Bible in connection with gold are Ophir (1 Kings ix. 27, 28; x. 11; xxii. 48; 1 Chron. xxix. 4; Job xxii. 24; xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 9; Isa. xiii. 12); Sheba (1 Kings x. 2, 10; Ps. lxxii. 15; Isa. lx. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 22); Uphaz (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5); Parvaim (2 Chron. iii. 6); and Raamah (Ezek. xxvii. 22). Into the almost numberless conjectures as to these localities we do not feel it necessary to enter; but it may be stated in brief that Uphaz is believed to be another form of the name Ophir, Raamah was most probably a town on the Persian Gulf, and the locality of Parvaim is indeterminate. There can be little doubt that Sheba was a district of Arabia, although some prefer to locate it in Ethiopia or Abyssinia. Ophir has given rise to much discussion, some placing it in Arabia, others in India, and others again on the east coast of Africa. In this controversy much stress has been laid upon the alleged absence of gold or of any sign of gold mines in Arabia. If, however, this fact were conclusive in excluding Ophir from Arabia, by parity of reasoning it would exclude Sheba likewise; but there is overwhelmingly strong evidence that Sheba was in Arabia. There is, moreover, evidence in writers of antiquity that in ancient times Arabia did yield gold; and, whether its own soil supplied it or not, there is distinct and conclusive proof that its inhabitants possessed it in abundance. The commerce of the Hebrews, then, brought from the shores of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf quantities of gold. Whether the so-called "ships of Tarshish"—which appears to have been a title allied to our terms "man-of-war," "Indiaman," &c., denoting a particular description of ship—also journeyed to the remoter districts of India and Eastern Africa, is comparatively unimportant to our present subject.

In the times of David and Solomon gold existed in enormous quantities among the Hebrews. The figures given in the Old Testament appear almost fabulous. From 1 Chron. xxii. 14 we learn that David had collected together for the purpose of the Temple building a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver; and from 1 Chron. xxix. 3 we learn that, over and above this enormous amount, he contributed from his own possessions three thousand talents of gold and seven thousand talents of silver; whilst the people in addition offered, "for the service of the house of God, five thousand talents and ten thousand drams of gold, and of silver ten thousand talents" (1 Chron. xxix. 7). From these data the total value of the gold and silver has been calculated at nearly one thousand millions sterling, a sum greater than our national debt, and larger than the combined annual expenditures of all the Governments of Europe. How far these numbers may partake of the uncertainty which hangs over many Hebrew numbers we have no means of knowing; but it is rather significant that Josephus, who was not wont to undervalue anything pertaining to the Hebrews, gives only ten thousand talents of gold and a hundred thousand talents of silver (*Ant.* vii., c. 14, § 2). Even these numbers are enormous, and lead one to wonder whence such vast quantities of gold could have been obtained. David had conquered all the tribes and kingdoms that were immediately around Canaan—Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites. The spoils of these conquered nations must have been large. Even in the time of Moses the spoils taken from the Midianites (to which reference has before been made) enabled the officers and captains of the people to bring to the Tabernacle, as a thank-

offering to Jehovah, 16,750 shekels of gold (Numb. xxxi. 52). Gideon also obtained large spoils in gold from the Midianites (Judg. viii. 26). And there can be little doubt that vast booty fell to the armies of David in the various campaigns. From Hadadezer, king of Zobah, golden shields were captured (2 Sam. viii. 7); and the royal crown of the Ammonites of Rabbah is described as weighing a talent of gold (2 Sam. xii. 30), "spoil of the city in great abundance" being also mentioned. After the conquest of Hadadezer, Toi, king of Hamath, sent as presents to David vessels of silver, gold, and brass (2 Sam. viii. 10). And thus, partly by conquest and partly by tributary gifts, David amassed his treasures. The reign of Solomon is full of evidence of wealth in gold: Hiram, King of Tyre, sent him 120 talents (1 Kings ix. 14), and the Queen of Sheba presented a like amount (1 Kings x. 10; 2 Chron. ix. 9). All these facts conclusively show the abundance of gold at that time, so much that Solomon is stated to have made silver and gold at Jerusalem as stones (2 Chron. i. 15), and all his drinking vessels and vessels of his house were of gold, for "silver was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon" (1 Kings x. 21). This golden magnificence of the times of building the Temple dwarfs the previous narrative of the Tabernacle work, and renders insignificant the splendour of the second Temple, that of Zerubbabel. The glory was departed. And yet said Jehovah, "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former: in this place will I give peace" (Haggai ii. 8, 9). The splendours of Herod's Temple are attested by contemporary writers, but even its magnificence did not fulfil this prophecy until the Lord of all glory made known in the Temple courts His gospel of "peace on earth, good-will to men."

Gold appears to have been used chiefly for personal ornaments, and for furniture and decorations. Chains, bracelets, earrings, rings, nose-rings, and necklaces are all mentioned (Exod. xxxv. 22; Numb. xxxi. 50; Gen. xxiv. 22; xli. 42, &c.). It was extensively used for purposes of architectural decoration, and for household ornaments and vessels (1 Kings vi. 22; x. 21; Esth. i. 7; Dan. v. 2, 3, &c.). It rendered brilliant the throne of Solomon and his marriage palanquin (1 Kings x. 18; Cant. iii. 10), and the beds or couches of the Persian king (Esth. i. 6). For images of idolatrous worship also was it used: the golden calf of Aaron and the Israelites, the two calves of Jeroboam, and the gigantic image of Nebuchadnezzar (Exod. xxxii. 4; 1 Kings xii. 28; Dan. iii. 1).

Although so highly valued for these several purposes, gold did not form the common medium of exchange and commerce. The first Biblical reference to it for this purpose is in the purchase by David of the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite (1 Chron. xxi. 25). Sir J. G. Wilkinson states that the money of the Egyptians was in rings of gold and silver, which were carefully weighed in matters of purchase. The practice of the Israelites was doubtless similar, as we find constant references to the *weighing* of money. The same practice obtains in many semi-civilised nations now-a-days, and in large money transactions also in civilised lands. In the island of Madagascar the Spanish dollar is cut up into pieces, and these fragments weighed out in a small pair of scales which the dealers carry with them. The payment of the first instalment of the indemnity by the Ashantee king affords a striking illustration of these primitive customs—the spoils of warfare on the one hand, and the weighing of the medium of exchange on the other. The graphic account of the *Daily News* correspondent throws us back into the times of the "spoiling" of the Midianites and the purchases of David:—

"It was in a truly picturesque situation, under the shade of a mess-hut and adjoining one which is the General's, that the gold, which was the sign patent to all men of the submission of the Ashantee king, was paid over and weighed. The Government gold-taker had been brought up from Cape Coast to be ready for any emergency of the kind. He sat on one side receiving the precious metal; on the opposite sat some six or seven of the Ashantees, round a large white cloth of native manufacture, filled with gold plates and figures, nuggets, bracelets, knobs, masks, bells, jaw-bones and fragments of skulls, plaques, bosses—all of the metal as pure as it can be, and of an endless variety of shape and size. All, or almost all, of these have through them a fine hole for threading to form necklaces or armlets. Besides these, door ornaments and golden nails were thrown in, and a number of odds and ends that must have been wrenched off in the hurry of escape from the palace, and which now added quaintness to the rich handfuls that were poured into the balance. A few officers were standing round under the mess-roof watching the process."

SILVER.

Silver is not mentioned earlier than Gen. xiii. 2, where it is said that "Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." Like gold it became exceedingly abundant in the times of David and Solomon. The sources whence it came were Arabia and Tarshish (2 Chron. ix. 14, 21; 1 Kings x. 22; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12). Strabo states that silver mines occurred in Spain, and that Tartessus was the name of a river near them, and also of the town built at its mouth. The Romans obtained large quantities of silver from Spain, and within the last fifty years the silver produce of that country has revived again. The uses to which silver was put were similar to those of gold. It formed the material of ornaments, dishes, basins, candlesticks, and other domestic vessels and implements, architectural decorations, and images for idolatrous worship. Demetrius, the craftsman of Ephesus, was a maker of silver shrines for Diana (Acts xix. 24), when, fearing the failure of his trade through the success of the Gospel preaching, he roused up the superstition of his fellow-citizens to oppose and injure the Apostle Paul. In Prov. xxv. 11 is a reference to gold and silver

which in our English version appears meaningless: "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Some propose to give this phrase a meaning to us by rendering "like pictures of gold in frames of silver;" and others regard it as referring to a golden ornament edged or "picked out" with silver work. The Hebrew word rendered "apple" (*tappûach*) is derived from a root implying odour or fragrance, and is applied to the apple, citron, and other fragrant fruits; the word rendered "picture" (*maskîth*) is connected by some with a root meaning "to look at," "to behold," and by others with another root meaning "to plait," "to weave." The former leads to the meaning "picture," "a thing looked at;" the latter to the meaning "basket" or "vessel," "a thing plaited or woven." There is great absence of evidence as to whether the Orientals were as fond of pictures of fruit as some of our modern painters; but it is tolerably clear that they were extremely fond of well-trimmed proverbs and well-set sayings, and words spoken at suitable times. The grace of fitly-spoken speech equals the elegance of the golden fruit in the silver basket. A word suitably spoken at a fitting time combines the fragrance and rich colour of the fruit with the preciousness and elegance of its setting.

Silver appears to have been the usual medium of exchange. The only reference to gold for this purpose is the transaction of David before mentioned. Even so late as Jeremiah (ch. xxxii. 9, 10) there was no coined money, and the silver was weighed. After the return from Babylon we find Ezra (ch. viii. 24—28) weighing out the precious metals. (See also Neh. vii. 70.) In these passages, however, the words *adarkôn*, *darkĕmôn*, rendered in our version "dram," are regarded as equivalent to the *daric*, a Persian gold coin, with which the Jews had become acquainted during their captivity. In later years Antiochus, king of Syria, gave permission to Simon Maccabæus to "coin money for his country with his own stamp" (1 Macc. xv. 6); and coins of the Maccabæan period are still extant. Pliny states that the Romans had only copper money until the third century before Christ (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3, 13). The Egyptians, as we have seen, used gold and silver rings by weight as money; and in the investigation at Nineveh and Babylon no coins have been found, but on the other hand distinct evidence of money by weight. The Hebrew word for silver, *kĕsĕph*, is the word commonly used for money; indicating clearly that, as in many modern Oriental nations, silver was the criterion of value and the medium of exchange.

COPPER, BRASS, BRONZE, TIN.

It will be convenient to consider these together. Copper and tin, as is well known, are distinct metals; Brass is an alloy of copper and zinc, and bronze an alloy of copper and tin.

The nations of antiquity appear to have been ignorant of zinc as a distinct metal. Until the time of Paracelsus (sixteenth century, A.D.) it was not known in a metallic form. There is indeed a passage of Strabo which indicates differently, and to this we shall refer below. The chief ores of zinc are *calamine*, or the carbonate, and *blende*, or the sulphide, from which it is obtained by a somewhat complicated metallurgic process. Whether the alloy of zinc and copper, which we call brass, was known in ancient times is also doubtful. Bronze vessels and implements in abundance have been found amidst the ruins and *débris* of ancient cities, and in the tombs and places of burial of ancient times; but brass is wanting, and the presumption therefore is that brass was unknown. It is, of course, quite possible, as Beckmann maintains (*Hist. of Inventions*, vol. ii., p. 33, Bohn's translation), that brass was accidentally discovered by the fusing of calamine in connection with copper ores. One of the modern methods of its manufacture is to fuse copper under a mixture of calamine and charcoal. The account given by Pliny of what he calls *cadmia* renders it highly probable that one variety of the substance so called was certainly calamine. And it is not by any means impossible that the ancient smelter may have accidentally fabricated a sort of brass from the presence of zinc ore in his materials. If this did happen, the resulting alloy would differ from bronze in having a yellower colour and a higher lustre; and would doubtless be more highly prized, partly for these qualities and partly for its rarity. This contingency or possibility deserves notice in connection with the Biblical metals, on account of the statements in Ezra viii. 27; Ezek. i. 4, 7, 27; viii. 2; and Rev. i. 15; ii. 18. Ezra speaks of two vessels of "fine copper precious as gold," or as Rosenmüller renders, "of copper shining like gold, and precious as gold." "Bright brass" also is mentioned in 1 Kings vii. 45, and "polished brass" in Dan. x. 6. These terms manifestly imply some difference from the metal usually styled *nĕchôsheth*, and it has been suggested that they refer to the metal called by the Romans *orichalcum* or *aurichalcum*. Of this Pliny states there were two kinds—natural and artificial. The former was extinct in Pliny's time; Servius describes it as having the lustre of gold and the hardness of copper. Rosenmüller quotes from Aristotle that a metal of this description was found in India, and that among the treasures of Darius were vessels made thereof, distinguishable from gold only by the smell which is peculiar to brass. And he proceeds to identify this metal with one referred to by Chardin as found in Sumatra and the Macassar Islands, having a pale rose-red colour betwixt copper and gold, of a fine grain, and susceptible of a beautiful polish. The pale rose-red colour and metallic lustre here lead a mineralogist to think of the so-called copper nickel—a mixture of nickel and arsenic—but the other characters are not fully in accord with this idea.

The artificial *orichalcum* of the Romans has given rise to much discussion. The term evidently included a number of different alloys. The so-called Corinthian brass is stated by Pliny to have been made out of gold, silver, and copper, differing in colour according to the proportions of the different metals; and other alloys

named by him are clearly bronze. It is, however, probable, as maintained by Rosenmüller and Beckmann, that some of these alloys were really brass. The passage in Strabo to which reference has been made is very striking (xiii., p. 610): "There is a certain stone which becomes iron when burnt; being then melted with a certain earth it distils false-silver (ψευδάργυρος), and this with copper becomes an alloy (κρᾶμα), which some call ὀρείχαλκος." If this is not a reference to zinc and brass, it is difficult to see what is meant.

The *chashmal* of Ezekiel (i. 4, 27; viii. 2) evidently corresponds to the χαλκολιβάνον of the Apocalypse (ch. i. 15; ii. 18). The writer of the latter had in mind the imagery of the former. The word is translated in our version "amber," which is obviously incorrect. Some have identified it with the *electrum* of the classical nations, an alloy consisting of four parts gold and one silver. The gold of Lydia, which was pale because alloyed with silver, is called by Sophocles (*Antig.* 1038) ἤλεκτρον. And much of the Egyptian gold in like manner was pale on account of the presence of silver, and the inability of the ancient metal-workers to remove it. The description of Ezekiel, however, demands not a *pale*-coloured gold alloy, but a rich, deep, fiery colour. Bochart has suggested that the etymology of the Hebrew name implies the union of copper and gold; and although this derivation is rather fanciful, such an alloy would accord better with the poetic imagery of the passage than the paler-coloured *electrum*. Gesenius makes the word *chashmal* equivalent to the "smooth or polished brass" (*něchôsheth kâlâl*) of Ezek. i. 7; Dan. x. 6. There may, of course, in the same passage be two different words applied to the same thing, just as in the passage of Job before alluded to we find gold mentioned under four different names. It must, we think, be left indeterminate whether or not two distinct metallic alloys are here referred to. If there are two, one would be allied to the *pyropus* of the Romans, and the other in all probability a kind of brass. For, notwithstanding the absence of relics from antiquity containing zinc, it seems most likely that an accidental admixture of calamine with the materials of ancient metallurgy led to the production of a metal allied to brass, which was highly prized on account of its rarity, brilliance, and lustre, and that this metal is referred to in the passages of the Bible above named.

Turning now from these somewhat speculative and indeterminate questions, there can be no doubt that copper and tin were known to the Israelites, and that in the great majority of the passages where the word *něchôsheth* occurs (translated in our version "brass") the metal referred to is *bronze*. Like the corresponding words in Greek and Latin, the Hebrew term appears to have been applied indifferently to native or pure copper, and also to its alloys. It is evident from Deut. viii. 9, and Job xxviii. 2, that copper was a native product of Palestine. The island of Cyprus also yielded it in abundance. For purposes of the arts and manufactures it was, in almost all cases, alloyed with tin. This alloy, bronze, possesses properties of special value for such purposes. It is much harder and much more fusible than copper alone; and besides this, according to the method of cooling employed, it can be made hard and elastic, or softer and malleable. Mr. Layard in his second volume gives, on the authority of Dr. Percy, analyses of ancient bronze from Assyria, showing the proportion of tin to be from ten to fourteen per cent.; and other analyses of ancient bronzes present a like composition.

A question of much interest arises as to whence came the tin used for this purpose in ancient times. The only modern localities are Cornwall and Brittany; Bohemia, Saxony, and Silesia; Spain, Portugal, and the South of France; Russia and Sweden; North and South America; Australia, and some districts bordering on the now notorious Straits of Malacca. Taking into account on the one hand the abundance or scarcity in which it occurs in these several districts, and on the other the probabilities of ancient mercantile enterprise, there can be little doubt that the tin of antiquity must have come either from Spain, or Cornwall, or the Straits of Malacca. And one instinctively turns to the commerce of Phœnicia and to the ever-recurring Tarshish (Ezek. xxvii. 12) as the medium of tin supply in ancient times. Some have maintained that the supply of tin to Egypt came from the East; but the great probability is not that the East supplied Egypt, but that Egypt supplied the East, and that the chief source of this metal in antiquity was through Phœnician commerce, from Spain, and from a district beyond Spain. The testimony of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus shows that this last-named district was Britain, and therefore it is highly probable that the tin contained in the bronzes now in the British Museum left these shores centuries ago.

A metal serviceable for so many purposes as bronze found abundant use in armour and weapons, for vessels of the Temple, and for various domestic purposes, for chains and fetters, for pillars, and for ornaments. The "bow of steel," in Job xx. 24; Ps. xviii. 34, should be rendered "bow of copper" (or bronze), and doubtless refers to some suitable alloy of copper combining flexibility with strength. The cutting implements of Egypt were for the most part of bronze, as Sir J. G. Wilkinson (iii., p. 250, &c.) has shown. The use of emery powder would render such implements effective even in sculpturing hard rocks; just as in our own day, by the use of fine sand, very hard rocks may be sawn by means of a comparatively soft saw; or as, by the aid of diamond dust or emery, extremely hard minerals may be cut and polished by the lapidary's wheel. The principle in all these cases is the same: the minute fragments of the very hard material become imbedded in the metal edge of the weapon, and give it a cutting power which would otherwise be unattainable.

In addition to these uses, we learn from Exod. xxxviii. 8 (see also Job xxxvii. 18) that the bronze laver of the Tabernacle and its base were made out of the mirrors of the women of the Israelites. Michaelis[1] and Bähr

[1] Michaelis, in his later works, retracted this opinion.

explain this passage as signifying that the mirrors were fixed on the laver to remind the priests before entering the Tabernacle of the duty of self-examination. Can this be the reason why some persons now-a-days, on taking their seats in a place of worship, are very assiduous in consulting the crowns of their hats and other places where minute mirrors are curiously arranged? It certainly is curious that Moses should have employed the mirrors of the ladies in order to manufacture the bronze laver of the Tabernacle. Sir J. G. Wilkinson says that the ancient bronze mirrors of the Egyptians were susceptible of a high lustre. Indeed, the metal used for the mirrors of telescopes is simply a bronze containing a high per-centage of tin.

Bronze also was most probably the material of the brazen serpent of Moses (Numb. xxi. 9), which was preserved till the days of Hezekiah, and was then destroyed because it had become the object of idolatrous worship (2 Kings xviii. 4). In Nebuchadnezzar's vision, related in Dan. ii. 32, the warlike character of the Macedonian empire is represented by the portion of the image made of bronze, whilst the next part, made of iron, typified the Roman empire. It is a singular commentary on this vision that the Macedonian age was an age of bronze weapons, but that with the Roman power came a more general use of iron for warlike purposes. The Hebrew word *něchôsheth* is also used in some passages of the Old Testament (Lev. xxvi. 19; Deut. xxviii. 23; Job vi. 12; Jer. vi. 28; xv. 20; Isa. xlviii. 4; Ezek. xxii. 18, &c.) in a metaphorical sense as indicating either strength, or obstinacy, or insensibility, or baseness, or fixedness. Perhaps Alexander, the coppersmith of Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 14), had gained either from the reflex influence of his handicraft, or from a study of these metaphorical passages, those qualities which he manifested in his opposition to St. Paul.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY THE REV. EUSTACE R. CONDER, M.A.

THE GOSPELS OF ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK.

OF the writer of the first Gospel nothing is known beyond the brief notices in his own narrative and the parallel passages, with the mention (Acts i. 13) of his presence in the company of apostles and believers after the Ascension. If tradition adds anything, it is in the slender hints preserved by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* v. 18; iii. 24), that all the apostles continued at Jerusalem for twelve years, and that Matthew wrote his Gospel when about to leave Palestine for missionary work elsewhere. No great weight attaches to these statements, and none at all to the fuller traditions of later times. The same, or nearly the same, is the case with the other New Testament writers, as though God designed the Scriptures to shine by their own light, not with lustre reflected from the lives of their authors.[1] This remarkable fact in no way diminishes the force of that universal uncontradicted testimony on which we receive the New Testament books as the genuine work of the writers whose names they bear. (See p. 145.)

Levi, or Matthew, was a Galilæan Jew, of Capernaum. His first name may suggest that he was by birth a Levite. He held the unpopular office of a toll-collector, and was busy in his vocation (probably receiving tolls or dues at one of the landing places from the Lake), when one gentle but mighty word of Christ severed him for ever from his old life, and called him to an employment whose results were to endure through all time.

> "At once he rose, and left his gold;
> His treasure and his heart transferred."

We need not, however, imagine the call to have been as sudden in reality as in appearance. We may well question whether He who "knew what was in man" would have addressed such a call to one in whose heart and history He discerned no preparation. The first disciples of Jesus, fishermen of the Lake and natives of the neighbouring town of Bethsaida, could scarcely have been unknown to the Capernaum toll-gatherer. Capernaum was the home, at this time, so far as He could be said to have one, of the Lord Jesus (Matt. iv. 13); doubtless the abode of his mother. From it He went forth to preach and teach in the adjacent towns and villages, and to it, from time to time, He returned. His ministry had now lasted, it is probable, nearly a year; and the whole country was ringing with the fame of His doctrine and of His miracles. Matthew must therefore be supposed to have often seen and heard Jesus. Not improbably he may have been one of the multitude in whose hearing the Sermon on the Mount was delivered; and, accustomed as He was to the use of the pen, he may even have committed what he heard to writing—the germ of his Gospel.

The Latin term "publican" (with the corresponding Greek term), in strict propriety signified a contractor or farmer-general of the revenue, who undertook the collection of the public taxes; but it was popularly transferred to the underlings who were engaged in the actual work of receiving the money. The detestation with which this class of persons was regarded is not to be laid at the door of the Roman government. It was the growth of centuries. Corrupt and tyrannical as some of the Roman provincial governors were, their rule may be called just and mild compared with the ruthless violence and extortion to which the Jews had been subject under the kings of Syria and Egypt, and under Herod the Great. Hence, the delegates sent to Rome to denounce Archelaus, petitioned that all kingly

[1] "When the sacred narrative terminates, we find ourselves without an historical guide—like a traveller who, on passing out of a walled city, enters upon a desolate and pathless waste." (*Lit. Hist. of New Testament, by Josiah Conder.*) The chief exception is in the case of James the Just.

rule might be abolished, and their country placed under Roman administration. Matthew must have been in the service not of the Empire, but of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee.

Unnecessary difficulty has been found in the double name of this evangelist. It is not a case like that of John Mark, or "Saul who also is called Paul;" where one name is Jewish, the other Gentile; nor yet of a special surname, like Cephas or Barnabas. Matthew (in Greek *Matthaios*, Latin *Matthæus*) is a Hebrew name, as well as Levi, standing for *Matthai*, an abbreviation of *Matthaniah*, which (like *Theodore*) means "God's gift." The case is exactly like that of another apostle, Judas (Jude), who had two other Hebrew names, Thaddæus and Lebbæus. The conjecture that Levi adopted the name Matthew on becoming a disciple of Christ, seems to contradict his own account (chap. ix. 9). There is no reason for identifying his father with Alphæus the father of James the Less.

Converted profligates have sometimes become great lights in the Church; but this is the exception, not the rule. We are not justified in inferring that Matthew was an example from his worldly occupation. It was a lawful and useful business, though in ill repute. Men careful of their reputation, or sensitive to the good-will of their neighbours, would as a rule avoid it; men who had no character to lose would be attracted by it. It had become a proverb of contempt, at least on the lips of Pharisees. But, as all Pharisees were not hypocrites (far from it), so all publicans may not have been "sinners," *i.e.*, immoral and ungodly. Virtuous and even godly men may have been among their number; and to such a one unspeakably welcome would be the call which bade him drop his sordid (though perhaps gainful) toil, and follow Jesus whithersoever He went.

A venerable but perplexing tradition records that St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written not in Greek, but in Hebrew: that is to say, not the ancient Hebrew of the Old Testament Scriptures, but the vernacular language of the Jews of Palestine in our Lord's time, in which we find the Apostle Paul addressing the angry mob in the Temple (Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2); and in which it is likely that our Saviour's public discourses were principally, if not exclusively, delivered. The earliest and most important witness for this fact is Papias, bishop of the Church at Hierapolis, in Phrygia, in the early part of the second century: a man of no eminent ability, but who had made it his business to collect what fragments of knowledge he could from those who had conversed with the apostles or other disciples of the Lord. "Matthew (he says) composed the oracles"—by which he seems plainly to mean "his Gospel"—"in the Hebrew language; and each person interpreted as best he could." Eusebius, who has preserved this testimony, agrees with other early Christian writers in referring to this as the generally accepted belief.[1]

On the other hand, the Greek Gospel of Matthew, as we have it, bears no inward token of being a translation, but the contrary; and was universally diffused and accepted as the apostle's composition among the primitive Christian Churches. Perhaps, as in many other cases, learned controversy has created the difficulty which it has vainly toiled to solve. The simplest explanation may be the best. The spoken language of Judæa and Galilee—spoken at Jerusalem with exact culture, in Galilee with many provincial mispronunciations (Mark xiv. 70)—was Chaldee, a language in substance one with the ancient Hebrew, which since the Captivity it had gradually supplanted. Parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra are in this tongue. As spoken in Palestine, it is often called "Syro-Chaldee," and likewise "Aramæan," a term including both Chaldee and Syriac. Ingenious attempts have been made to prove that our Lord's discourses were spoken in Greek, at that time a sort of universal language in the Levant and neighbouring countries. That He may have employed the Greek language among the Greek-speaking population beyond Jordan, is possible enough; but that He would speak to his fellow-countrymen of Judæa and Galilee in their native tongue is as certain as that a Welsh preacher would preach in Welsh to a Welsh-speaking audience, even though he and they might have learned English. If, therefore, Matthew made notes of our Lord's discourses as he heard them, or during those early years in which the Christian Church was composed of Jewish believers, these notes would naturally be "in the Hebrew tongue." Copies of such notes, combined with memoranda from other sources in the same language, would account for all that we read about "the Gospel according to the Hebrews." Equally natural was it, that when the Evangelist set himself to compose a narrative for wider circulation and more permanent use, he should adopt, like the other New Testament writers, the Greek language. Josephus did precisely the same thing with his book of the *Wars of the Jews*.

The distinctive character of the first Gospel is strongly marked. It is, in the best sense, intensely Jewish. It is the portrait of the Messiah, mirrored in the mind of one who was none the less a true Israelite because he was trained in no Rabbinical college, but taken from the common people and from a despised calling. It bears on every page the impress of the command to preach Christ, "beginning at Jerusalem"—"to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." It has been called, "emphatically, the Gospel of the kingdom;"[2] perhaps we may yet more fitly say, "the Gospel of the King." From the royal genealogy, and the account of how Jerusalem was moved and the usurper made to tremble on his throne by the announcement of One "born king of the

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39. All the important passages of early writers on this point are fully given in Dr. Davidson's *Introd. to New Testament*. The Hebrew Gospel which Jerome found and translated (about A.D. 400), and that spoken of as existing among the sects of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, were evidently so untrustworthy that they prove no more than this, that a Hebrew Gospel, supposed by many to be St. Matthew's, existed from a very early date. Eminent scholars have given their opinions very decidedly on both sides.

[2] In the admirable article on this Gospel in the *Cyclop. of Bibl. Literature*, vol. iii., by the Rev. E. Venables.

Jews;" to the pages which tell how it was said to Sion, "Behold, thy King cometh," how Jesus spoke of himself in the Temple, as "the King" who shall "sit upon the throne of His glory," and how the very title on the cross announced "Jesus, the King of the Jews;" the regal character and authority of Jesus, as the long-expected Messiah, are ever present to the thought of the Evangelist. His mind teems with the words of Old Testament Scripture, whose pages grow luminous as they reflect the glory of Jesus. He quotes the Scripture above forty times; or, counting indirect citations, above fifty times. Yet we find in all this no tinge of Jewish narrowness and contempt for the Gentile world. Gentile strangers from the far East announce to the Jewish Sanhedrim the birth of their King. A Roman soldier and a Canaanitish woman win the highest praise for faith not found in Israel. "All nations" are seen gathered before the King for judgment, no place being reserved for the favoured people; and the declaration that "all power in heaven and earth" is in the hands of Jesus, is coupled with the command to "make disciples of all nations."

This Gospel is also remarkable for its full revelation of the fatherly character of God. "In St. Mark we find our Lord speaking of or to God as His Father three times, in St. Luke twelve times, in St. Matthew twenty-two times; as the Father of His people, in St. Mark twice, in St. Luke five times, in St. Matthew twenty-two times."

St. Matthew's narrative is amazingly condensed, carrying to the highest pitch that grandeur of simplicity and brevity which is among the most wonderful characteristics of the Gospels—indeed, of the Bible. He does not aim at chronological order, except in the main outline; but presents events in groups or masses, linked by an inner unity of purpose, and gathering themselves around the discourses of Christ. He is (as has been before noted) more the reporter than the narrator, and often gives our Saviour's words more fully than parallel passages in the other Gospels. The discourses of Christ are to the narrative what the mountain-chains of a country are to its basins and shores. St. Matthew realises our Lord's description (chap. xiii. 52) of "a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven."[1]

If the conjecture suggested in treating of the Gospels generally (page 145) be valid, the first and second Gospels are as closely connected in reality as they undoubtedly are in appearance. We have no reason to doubt (though we are not able positively to prove) the correctness of the general belief which identifies Mark the Evangelist with John surnamed Mark, nephew to Barnabas, repeatedly referred to in the Acts and Epistles. Early tradition—of which Papias is again the mouthpiece for us—very decidedly connects his Gospel with the preaching of the Apostle Peter. The words of Papias (who is recording what he had heard from John the Presbyter) are these:—"Mark, acting as Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately, though not in set order, all that he remembered of the sayings and doings of Christ. For he was not an actual hearer or follower of the Lord; but subsequently, as I said, of Peter, who was wont to make his teaching suit the occasion, not as furnishing a regular narrative of the Lord's sayings. Mark, therefore, committed no error in writing such particulars as he remembered. For he made it his one object to omit nothing of what he heard, and to misstate nothing."[2]

Irenæus (Bishop of the Church at Lyons, about A.D. 180) adds this statement:—"Matthew published his written Gospel while Peter and Paul were in Rome, preaching the Gospel and founding the Church. After their decease, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself likewise delivered to us in writing what Peter was wont to preach." The value of this testimony is somewhat damaged by the fact that, as far as we can learn from the New Testament, when Mark was with Peter he was not at Rome, and when he was at Rome he was not with Peter, but with Paul; and further, that whether the Apostle Peter ever visited Rome or not, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans plainly proves that the Church at Rome was not founded by either of those great apostles. The enlargements of this tradition, found in Eusebius and other later writers, savour rather strongly of those embellishments of fancy which seldom fail to accumulate with the lapse of years round a slender nucleus of traditional fact. Nevertheless, they confirm the authority of the tradition as a generally accepted belief.

How far the internal evidence of St. Mark's Gospel confirms this theory of its origin, is a question on which adverse opinions are strongly stated by critics of equal scholarship. Both omissions and insertions seem to point to some special relation of this Gospel to Peter. With regard to omissions, it has been already noted (p. 145) that of six incidents peculiar to St. Matthew's Gospel, four refer to Peter—his walking on the sea, his catching the fish with money in its mouth, his question about forgiveness (Matt. xviii. 21), and the Lord's emphatic approval of him and promise to him (Matt. xvi. 17—19). Now, we may very naturally suppose that these were among the matters on which Peter's preaching would be silent, lest he should seem to be glorifying himself. Mark's omission of them is thus accounted for. On the other hand, Christ's stern rebuke of Peter's well-meant but presumptuous remonstrance (omitted by St. Luke) is faithfully recorded (Mark viii. 33). In the narrative of Peter's denial of his Master, where the other two Gospels say "he wept bitterly," Mark simply says "he wept," but adds the aggravating circumstance of the cock crowing "the second time."

On the other hand, we find the name of Peter repeatedly introduced in a manner which strongly favours the idea of his having been the writer's authority. Examples are chap. i. 36; v. 37; xi. 21; xiii. 3.

[1] For an instructive parallel between St. Matthew and St. James, see Vol. I. of this work, p. 325.

[2] Quoted by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39. The text of this and of other testimonies of ancient writers is given by Davidson, *Introd. to New Testament*, vol. i.

One thing is abundantly evident. The minute touches and additional details which give to St. Mark's narrative its special life and interest, must have been taken from the lips of an eye-witness, and that eye-witness one of the Twelve. Two examples may suffice here: let the reader enlarge the list by his own study. In the account of the feeding of the five thousand, St. Mark tells us that the people sat down "by companies on the green grass" (indicating the spring-time), "in ranks, by hundreds and by fifties" (fifty ranks of one hundred; indicating how the total number was known). Again, in the account of the storm on the Lake, where the other two Gospels merely state that Jesus was asleep, Mark tells us that "he was in the stern, sleeping on the cushion." Now, connecting with these indications the fact that when Peter was released from prison he went to the house of Mark's mother (sister to Barnabas—Acts xii. 12; Col. iv. 10), and the reference to Mark in 1 Peter v. 13, we certainly seem strongly led to the conclusion that the eye-witness on whose authority Mark wrote, and of whose vivid narration he has handed down to us the clearest image, was none other than the Apostle Peter.

Notwithstanding this close connection with the "Apostle of the Circumcision," St. Mark's Gospel is plainly designed, not (like St. Matthew's) for Jewish, but for Gentile readers. Such a work was needed for the instruction of those vast multitudes of Gentile Christians, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to whom the land of Judah was an unknown region, and the Jewish Scriptures a sealed volume, and whose belief that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the prophets was the result, not the cause, of their faith in Him as the Son of God and Saviour of the world. What special qualifications "the disciple and interpreter of Peter" had for this work we know not. Perhaps his Roman name may indicate that, although his mother was a Jewess, his father (like Timothy's) was a Gentile; or it may point to other ties of kindred and friendship outside the sacred pale. With such readers in view, St. Mark naturally omits much which St. Matthew is careful to insert. He makes no reference to the law of Moses. He adduces the testimony of the Old Testament prophets once for all, in the two great quotations with which he opens his Gospel; all the other citations from Scripture which he gives (except xv. 28, not found in the most ancient copies) occurring in his report of the words of our Lord or of His hearers. He gives but brief accounts of Christ's discourses, omitting the "Sermon on the Mount;" condensing into three verses (xii. 38—40) those tremendous denunciations of the hypocrisy and vice of the Pharisees and rulers, with which Jesus closed His public ministry;[1] and inserts but five of the parables, one of them peculiar to his Gospel (iv. 26—29; to which we may add, in its distinct form as a parable, xiii. 34). On the other hand, he narrates a large number of our Lord's miracles, inserting fifteen out of twenty-one recorded by St. Matthew (or twenty-two, if we count as a distinct miracle Peter's walking on the sea); one given by St. Luke; and two not given in either of the other Gospels.

Thus the compact brevity of St. Mark's Gospel results not from greater conciseness in narration than the other evangelists—his narrative abounding, as we have seen, in additional details—but from large omissions, made in harmony with the special purpose in view. He passes over all those preparatory events which occupy so important a place in the first and third Gospels. After as brief an account of John's ministry as would intelligibly introduce the main narrative, and of the baptism and temptation of Jesus (yet in the single verse which records the latter adding one graphic and pathetic touch), he begins the story of the world-wide glad tidings, just as Peter began to preach it to the first Gentile converts (Acts x. 36—43). The opening sentence, which also forms the title, supplies the key-note of his book—"The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." It is an account of the origin, and a demonstration of the Divine authority, of the Christian faith. The Son of God is portrayed before us less by His words of wisdom and truth—the prevailing element in the other three Gospels—than by His works of power and of mercy. The minute traits which picture them vividly to our imagination, also attest the faithfulness of the record. We do not so much sit at the feet of the Divine Teacher, as follow the footsteps of the Saviour. We behold His glory, and yet we see, too, how truly the Son of God was also the Son of man—"the carpenter, the son of Mary." "Nowhere else are we permitted so clearly to behold His very gesture and look, see His very position, to read His feelings, and to hear His very words" (v. 41; vii. 34; xiv. 36).

The last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel (xvi. 9—20) are wanting in the two most ancient known MSS., the Sinaitic and Vatican, though found in all other Greek copies; and are referred to by Eusebius, Jerome, and others, as lacking in the most correct copies. Yet there is evidence, both of quotations and of the most ancient versions, to show that they were very early read as a part of the Gospel. The style even the English reader may perceive to differ strikingly, in its summary brevity, from St. Mark's; and in the Greek a number of words occur not elsewhere used by him. It is conjectured, therefore, either that this brief conclusion was added by St. Mark at a later period to what he had from some cause been previously compelled to leave unfinished; or, that it was added at an early date by another hand, from apostolic tradition. In its spirit, and in its terse simplicity, it forms a majestic and harmonious conclusion.

Some traditions represent this Gospel as written during the Apostle Peter's life-time, others after his death, which there is good reason to believe took place at Rome, under Nero, in or about A.D. 64. But this is a matter too purely conjectural to claim discussion here.

[1] St. Luke is equally brief in the parallel place (xx. 45—47), but gives similar denunciations in chap. xi. 39—52.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE:—(3) RACES IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

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DURING the long series of years with which we have now to deal, the children of Israel, if they did not always form the dominant race—for to say nothing of the "oppressions" in the times of the Judges, even in later times they were, for centuries, under vassalage to a succession of foreign masters—Assyrian, Egyptian, Chaldean, Persian, Greek-Syrian, and Roman—constituted (except perhaps in the days of the exile) the bulk of the inhabitants of Palestine. They were not, however, at any time, the *exclusive* occupants of that territory. And in these concluding papers on Palestinian Ethnology it is proposed to attempt to indicate, with special relation to some of the more remarkable of the epochs of Israel's history from the conquest downwards, to what extent, and under what forms, a foreign element maintained itself in the population side by side with that which was purely Israelite.

§ 1.—TIME OF JOSHUA.

The promise made to the Chosen Seed, before they crossed the Jordan, was to the effect that God would "drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before them," and give them possession of the whole country thus emptied of its inhabitants (Exod. xxiii. 28—31). In strict correspondence with this promise were the instructions the Israelites received as to their own duty under the covenant into which Jehovah had been pleased to enter with them and with their fathers. "When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you . . . . and ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein: for I have given you the land to possess it" (Numb. xxxiii. 51—53). It was not, however, contemplated that, under any circumstances, the "dispossession" would be completed, in the fullest extent of the terms of the promise, otherwise than by persevering efforts to be carried on for some considerable space of time. "I will not drive them out from before thee in one year. . . . . By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inhabit the land" (Exod. xxiii. 29, 30). And even as thus limited, the fulfilment of the promise was made conditional on the zeal and fidelity of the Israelites themselves in performing the work assigned to them as the instruments employed to carry into effect the Divine purpose (Numb. xxxiii. 55; Josh. xxiii. 13).

Up to the time of the death of Joshua nothing appears to have occurred to discourage the hope that, in due time, that purpose would be fully accomplished. Errors were fallen into. Achan was not the only "troubler of Israel" in those days. There is not wanting evidence that idolatry had already to some extent regained, if it had ever wholly lost, its hold on many of the people (Josh. xxiv. 15—23). Upon the whole, however, Israel still "clave unto the Lord their God;" and if there were even then temporary checks to their onward progress which might have been avoided, the work given them to do was, upon the whole, done, before their great leader, now "old and stricken in age," was gathered to his fathers. It would be out of place here to enter into a history of the seven years' war (Josh. xviii. 10; cf. Keil, *in loc.;* Milman, i. 225), and of the steps afterwards taken by Joshua to reap the fruits of his victories. Of the result we are left in no doubt. "Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel, according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war . . . . There failed not ought of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass" (Josh. xi. 23; xxi. 45).

Although in the broad and general sense in which, with a due regard to the context, these words can alone be understood, the conquest must be regarded as before the death of Joshua virtually accomplished, it is not to be supposed that, at any moment, every part of the country, with every one of its cities and strongholds, was in the actual possession of the Israelites. Ewald thinks it "very probable that, in the first terror of surprise, even the Philistines, and also the men of Sidon and the rest of the Phœnicians, may have paid homage" (*Hist.* ii. 30). But the Phœnician coast was never, even in Joshua's time, more than nominally Israelite territory (cf. Josh. xiii. 6; Judg. iii. 3); and as to Philistia, "all the borders of the Philistines" are, in the old age of Joshua, described as, no less than the coasts of Sidon, "land that yet remaineth to be possessed" (Josh. xiii. 2, seq.). Indeed, though three of its capital cities and their "coasts" were after Joshua's death taken and, for a short time, held by Judah (Judg. i. 18; cf. iii. 1—3), Philistia was not completely subjugated till the reign of David (2 Sam. viii. 1; 1 Chron. xviii. 1). Other less considerable, but important, border lands were in very much the same position (Josh. xiii. 6). Everywhere, too, isolated strongholds, especially in the valleys, where their formidable war-chariots gave the aborigines a decided advantage over Israel (Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19; iv. 3), remained to the enemy (Judg. i. 1, seq.): either having held out from the first, or as in the case of Jebus (better known in after times as Jerusalem), having been very soon re-occupied by them. All that is indeed necessarily implied in the history of Joshua's victories is "simply that the power of the Canaanites was broken, their dominion overthrown, and their territory so thoroughly given into the hands of the Israelites . . . that they could neither offer any further opposition to their invaders, nor dispute the possession of the land with them" (Keil, *Com. on Josh.*).

If the land was not everywhere occupied, much less

were the whole of its former inhabitants extirpated. A very large proportion of them must, it is true, have disappeared before the end of the war. The loss of life alone was frightful. This is not the place to attempt to justify the ways of God to man, in relation to the terrible judgments inflicted on the Canaanites. It is with the facts only that we have to deal. The Israelites were required to "smite," and "destroy utterly," "showing no mercy" (Deut. vii. 2). And in many instances these ministers of the Divine justice were not slack in carrying out to the letter their appointed, if dreadful, mission. Many fell in battle; many more, probably, perished in the sack of populous cities like Jericho, in whose fate an awful warning was given, at the very commencement of the campaign, as to the true nature of the coming struggle. In Ai, where the inhabitants were comparatively "few" (Josh. vii. 3), 12,000 persons were put to the sword. Nor were Jericho and Ai the only cities which suffered so terrible a doom. In the history alike of the battle of Bethhoron, which gave the southern half of Palestine into the hands of Joshua, and of the battle of Merom, fought against a confederacy of the northern tribes, we find that the victory in the field was followed up by the ravage of the whole territories of the confederate kings, and the capture of their chief towns, with whose inhabitants Joshua dealt as he had done with the inhabitants of Jericho and Ai (Josh. x., xi.). Then, great numbers, doubtless, were literally, "driven forth out of the land." After the Canaanite defeat at Merom, just referred to, the survivors of the fight and the pursuit fled in the first instance "to great Sidon and to Misrephoth-maim, and to the valley of Mizpeh eastward" at the foot of Hermon (xi. 8; cf. ver. 3). Of these some must have returned to their former settlements in the time of the Judges. Many, however, probably remained in or near the territories, on the north-western and north-eastern borders of Palestine, in which they had thus sought refuge from the enemy. In the "valley" or "land of Mizpeh," a Hivite colony was indeed already settled before this time, and had taken part with the confederate kings under Jabin, in the battle (xi. 3); and down to the days of Solomon we find tribes of Hittites, under their own kings, with settlements in the same direction (1 Kings x. 29). In like manner remnants of the Rephaim, or Anakim, had fled to the cities of the Philistines, when that giant race was by Joshua "cut off from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel" (Josh. xi. 21, 22; 1 Sam. xvii. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 19). But we are not without reasons for believing that sooner or later there were also migrations to much more remote regions. Procopius, the historian (born *c.* 500 A.D.), himself a native of Cæsarea, in Palestine, and therefore the more likely to be interested in any facts connected with the early history of that country, was shown two marble pillars near a great well in the fortress of Tigisis in Numidia, bearing an inscription[1] in the Phœnician tongue, to this effect: "We are those who fled from before the face of the robber Joshua, the son of Nun" (Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* ii. 10). The antiquity of the monument has been disputed, on internal evidence (Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 2, *note*; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, 66). But as Dean Stanley remarks (*Jewish Church*, i. 275), its existence, even so late as the sixth century, shows at least the belief which lingered among the remnant of the Phœnician colonies on the coast of Africa. Nor is there wanting other evidence of less doubtful authenticity as to such distant migrations of some of the fugitives.[2] At the same time, though many Canaanites either perished, or were compelled to flee the country, during the wars of Joshua, many also remained.

It is impossible to estimate the exact numbers. But that these were very considerable is plain enough. To say nothing of the Canaanites of Sidonia—whose territory, though assigned to her, and allotted to one of her tribes, never (as we have found) appertained, *de facto*, to Israel—the Philistines remained not only unsubdued, but, as would appear, intact, in their own settlements on the south-western coast; and the Philistines, if less formidable in numbers than they became in the later years of the Judges, were already (Exod. xiii. 17) a powerful people. We know little of the numerical strength of the other nations in "the south" and in "all Lebanon"—Avites, Giblites, and Canaanites—which also still remained in undisturbed possession of their lands (Josh. xiii. 3; Judg. iii. 3). Of the Hivites of Gibeon we have more information. This people, who had been for long settled in the very heart of the land, and by well-known means had contrived to secure for themselves immunity from the fate of their brethren, occupied, we find, no fewer than four cities, of which the capital is described as "a great city, larger than Ai," and one of the royal cities in pre-Israelite times (Josh. x. 2). According to Robinson (*Researches*, i. 455), its existing ruins attest its former greatness. "One large tower," he says, "still remains, perhaps a former castle, or tower of strength. The lower rooms are vaulted with round arches of hewn stones fitted together with great exactness. The stones outside are large, and the whole appearance is that of antiquity." Many of the separate towns, or strongholds, in possession of others of the primitive inhabitants at the time of Joshua's death, were also considerable places. Several of them are named in the first chapter of Judges. They include Bezek, where 10,000 Canaanites and Perizzites fell when the city was afterwards taken by the tribes; Jebus, in which the Canaanites were able to continue to hold their ground till the time of David; Hebron; Kirjath-sephir; Bethel; Bethshan, under the name of Scythopolis, still a heathen city in the time of our Lord (Lightfoot, *Works*, x. 240); and Endor, which, in the witch's cave there, bore traces of the Canaanite element in its population at the close of the reign of Saul. Many other cities, with their dependent villages,

[1] See Vol. I., p. 105.

[2] Ewald (*Hist.* ii. 2, *note*) refers to the brief statement in Eusebius, *Chron. Gr.*, ed. Scaliger, p. 11, that Tripolis, in Africa, was founded by Canaanites who fled before Joshua; and to a notice, in Moses Chorensis, i. 19, of a noble race in Armenia who claimed a similar origin.

are enumerated in the same place as being yet in the possession of the enemy after the death of Joshua; and Canaanites are said to have been found at that time alike "in the mountain, and in the south (*Negeb*), and in the valley (*Shephela*)" (Judg. i. 9).

It must be repeated, however, that at the time of Joshua's death the people of Israel were, to all intents and purposes, the people of the land, and that as a rule the land was already occupied by them. So thoroughly was their predominance established that Joshua had been enabled to disband his army, every man betaking himself to his own inheritance. Even the levy of 40,000 soldiers from the trans-Jordanic tribes (Josh. i. 12; iv. 13), who, their own territories being already secured, had agreed to accompany their brethren throughout the war against Canaan, "until the Lord hath given your brethren rest, as he hath given you," were released from their long service, and permitted to re-cross the Jordan, and rejoin their wives and families in Gilead and Bashan (xxii. 1).

§ 2.—TIME OF THE JUDGES.

In the period of between three hundred and four hundred years which, commencing not very long after the events just noticed, and extending to the reign of Saul, is known as the time of the Judges, Palestine may almost be said to have hardly escaped falling again into the possession of the races from which it had been wrested so recently, and after so terrible a conflict.

For some time after the death of Joshua the several tribes to whom, in their different localities the work had been entrusted, persevered, not without zeal, though with varying success, in the attempt to dispossess the remnants of the conquered peoples from the strongholds which we have found they had continued to retain after the conquest. A new generation, however, now sprung up—a generation with less faith than their fathers, and caring more for their own ease and enjoyment than for the realisation of the purposes of the Theocracy. The first step in the downward course was taken when they began to enter into leagues with the enemy; a course equally opposed to the command of God, whether, as a condition of peace, they received, or—as seems to have been the case with the tribe of Asher, on the Phœnician borders (cf. Judg. i. 32)—themselves rendered homage. To such perilous compromises were added still more fatal departures from the path of duty expressly prescribed by God. If any doubts could have been felt that the command utterly to drive out the Canaanite, though apparently harsh, was right in itself, the events which now ensued alone suffice to remove them. Again, as before the flood, the seed of the wicked were intermingled with the heirs of the promise, and with like results. "The children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites; and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods." "And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel . . . . so that they could no longer stand against their enemies" (Judg. iii. 6—8; ii. 14). It was an inevitable consequence of the calamitous circumstances under which Israel was thus brought, that there ere long occurred an alarming change in the relative proportion of Israelites and non-Israelites in the land.

The Canaanites—using this general term to designate all the older races of Canaan—not only maintained their position, but rapidly increased in numbers and in power. In some localities they even for a time fully recovered the supremacy which they had enjoyed before the conquest. Allusion has been already made to the battle of Merom, one of the two great battles by which Joshua first secured possession of the land. That battle had been fought against a confederacy of northern Canaanites under Jâbin, king of Hazor. The issue was a complete victory over the confederate army, followed, after long warfare, by the capture of all their towns (Hazor itself being burned with fire), and the slaughter or dispersion of the whole Canaanite population of the district (Josh. xi. 1). Yet, about a hundred and fifty years later, Hazor is found again as a great Canaanite city, with another king of the same name as in the days of Joshua, with—as in those times—powerful allies among neighbouring Canaanite kings, and with a numerous army, so well equipped that it had no fewer than nine hundred war-chariots (Judg. iv. 3). They were again defeated, it is true, by a combination of some of the principal tribes; but not until after they had been permitted to show their power by a rule of twenty years, during which time "they mightily oppressed the children of Israel" (Judg. iv. 3). "The highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked by byways. The inhabitants of the villages ceased" (v. 6). So thoroughly indeed had they been able to break the spirit of the race which had once conquered and were destined to conquer them again, that, in their forays—forays from which their wives at home were used to expect to see them return with many a Hebrew captive for the neighbouring slave-markets (v. 30)—they pursued the terror-stricken Israelites even to the gates of their cities, and seem to have met with little if any resistance (v. 8).

A remarkable increase of the Philistine power also took place in the course of these centuries. To what cause it is to be attributed is a question as to which Biblical students differ in opinion. Knobel, Movers, Ewald, and also, as formerly mentioned, Pusey, find the reason in an influx—or more than one influx—of fresh immigrants into Philistia which, as they suppose, must have taken place before the time of the later Judges. Other writers, on the contrary, hold that the hypothesis of new immigrations, whether from Crete or elsewhere, is without any real basis, and is not required to account for the facts in question; the geographical position of the country, which affords peculiar facilities for commercial pursuits; the remarkable fertility of the soil, with the character of the people themselves—a people full of energy, ambitious, enterprising, and no less proficient in the arts of peace than skilful and courageous in war—alone affording an adequate explanation. Of the fact itself there can be no doubt. That the Philistines had now

become a much more important people than they were at the conquest will not be disputed when it is considered that, to use the words of Dr. Pusey, "whereas heretofore those whom God employed to chasten Israel in their idolatries were kings of Mesopotamia, Moab, Hazor, Midian, Amalek, and the children of the East (Judg. iii., &c.); and Philistia had, at the beginning of the period of the Judges, lost Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron (i. 18) to Israel, and was repulsed by Shamgar; thenceforth, to the time of David, they became the great scourge of Israel on the west of Jordan, as Ammon was on the east" (*Minor Proph.*, 221).

Nor is this all. While in Palestine the enemies of Israel were thus recovering or (as in the case of the Philistines) augmenting their numbers, the Hebrew population was suffering a corresponding decrease. This fact, it is true, is nowhere expressly stated; but it may confidently be inferred, if only from a comparison of the numbers Israel could bring into the field, even when she fought for her national independence, almost her very existence as a nation, in the times of the Judges, with the great armies which Joshua led across the Jordan.

How could the case have been otherwise? We must be on our guard against forming an exaggerated idea of the wretched state of the country in those days when "there was no king in Israel." Many of the general statements on this subject to be found in the Book of Judges might mislead us if we were not careful to attend to qualifying details which are supplied to us on the same authority. Neither the sins nor the sufferings of Israel in the centuries now referred to were uninter-mittent; nor were either of them at any time universally prevalent. In the worst days of this dark period of the ancient Church's history, the institutions of Moses never lost their hold on at least a remnant of the favoured people. All through those days of wide-spread spiritual declension the tabernacle at Shiloh[1] was the centre of religious worship; the services of the sanctuary were regularly celebrated by consecrated priests of Jehovah, in accordance with the Mosaic ritual, and were frequented by devout congregations of the faithful; and above all there were parts of the country, and probably homes everywhere—like those of Manoah, Elimelech, Boaz, and Elkanah—in which were exemplified every social and domestic virtue, with a genuine piety unsurpassed in any age of the Church. Nor did the judgments which were visited on the nation for abounding iniquity, and which, like all national judgments, often brought suffering on the innocent as well as the guilty, fall, at least with equal severity, on every district of the land. The not more beautiful and touching, than, from an historical point of view, important history of Ruth, affords, as does also the Song of Deborah, abundant evidence in support of both these statements.

[1] After the first battle of Ebenezer, when the ark brought from Shiloh into the camp of Israel was taken by the Philistines, and the earliest of the Hebrew sanctuaries appears to have been abandoned, the services were still continued elsewhere, as in Samuel's time, at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 5), at Ramah (vii. 17), and at Gilgal (x. 8; xi. 15).

At the same time, there can be no doubt that the state of the country was, upon the whole, deplorable.

It was more than deplorable: it was such as to imperil the national existence. A single fact will suffice to show how narrowly Israel in the time of the Judges must have escaped utter extinction as a nation. Leaving out of view the losses incurred in their frequent and desperate battles against their foreign invaders, and in their bloody internecine wars, when again and again (Judg. viii. 1—3; xii. 1; xx. 1) the tribes turned their swords against each other—with, in a familar instance, the result that one of their number, the tribe of Benjamin, was all but totally exterminated (xxi. 6); and the general weakening effects on the population of the anarchy and insecurity which prevailed—Israel was for long periods, in one case for forty successive years, helplessly at the feet of "oppressors" like the Mesopotamians, Moab, Ammon, Midian, Hazor, and the Philistines, nations which made war chiefly that they might make captives to be carried away into slavery. That thousands and tens of thousands of the choicest young men and maidens of Israel were during each of the six "oppressions" removed from the land to be sold as slaves in foreign slave-markets is a fact of which no one acquainted with the usages of the times can have any reasonable doubt.[2]

[2] One of these "oppressions" is expressly called a time of "the captivity of the land" (Judg. xviii. 30; cf. ver. 31; 1 Sam. iv. 2, seq.; Ps. lxxviii. 60, 61); and a "captivity" implies a removal of the inhabitants, "not merely a subdual, whereby the inhabitants would remain tributary, or even enslaved, yet still remain" (Pusey, on Joel iii. 6). The "damsel or two" which each of the soldiers of Jabin's army was expected to bring back from the battle under Sisera, when Israel was lying under the oppression of the Canaanites of Hazor (Judg. v. 30), were of course intended for the slave-market. To what extent similar oppressions in the after history of Israel were accompanied by the removal of captives out of the land, and their sale as slaves in foreign countries, we have abundant evidence. In Joel (c. 800 B.C.) we find God represented as "pleading" with certain nations, "for my people and my heritage, Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations . . . . having cast lots for my people; and having given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine that they might drink" (iii. 2). The Phœnicians and the Philistines are especially mentioned, and their sin is thus described: "Ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my pleasant things: the children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border" (verses 5, 6). Amos (c. 737 B.C.), in like manner, pronounces judgments both on the Philistines and on the Phœnicians for carrying away Israelites "with an entire captivity," and delivering them up to Edom—the sin of the latter being aggravated, inasmuch as it involved a breach of "the brotherly covenant" which, as we know otherwise, had been formed between Tyre and Israel in the days of David and Solomon (Amos i. 6, 9). "The Philistines are here the robbers of men; the Phœnicians are the receivers and the sellers" (Pusey, *in loc.* Cf. Amos i. 9; 2 Macc. viii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 13). In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 120,000 Jews were found in Egypt as slaves, most of them, as the king just named declared in the decree by which they were ordered to be redeemed, having been taken captive and brought into Egypt, and there sold, when his father overran Syria and laid waste Judea (Jos. *Antiq.* xii. 2. § 1—4). In the Roman war, which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (70 A.D.), 97,000 Jews were carried away into captivity, all those under seventeen years of age being sold as slaves (Jos. *B. J.* vi. 9, § 3). In the history of the wars of the Maccabees there is a curious illustration of the customs above referred to. After the revolt of the Jews under Judas Maccabeus began to look threatening, Nicanor was sent, with 20,000 men, to root them out from the whole country; and though his expedition failed, we find that he expected to make as much by the sale of captives as would pay a tribute of 2,600 talents, then due by

THE OSTRICH (*Struthio camelus*).

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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OSTRICH.

THERE are two or three Hebrew words which denote the ostrich—namely, *bath haya'anâh*, *yâ'ên*, and *rânân*—but they are not always correctly translated in our version. The *bath haya'anâh* is mentioned in the list of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15), where, however, our translators read "owl;" and in Job xxx. 29; Isa. xxxiv. 13; xliii. 20, where "owl" is again given in the text, but "ostrich," correctly, in the margin. Some authorities derive the Hebrew word *ya'anâh* from a root meaning to "cry out," "to make a loud noise." The literal meaning with *bath* is "daughter of loud crying." Others derive the word from a root meaning "to be greedy;" hence "daughter of greediness." Either definition would suit the ostrich, though the more probable etymology is that which refers to the loud crying these birds utter in their natural haunts. The noise of the ostrich has been compared to that of the

Antiochus Epiphanes to the Romans. At the price he calculated on receiving for each, he must have sold 180,000 slaves to make up the total sum. In anticipation of a success, with which he did not meet, "he sent to the cities upon the sea-coast, proclaiming a sale of the captive Jews;" and when he pitched at Emmaus, his camp contained a thousand merchants, who had come with "silver and gold very much," and "fetters," "to buy the children of Israel for slaves" (1 Macc. iii.; 2 Macc. viii.).

lion, for which it has been mistaken by the Hottentots in Africa; but Tristram says it sounds more like the hoarse lowing of an ox in pain: it is loud and dolorous, and in the stillness of the desert plains can be heard at a great distance. To this dismal cry reference is made in the Book of Job (xxx. 28, 29): "I went mourning without the sun: I stood up and cried in the congregation. I am a brother to jackals ('dragons,' A. V.), and a companion to ostriches ('owls,' A. V.)." The same simile occurs in Micah i. 8.

The word *yá'ên* occurs only in the plural number, *ye'ênim*, in Lam. iv. 3: "The daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness." The word is merely the masculine gender of *ya'anah* without the addition of *bath*, "daughter." *Rânân*, or *renen*, which latter term is still used in modern Hebrew, occurs only in Job xxxix. 13, where our translators very incorrectly render *renânîm* by "peacocks," and the Hebrew word for stork by "ostrich." The verse should be thus rendered: "The wing of the ostrich moveth joyously, but has she the plume and feather of the stork?" This latter bird is proverbially noted for its affection to its young. How unlike to the cruel ostrich, which leaveth her eggs in the earth, and is hardened against her young ones. The word has the same meaning as the other Hebrew one for ostrich, *rânân*, viz., to "howl and utter loud cries." Stupidity and want of affection to her offspring have long been attributed to the ostrich by the Orientals. The Arabs have a proverb, "Stupid as an ostrich," and they give several reasons for their belief, as—(1.) That the ostrich will swallow iron and stones. (2.) When it is hunted it thrusts its head into a bush, and thinks the hunter does not see it. (3.) It neglects its eggs. (4.) It has a small head and few brains. It is well known that the ostrich swallows stones and other hard substances to aid its digestion. Shaw saw one swallow several leaden bullets scorching hot from the mould. Hair, wood, cordage, and almost any mineral substance, the ostrich will swallow with indiscriminate voracity. Date-stones are a favourite food, and the necessity of swallowing stones may be seen when we consider that date-stones are about the hardest of vegetable substances.

The ostrich is polygamous. The hens lay their eggs promiscuously in one nest, which is a hole scratched in the sand; they are then covered over about one foot deep, and left for the greater part of the day to the heat of the sun. The parent birds take their turns at incubation during the night. But this is the case only in those countries which have a tropical sun. The ostriches with which the Jews would be acquainted would be those of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa, where the ostriches frequently incubate during the day; so that it may be asked, how it can be said that "she forgetteth that the foot may crush" the eggs when they are covered a foot or more deep in the sand? The ostrich lays an immense number of eggs, and some she places, not in the nest, but round about it, to all appearance forsaken; and these doubtless are the eggs which a foot may crush to which reference is made in the passage in Job. These eggs, according to some naturalists, are designed for the nourishment of the newly-hatched young ones, which could not otherwise, perhaps, obtain food in parched and barren regions; and this opinion is strengthened by the statement of natives. Dr. Tristram once was fortunate enough to find an ostrich's nest. He saw the old birds standing for some time in one spot, and rode up to it. The Arabs dismounted, and, digging with their hands, soon brought up four fine fresh eggs from the depth of about a foot under the warm sand. The eggs were excellent—like those of poultry. On the surface-laid eggs Dr. Tristram says, "Though I did not myself see the eggs scattered on the surface, yet all my Arab friends have assured me that it is the invariable habit of the bird so to place many of them, and that far more are laid than are ever incubated. It is from this habit most probably that the want of parental instinct is laid to the charge of the ostrich. At the same time, when surprised by man with the young, before they are able to run, the parent bird sends off alone, and leaves its offspring to its fate. To do otherwise would be a self-sacrifice, as it is aware of its inability to defend itself or its poults; and on the open desert it cannot, like other cursorial birds, mislead the pursuer, and conceal its brood in herbage" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 238). The capture of the ostrich, the largest of all birds, and perhaps the swiftest of all cursorial animals, is the greatest feat of hunting to which the Arab sportsman aspires. The bird is very shy and wary; the wide, sandy plains afford no means of ambuscade, and "dogged perseverance is the only mode of pursuit." The horses are subjected to a long and painful training, but little water being allowed, and the diet consisting chiefly of dried dates, to strengthen their wind. "The hunters set forth with small skins of water strapped under their horses' bellies, and a scanty allowance of food for four or five days distributed judiciously about their saddles. The ostrich generally lives in companies of from four to six individuals, which do not appear to be in the habit, under ordinary circumstances, of wandering more than twenty or thirty miles from their head-quarters. When descried, two or three of the hunters follow the herd at a gentle gallop, endeavouring merely to keep the birds in sight, without alarming them, or driving them at full speed, when they would soon be lost to view. The rest of the pursuers leisurely proceed in a direction at right angles to the course which the ostriches have taken, knowing by experience their habit of running in a circle. Posted on the best look-out they can find, they await for hours the anticipated route of the game, calculating upon intersecting their path. If fortunate enough to detect them, the relay sets upon the now fatigued flock, and frequently succeeds in running one or two down, though a horse or two generally falls exhausted in the pursuit" (p. 236-7). The flesh of the ostrich is good and sweet. By the ancient Romans this bird's brains were highly prized as a dish for supper. The egg-shells are used for

various purposes by the natives, who make drinking cups and boxes out of them, but especially for the embellishing of the mosques, "where they are suspended in long rows, and for the decoration of graves, the eggs being embedded in mortar at the head and foot of each grave, or built for a great man into a sort of pyramid."

The ancient Egyptians used to hunt the ostrich, whose plumes were in great request for ornamental purposes. An ostrich feather was a symbol of the Goddess of Truth or Justice. It belonged also to the head-dress of Ao and other deities, and was worn by the soldiery and priests on certain religious festivals. (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, v., p. 216.)

Ostrich-plumes for head-dresses are almost wholly imported from Africa. Those of the male bird are the whitest and most beautiful. The plumes of the wings are more valuable than the tail-feathers. The ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) is seldom seen in Palestine. Dr. Tristram obtained a skin of one of these birds, which was killed on the Belka Plains, close behind the hills of Moab.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

HAGGAI (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

SECOND PROPHECY.

CHAP. II. 1—9.

IT is to be feared that the zeal with which, for the second time, the Jews commenced to build the Temple soon declined, declined dangerously even within a month; for it was on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius, that they were stirred up by the word of the Lord to resume the work, and by the twenty-first day of the next month Haggai has once more to rouse and kindle their drooping hearts. And here again we are thankful to Haggai for the precision with which he dates his prophecies; for this precision helps us to enter into the feelings of the returned exiles, and to understand why their hearts were disquieted and despondent within them. The twenty-first day of the seventh month was the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles. And this feast was ordinarily one of the most merry and joyful in the Hebrew calendar. For eight days—*i.e.*, from a Sabbath to a Sabbath, inclusive—the Jews dwelt in booths made of "the boughs of goodly trees," to commemorate the journeyings of their fathers in the wilderness of Sinai, and the goodness of the Lord in guiding and feeding them as they travelled to the promised land. At this feast, moreover, they celebrated the ingathering of the fruits of the earth, especially the fruits of the orchard and the vineyard. In all wine-growing countries the vintage is a season of hilarity and joy; and among the Hebrews, who believed that God gave them wine to gladden their hearts, it was a time not only of joy, but of joy in the Lord.

But the harvest and vintage of *this* year had been, as we learn from Haggai, miserably scanty and disappointing. They had "sown much, and brought in little;" they had "eaten, but had not had enough;" they had "drunk, but had not been full." A blight seemed to have fallen on the grain and the vines, upon "all that the ground bringeth forth" and upon "all the labour of their hands" (chap. i. 6, 10, 11). What wonder, then, that as they gathered on the Temple-hill to keep the feast, to hold a solemn convocation, to eat and drink and praise the Lord, they brooded with anxious care over their scanty crops, and felt that, while the times were so hard, they could not hope to complete the great enterprise which they had commenced? What wonder if, as they ate of the scanty fare and drank the poor wine of the year, they mournfully recalled the rich abundance which their fathers had enjoyed, and concluded that God had forgotten to be gracious to them? What wonder if, as they recalled the former spacious Temple with its splendid magnificence, and looked round on the contracted lines of the House they were now rearing, this House seemed as little in their eyes as compared with Solomon's as their political status and condition when compared with that of their fathers'?

It was to rouse them from this brooding despondency that the word of the Lord once more came through Haggai the prophet. On the day before that on which the Feast ended—the Friday of the third week in the seventh month of the year, B.C. 520—he came to them and said (verses 3—5):

> "Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory?
> And how do ye see it now?
> Is it not as nothing in your eyes?
> But now be comforted, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord;
> And be comforted, O Joshua, son of Jozadak, thou high priest;
> And be comforted, all ye people of the land,
> Saith the Lord of Hosts, and work:
> For I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts.
> The covenant I made with you when ye came out of Egypt,
> And my Spirit, remain with you;
> Fear ye not."

Just as, when the foundations of the Temple were laid, it was "the ancient men, who had seen the first house," that wept; so now, when the building was resumed, it was the old men, to whom the former times were so much better than these, who discouraged the builders by affirming that *this* House was as nothing to *that;* that it was no use going on with it; that it would never be fit to be seen. There might be many men in the congregation who had seen the House that Solomon built, for it was not more than sixty-eight years since

it was destroyed; and the Jews were a long-lived race. Possibly, too, among these ancient men there were some who, when in Babylon, had heard Daniel prophesy that "seventy days" or years must elapse before the Restoration, and who therefore agreed that "the time was not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built;" that at least two years must elapse before the full time would come. They may have deemed that these young men, Haggai and Zechariah, who thought so little of the comforts due to age and so much of the necessity of labour and sacrifice, were not to be compared with the great prophets of their youthful days—Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. They may have given a religious colour to the promptings of timidity, and indolence and selfishness, and have dwelt on the *impiety* of building before the due time, as well as on the imprudence of building while the times were so hard. I confess I vehemently suspect these "ancient men" of being at the bottom of the mischief, and of throwing cold water on the zeal of Zerubbabel and Joshua, and of all who were ready to leave off running for their own houses in order that the Lord's House might no longer lie waste.

Obviously they, or their maundering interpretations of the facts of the time, had damped the zeal of the Governor and the high priest; for Haggai bids Zerubbabel and Joshua, and all the people of the land, be *comforted; i.e.*, be inwardly strong, not to yield to the querulous spirit of those who had seen the Temple in its first glory, and who depreciated and despised as "nothing" the House that was now rising from the ground. To strengthen them against this evil and depressing influence, to inspirit them to "work" on in faith and hope, he repeats the Divine assurance with which the previous chapter closes, "*For I am with you*, saith the Lord of Hosts;" *i.e.*, "*I* am *for* you, although the Persians, and the Samaritans, and even the ancient men of Israel may be *against* you."

But the prophet is not content with simply repeating the assurance. He confirms it with an argument, and an argument which they could bring to the test of experience. The word, or "covenant" of God, and the "Spirit" of God remained with them. This word or covenant made with the Hebrews when they came up out of Egypt was, of course, the compact God had sealed with them, that, if they would be his people, He would be their God; that, if they kept his commandments, they should be his peculiar treasure among all the nations of the earth. They might suppose that this covenant had ceased and determined when they had so flagrantly violated it, as that God had given them a prey to their enemies and suffered them to be carried away captive to Babylon; but it had not ceased despite their sins: it still stood. God would be even better to them than his word: and here was a proof patent to them all —*the Spirit*, which alone gives life to the word, was still with them, and manifestly with them. That Spirit was working in the prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, who brought them messages from Heaven; nay, it was working in their own hearts, and compelling them to act on the inspiration of the prophets; for had not the Lord, barely a month since, "*stirred up the spirit* of Zerubbabel, and the spirit of Joshua, and the spirit of the whole remnant of the people," so that they had "hearkened unto the voice of the Lord their God, and did according to the words of Haggai the prophet, since God had sent him" (chap. i. 12—14)? Here, then, was the proof that God was with them. Here was the proof that his word, or covenant, with them still held good; for the presence and activity of his Spirit in their midst was the surest of all signs that both God and his word remained with them, and had not been alienated or withdrawn. Why, then, should they fear, let the old men say what they would? Grant that this House was as "nothing" to the former. Was not a living and active spiritual Presence more and better than any house? What did it matter that the Temple was small if God dwelt in it, and dwelt in it not simply as a fire involved in clouds, but as a benignant and quickening Power?

In all this there was much to rouse and cheer their hearts, and to make the feast end more blithely than it began. But Haggai has far greater things than these to utter. Like all the prophets, he has his brief apocalypse. His quick and forward-hasting spirit is borne on into the future; and he, too, sees, or foresees, the coming of the kingdom that cannot be moved. This apocalyptic vision occupies only four verses (6—9); but these verses are very full. They are also perplexing: for, like all the prophets when they rise to their highest point of vision and pre-vision, Haggai blends and entangles the future with the present: the future events which he foresees cast their shadows before, but the form of these shadows is determined by the historic facts of the moment, and often it is hard to distinguish the predictive element of his words from the historic. Let us read them, and see what we can make of them:—

"For thus saith the Lord of hosts,
Once more, and that soon,
I will shake the heavens and the earth,
The sea and the dry land;
Yea, I will shake all the nations,
And the good things desired by all the nations shall come;
And I will fill this house with glory,
Saith the Lord of hosts.
Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold,
Saith the Lord of hosts.
The last glory of this house shall be greater than the first,
Saith the Lord of hosts;
And in this place will I give peace,
Saith the Lord of hosts."

Now the plain historic sense of the words, the sense in which the Jews to whom Haggai spoke would take them, I suppose to be this. They would understand that a great convulsion was at hand, in which the nations and empires that now oppressed them would be overthrown, and compelled to recognise the power of Him who had chosen the Hebrew race to be his people; that they themselves would be emancipated from their subjection to Persia, and raised to a height of freedom and strength which would set them above the reach of their adversaries; that they need have no fear about the completion of the Temple, or that it would lack

splendour, since He was with them to whom the silver and the gold belonged; and that, when the Temple was complete, God would grant them a settled peace, and so manifest his power among them as that the last glory of his house and kingdom should surpass the first. If this was, as probably it was, the sense in which the Jews took the words of Haggai, we can well believe that, as they listened to them, their hearts would be filled with new courage and hope, and that the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles would in very deed be the great day of the feast, a day full of joy and gladness.

But as the years passed, and they found Darius on their side, reversing the policy of his predecessor, and granting them gold and silver, bullocks and lambs, wheat and salt, wine and oil, for the service of the Sanctuary, until, in four years, the Temple was finished, they surely would suspect that even these most welcome changes were but a poor fulfilment of Haggai's large and glowing words. Did the shaking of the heavens and the earth, and the coming of that which all nations desired, and the more excellent glory of the latter House, and the supreme gift of "peace" mean no more than this? This surely could not exhaust the meaning of the prophecy! It did not. God was his own interpreter. Time and He that shapes it to a perfect end soon brought out a larger meaning. Under Darius the Persian empire culminated; but even under the reign of his immediate successor, Xerxes, it began to be shaken. In his war with Greece, it was so terribly shaken as that it never regained its old power. So again the empire of Greece, raised to its height by the conquests of Alexander, the adversary of Xerxes, was shaken into hostile fragments at his death. The two largest fragments, the Syrian and Egyptian kingdoms, destroyed each other; and thus the whole Eastern world became the easy prey of Rome. Under all these wars, commotions, changes, extending through five centuries, the Jews throve and grew: the silver and the gold flowed into the House of the Lord, so that the second Temple grew to be larger, if not more magnificent, than the first. And then, when the Roman empire was at its height of power, *He* came in whom the desires of all nations were centred and were accomplished. For what the nations most deeply desired, yet what by the lips of their wisest sages they confessed they could not find, was an authentic disclosure of God and of the will of God, an authoritative proclamation of the law by which human life should be ruled, the outshining of a clear steadfast light on the lot and destiny of man.

These desires were fulfilled in Christ, who came to show them the Father, to declare his will, to illustrate the true law of human conduct, to bring life and immortality to light. And when He came to be the Light of the Gentiles, He also came to be "the Consolation of Israel." Whatever the splendour of the second Temple, it lacked the pride and glory of the first —the Urim and Thummim, the sacred ark, the golden pot of manna, the law written "by the hand of Moses," the Shekinah with its fire involved in clouds. But in Christ, who sat daily teaching in this Temple, there came the Divine Substance of which all these were but fleeting shadows, the sacred and vital Oracle of all truth, the Ark of Salvation, the Bread of Life, the Law incarnated in the loveliness of perfect deeds, the very Brightness of the Father's glory. He who, as He walked in the sacred precinct, could say, "In this place is One greater than the Temple"—of Him we may surely affirm that He caused the last glory of that House to be greater than the first; while of Him in whom "God was reconciling the world unto Himself," we may as surely say that in that place He gave peace.

That, besides their first historical meaning, Haggai's words *had* this larger predictive and Messianic meaning, the words themselves bear witness. They are of too wide and lofty a sweep to be exhausted by the first fulfilment. And though perhaps Haggai himself never saw, or never clearly saw, what and what manner of thing the Spirit of God that was in him did signify, nevertheless we, with whom his words remain, and the Spirit which can alone quicken the Word to life, may well believe that he testified beforehand, if not of the sufferings of Christ, yet "of the glory that should follow."

THIRD PROPHECY.

CHAP. II. 10—23.

THE ninth month of the Jewish year answers to the period between the middle of November and the middle of December. At this period, in Palestine, the winter crops have been sown, and the early or autumnal rain has set in. It was on the twenty-fourth day of this month, when, as we may suppose, the rains were well on, that the word of the Lord came once more to Haggai the prophet. On the very day he spoke it was exactly three months after the building of the Temple had been resumed, and about two months after he had been moved to relieve the depression of the builders by the glowing hopes and promises of his second prophecy. It will be remembered that, within a few weeks after they had recommenced the work, the Jews lost heart, and that mainly because the harvest and vintage of the year, like those of many previous years, had disappointed their hopes. As they kept the Feast of Tabernacles, instead of rising into the joy of harvest and vintage, they saddened as they remembered how much they had sowed and how little they had gathered in, and saddened into a still deeper depression as the old men recalled the glories of the former Temple, and declared that the new House would be as "nothing" compared with *that*. To relieve their depression, to infuse into their labours the strength and animation of hope, Haggai had been commissioned to assure them that the last glory of this House should surpass its first glory; that God Himself would come and dwell in it, and give them peace. And now for two months, in one of the busiest seasons of the year, when the seed had to be sown and the young vines planted, they had worked faithfully and vigorously at

the growing structure, strong in the hope which the words of Haggai had kindled. They had thus fitted themselves to receive a fresh assurance that, if they were true to God, He would be true to them. Possibly they were once more depressed in heart, or liable to depression. For, now that the seed was sown, there was no more corn in their granaries; and of course, it being early winter, none of the trees—such as the vine, the fig, the olive—would yield their fruit for months to come (verse 19). Hungry times were upon them and before them; and hungry men are likely to be hopeless, if not desperate, men. How could they tell but that the next harvest would be as scanty and insufficient as the harvests of recent years? Once more, perhaps, they might toil and wait in vain, although as they waited they were obeying the command of the prophet and building a House for God.

To these spoken or unspoken fears, Haggai replies, "No; your deficient harvests were simply a punishment on your neglect of God and his House; and now that the sin is at an end, you may be sure the punishment is at an end too." In order to make it clear to them that their sin against God was the sole cause of the failure of their harvests, he sets them to study a parable. They are to go to the priests and ask two questions about ceremonial purity and impurity. They are to ask, first, whether if a man should carry sacred flesh—*i.e.*, the flesh of animals offered in sacrifice—in the skirt of his garment, and should touch bread with his skirt, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any kind of food, it would thereby be sanctified? They ask the question, and, in accordance with the Mosaic law (Lev. vi. 27), the priests answer, "No; the skirt of the garment in which the sacred flesh is carried is itself holy, but it cannot *communicate* this holiness, let it touch what it will." They are then to ask a second question, viz.: whether a man, who has himself become unclean through touching a dead body, defiles any and every kind of food that he touches? And to this question the priests, still in full accordance with the law of Moses (Numb. xix. 22), reply, "Yes; whatever he touches for seven days after his personal defilement becomes unclean" (verses 11—14). Now if we conceive of the people as being sent to the priests on these two errands, and as bringing back the priestly replies to Haggai, we shall understand that they would have them well impressed on their minds, and that they would be very curious to learn what use he would make of them. Doubtless they would discuss the questions, and the true answers to them, as they went to the priests; and, as they came back, we may be sure they would speculate on the motive of the prophet in sending them to the priests, and wonder in what way he would turn their replies to purpose. The use he made of them was so simple and obvious that I dare say the people failed to anticipate it. It was this. The Jews themselves, in their relation to God, resembled, on the one hand, a man who carried sacred flesh in the skirt of his garment; and, on the other hand, a man who had defiled himself by touching a corpse. They were the chosen people. They carried with them a blessing for the whole world. And in this sense they were holy, they bore in their garment that which was sacred. And they had thought that this purpose and election of God would give a sacred immunity from harm to all they touched; that, because to them pertained the adoption and the covenant, the seed they sowed and the trees they planted would thrive, and that they would gather in abundant harvests of corn and wine and oil. By comparing them to the man who carried sacred flesh in the skirt of his garment, but did not therefore sanctify the bread his garment brushed, or the pottage, or the wine, or the oil, Haggai taught them that the election of God was of itself no guarantee of prosperity, that it did not necessarily involve a blessing on all the labour of their hands. They must be true to that election. They must serve the God who had chosen them, and keep his law, before they could look for his blessing on their toils. And they had not been true to Him or to his law. They had lost their sanctity by their sins, just as the "cleanest" Hebrew lost his purity the moment he touched a corpse. They had forgotten God, and let his House lie waste while they built sumptuous houses for themselves. They had shown that they did not care for his presence or his law. And it was this moral uncleanness which had worked like an infection through the land, and which took visible form in the blight and the mildew which had destroyed their growing crops. Themselves unclean, everything they touched became unclean—all kinds of food, "all the work of their hands," and even "that which they had offered *there*"—that is, on the altar of sacrifice, which they had long since set up on its ancient base (Ezra iii. 3).

In fine, the sole cause of their deficient harvests was their forgetfulness of God, and the sins which that forgetfulness had induced.

While the people are pondering this simple yet startling application of Haggai's parable, he once more employs and repeats his favourite formula, "Set your heart," and bids them ponder the history of the last fourteen years. How had it fared with them before they resumed the building of the Temple, "laying stone to stone?" Was it not true that up to that time, do what they would, they did nothing to purpose? If one of them went to a heap of sheaves from which he calculated on getting twenty measures of corn, it yielded, when threshed, no more than ten. Or if one of them went to the wine-vat, thinking the grapes crushed in it would yield at least fifty *pūrâhs*—a measure of unknown quantity—he obtained but twenty. And *why* were their just hopes thus miserably disappointed? Simply because God was against them, because He was punishing their neglect of Him. It was He who had sent the blight and the mildew to prey upon their corn; it was He who had smitten the budding vines with hail. And yet no one of them had had the wit to see whence their miseries came, or the grace to turn in penitence and amendment to Him who chastened them! Now at last, let them consider more wisely the years which lay between to-day and the day full fourteen years ago.

when the foundation of the Lord's Temple was laid; and they would see that it was their uncleanness which had defiled everything they touched, and made it abominable to God, so that all the labour of their hands miscarried (verses 15—17).

Nay, let them consider the present, and forecast the future, as well as ponder the past. What were their present prospects? Miserable enough, alas! There was no corn in the granaries, now that the seed-corn was sown, so poor and limited had been the produce of the previous year. Where, then, were they to look for bread, or for that which they might substitute or exchange for bread? The vine and the fig-tree, the pomegranate and the olive, had not borne so plentifully as to leave any yield on their hands. They were destitute and afflicted; they might be able, if Darius were clement and listened to their appeal with favour, to tide over another winter and spring; but should the harvest once more fail them, what would become of them then?

The harvest will not and shall not fail them, replies the prophet. From this day forward God will bless them. The fields shall be covered with corn; the terraced hills shall be loaded with the purple grapes. Now that they have returned to Him, God will return to them. The heaven shall no more withhold its dew, nor the earth its fruit (verses 18, 19).

This was Haggai's first word on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, a word full of promise. But to this first word a second was added, of still diviner promise. On the very day on which he prophesied of the returning favour of Heaven to the people, Haggai also animated the heart of their prince by disclosing God's purpose to fulfil His covenant with David through the line of Zerubbabel. Just as Judah had been chosen from among the sons of Jacob, and David from among the sons of Jesse, and Solomon from among the sons of David, so now Zerubbabel is chosen from among all the descendants of the royal house, to be the heir of the promise. Of him, concerning the flesh, the Messiah was to come, and did come.

In studying the prophecy of verses 6—9, we found in it a Messianic prediction, and that mainly because its words were too wide and deep to be exhausted by the historic fulfilment; and the most cursory comparison of verses 21—23 with verses 6—9 will show that Haggai is here falling back on that earlier prediction. Then, he had represented God as saying, "*I will shake the heaven and the earth, and the sea and the dry land; yea, I will shake all the nations, and the good things desired by all the nations shall come,* and I will fill this house with glory: and the last glory of this house shall be greater than the first." Now he represents God as saying—

> "*I will shake the heavens and the earth,*
> *And I will overthrow the throne of the kingdoms,*
> *And I will destroy the might of the kingdoms of the nations,*
> *And overthrow the chariots and those who ride in them:*
> *And the horses and their riders shall fall*
> *Each by the sword of the other.*"

Obviously the prophet has the same great convulsion in his mind on both occasions—a convulsion far greater than any which occurred during the comparatively peaceful reign of Darius. As we saw when we studied his former prediction, he was looking forward to the disruption of the Persian, Greek-Syrian, and Egyptian empires, and forecasting the advent of the Messiah's kingdom, when these great empires of the East should have passed away. Possibly he was even looking through the convulsions that were to issue in the coming of Christ's kingdom, to the final catastrophe of the world's history, and to the establishment of that heavenly kingdom which shall embrace all generations and races of men. And obviously, when he goes on to speak, in verse 23, of the future of Zerubbabel, we must admit that once more the words are too large for an exhaustive fulfilment within the narrow lines of that prince's personal history. No doubt Zerubbabel inferred from these words, and was entitled to infer, that in the troublous years before him God would defend and cherish him, and delight in him, as an Eastern merchant or magnate cherished his signet ring, which was to him what a signature is to us, a symbol of authority, a key to all his possessions. And no doubt this promise of the words was fulfilled. But the heavens and the earth were not shaken in his time, nor was the might of the great heathen empires destroyed, nor did the lieutenants of Alexander all fall "each by the sword of the other." And therefore we are compelled to look for a larger meaning—to take Zerubbabel as a symbol and representative of the Davidic monarchy. To David God had granted an everlasting covenant, assuring him that there should never lack a man of his house to sit upon the throne. Zerubbabel is now taken into that covenant; and just as that covenant was finally fulfilled in Him who was Son of David and yet Son of God, so also the promise made to Zerubbabel was finally fulfilled in Christ—the promise, namely, that, in the day that the heathen empires of the East were destroyed, God would take him, his servant, and make him as a signet, because He had chosen him. For it was not till Jesus, the great descendant of Zerubbabel and David, came and dwelt among us, that the empires of the East were destroyed by the conquering armies of Rome; it was not till then that the great spiritual empire which cannot be moved was set up. And of Him all the tender images connected with the signet ring are emphatically true. To an Oriental prince the signet ring, which was made of some precious metal, or still more precious gem, carved with the most exquisite art of the time, was an inseparable and valued adjunct. As it was the symbol of his authority, and gave unlimited power to its bearer, it was never parted with save at some extraordinary conjuncture. Worn commonly on one of the fingers of the right hand, or suspended round the neck by a costly chain, it was loved for its familiar beauty as well as prized for its worth. And this image of the signet is used in some of the most impassioned passages of Scripture; as, for example, in the Song of Solomon (viii. 6)—

> "Lay me as a signet ring upon thy breast,
> As a signet ring between thine arms;"

or, again, in Jeremiah (xxii. 24), "Though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, were *even a signet ring upon my right hand*"—though, that is, he were as that from which it would be well-nigh impossible to separate—"yet would I tear thee away thence." So that the image, as applied to Christ, suggests that of all the Divine possessions He is the dearest, that which most authoritatively symbolises the majesty of God, and which He most tenderly cherishes and esteems.

Here, then, while his prophetic soul is, not simply dreaming of things to come, but seeing in Him who was to come the Darling of Jehovah and the Desire of all nations, we part with the prophet Haggai. Three times we have heard him speak—at the Feast of the New Moon, at the Feast of Tabernacles, and during the early autumnal rain. And though his theme be narrower than that of most of the prophets, and cover no wider space than the limits of the Temple area, yet even in Haggai we find an emphatic enunciation of the moral truths we hear from every other member of the goodly fellowship, and see that, like them, he caught glimpses of the Messianic hope. Like them all, he teaches that sin brings judgment; that judgment means mercy, and is designed for correction; that repentance secures the forgiveness of sin, and that amendment of life has power to turn the very curse of God into a benediction. And, like his brethren, he is made strong for teaching these truths in an evil age, by his assured conviction that good will yet triumph over evil; that, sooner or later, the Christ of God will bring in a kingdom, wide as the earth, in which truth shall reign, and righteousness, and peace.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

MEN have usually given the Miracle of Pentecost—the Gift of Tongues—a signification which neither the New Testament allusions to this gift, or the early history of the Church, in any way support.

The supposition that the power of speaking in various languages was bestowed on a number of the first believers for their after-use in preaching the Gospel[1]—a supposition at variance with all early record—has raised up a host of hostile critics, who characterise the event related in Acts ii. 1—13 as a baseless tradition—as quite contradicting the Pauline description of the gift of tongues (1 Cor. xii. 10 and 1 Cor. xiv.).

The genuineness of the section has never been doubted. It is inseparable from the Book of Acts, a book reverently received as undoubtedly inspired from the earliest days of the Church. The ablest of the hostile critics, while maintaining the legendary character of the whole of the episode, now decline to contest the ancient interpretation of the words which tell us of this first gift of the Holy Ghost to the Church of Christ. It then generally is allowed on all sides that those worshippers who "were all with one accord in one place" waiting for the coming of power from on high, were endowed at the time with the gift of uttering the praises of God in languages different from their own.

(1.) What now was this strange gift? (2.) Did it differ in any way from the gift of tongues described at length subsequently by St. Paul?

(1.) The gift of tongues, promised by the risen Lord (St. Mark xvi. 17), and first bestowed by the Holy Ghost on the 120 disciples assembled together on that Pentecost which succeeded the Ascension, was one of the special miraculous powers peculiar to the apostolic age, and seems to have been an ecstatic expression of thanks and of praise to God, never apparently an instrument of teaching.

The speaker rapt, though not losing all command of himself, not always fully conscious of what he was uttering, poured out his ecstatic stream of praise; thanking God for his glorious, mighty works, in words, in a language not usually comprehended by the bystander. These utterances needed an interpreter; at times the speaker became his own expositor; more generally the gift of explaining the strange, beautiful utterances was bestowed on another—one spoke, and another interpreted.

(2.) The miracle of Pentecost only differed very slightly from those manifestations of the Spirit described by St. Paul in his Corinthian Letter. The "tongues" we read of in the Church of Corinth needed an interpreter, either the speaker or some other inspired person, as the utterances were in a language not comprehended by the bystanders. In the Pentecost miracle, though, no interpreter was needed. The inspired ones spoke then, as the Spirit gave them utterance, in new languages certainly; but on that memorable occasion each new language was addressed to groups familiar with the sounds.

The Greek-speaking Jew and proselyte heard one inspired man proclaiming the glorious deeds of God in his own Greek. The strangers of Rome and Italy listened to another uttering the same praises in their familiar Latin. The Eastern pilgrims caught the same strange, beautiful words of praise and thanksgiving spoken by others of the inspired company in the various Oriental dialects they knew so well.

In this particular only differs the great Pentecost

[1] Cf. Wordsworth's Comm. on Acts ii.; Milton's *Paradise Lost*, xii. 497—504; and apparently the proper preface for Whit-Sunday and six days after, in the order of the administration of the Lord's Supper.

miracle from the gift of tongues spoken of at such length by St. Paul in the Corinthian Epistle. The first striking instance of this new and marvellous power needed no subsequent interpretation; the new language in which each utterance was conveyed, on this occasion, was comprehended by each group of listeners at once.

Neither in the Acts or the Epistles, or in early ecclesiastical history, is any intimation given that the "twelve," or "the hundred and twenty," or any of the converts to Christianity during the first hundred years after the Resurrection, were supernaturally endowed with power to preach the Gospel in different languages which they had never learned. On the contrary, the currently received interpretation of Acts xiv. 11 points to St. Paul, "who spake with tongues more than all," not understanding the dialect of Lycaonia. St. Jerome,[1] too, tells us St. Paul was accompanied by Titus as an interpreter; and Papias[2] writes of Peter attended by Mark, who acted in the same capacity in the missionary journeys of the great Jewish Apostle. One solitary passage alone, from Irenæus,[3] of doubtful meaning, is urged in support of the hypothesis concerning the presumed miraculous power of preaching in new tongues. He is speaking of those who had prophetical gifts, who, he says, "spoke through the Spirit in all kinds of languages (παντοδαπαῖς λαλούντων διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος γλώσσαις).

But, as we have observed, there is an almost total silence in the early Fathers on the subject of the gift of tongues. To them evidently it was no mere power of speaking in various languages; it was something quite different, something they could not understand or explain, and which had evidently ceased when the first generation of believers had passed away. Again, the elaborate notice of the gift of tongues in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians forbids any notion of this power being used for teaching purposes in their own Corinthian congregation at home, and totally excludes all idea of the "tongues" as an instrument for missionary work among strange peoples abroad; for its chief characteristic is that it is unintelligible—the man speaks mysteries, prays, blesses, gives thanks in the Spirit, but no one understands him.

Prayerful examination of the various passages in the writings of the New Testament where these miraculous powers are alluded to, supplemented by a study of the documents, some fragmentary, some tolerably perfect, which have been left us by eminent men in the early Church, leads to the conclusion that the miraculous gifts of the first days bestowed on the Church for a definite purpose, when the apostles and those who had learned Christ from their lips had fallen asleep, were gradually but quickly withdrawn from men. Among these supernatural powers we can well believe that the earliest withdrawn were those new tongues first heard in their strange sweetness, needing *then* no interpreter, on that Pentecost morning; those tongues which during the birth-throes of Christianity gave utterance to the rapturous joy and thankfulness of the first believers. They were a power, however, which if misused might lead men—as history has subsequently shown—to confusion, to feverish dreamings, to morbid imaginings—to a condition of thought which would utterly unfit men and women for the stern and earnest duties of their several callings; in a word, *would* lead to a life unreal and unhealthy. And so that chapter of sacred history which tells of these communings of men with the unseen, which speaks of those thrilling moments of rapt joy, of those sweet unearthly utterances which now and again beautified with a beauty not of earth the lives of those brave witnesses who first set the bright example of giving up all for the love of Christ—that chapter was closed for ever when the "tongues" had done their work.

On the Various Schools of Interpretation of the Gift of Tongues.—The interpretations of the "Miracle of Pentecost" and the "Gift of Tongues" may be roughly massed under three heads: —1 *and* 2 accept the miracle related in Acts ii. 1—13 in its strictly literal sense. (1), however, considers the miraculous powers of tongues conferred at Pentecost as a *permanent* gift, and used generally by the Apostles and certain of their followers for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the various peoples of the world speaking different languages. Bishop Wordsworth's learned and interesting comment on this passage of the Acts may be taken as a fair exponent of this school of exposition. (2) also accepts the miracle in its strictly literal sense, but sees no proof that the gift of tongues was ever used for teaching purposes at home, or for missionary objects abroad; it considers it to have been a power bestowed rather for individual solace and refreshment than for public ministration; it looks on it as a special instrument for *ecstatic praise*, and not as intended for *systematic teaching*. Professor Plumptre, while powerfully advocating such an interpretation, discusses with more or less fulness, from various standpoints, the conditions and teaching of this famous episode in apostolic history. (3) considers the whole story of the Pentecost miracle as purely mythic, not only improbable, but even preposterous. For a summary of the views of this unhappy school, and the necessarily cheerless deductions, the elaborate Excursus of De Wette on this passage (*Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 23—36, Ed. 1870) is perhaps the clearest and most exhaustive.

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[1] St. Jerome quoted by Estius on 2 Cor. xi.
[2] Papias, referred to by Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39.
[3] Cf. Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, liber v., c. vi.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE LOCAL COLOURING OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.—THE EPISTLE OF THE FIRST IMPRISONMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

I SHALL assume in this paper that four Epistles—those to the Philippians, the Ephesians, the Colossians, and to Philemon—were written at this period, and that they were written in the order in which I have thus placed them. The chief data for that order are found in the facts, (1) that when St. Paul wrote the last-named of the four Epistles he was clearly expecting to be released, and to return to Asia, so that he entreated Philemon (ver. 22) to prepare for him a lodging; (2) that the Epistle to the Colossians was, beyond doubt, written at the same time as that to Philemon, when the same persons, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, and Lucas (Col. iv. 10, 14; Philem. 24), were with him, and was sent by the same disciple, Onesimus; (3) that the Epistle to the Ephesians, probably a circular letter (as has been inferred from the absence of the words "in Ephesus" from many of the most ancient MSS.) to the Asiatic Churches, contains so large a portion of matter common to it and the Epistle to the Colossians, that it is all but impossible not to suppose that they were written at or about the same time; and (4) that Tychicus, who was the bearer of the one Epistle, commissioned to fill up by his personal communications the deficiency of its intelligence (Eph. vi. 21), was also, together with Onesimus, the bearer of the other (Col. iv. 7, 9). The Epistle to the Philippians then takes its place as the first of the letters written after that arrival of St. Paul at Rome of which we read in Acts xxviii. 16—31. He had come as a prisoner who had appealed, as a Roman citizen, to the Emperor, and was waiting for his trial. In the meantime (and the interval was upwards of two years) he was under a restraint, which, though comparatively mild—known, indeed, technically, as a *custodia libera*—was yet sufficiently irksome. He was allowed to live in his own "hired house" or apartment (Acts xxviii. 30), but he was still "in bonds," a "prisoner," fastened by a chain to a soldier, who never left him night or day. It was natural, under such circumstances, that his lodgings should be in a situation where it would be easy for his guards, as they relieved each other, to go to and fro between the Prætorian camp, in which they were quartered, and the residence of their prisoner. The circumstances of the soldier's life, the armour in which he was equipped, would be continually before his eyes, suggesting to his mind, so quick to discover parables in all things, their manifold analogies to the panoply of the Christian combatant in his warfare with the world. The succession of soldiers who were thus in turn placed over him, and each of whom would carry back to the camp some report of the character and, it may be, the teaching of the strange prisoner, so unlike all other prisoners, whom he had been set to guard, would make him and the witness which he bore a common topic of conversation. Rumours would spread among centurions and other officers that the conspicuous representative of the new sect of the Christians was in the midst of them.

The Epistles which are now before us abound, I need hardly say, in references of this nature. The writer speaks of himself once and again as the "prisoner of Jesus Christ," "the prisoner of the Lord" (Eph. iii. 1; iv. 1). He has come on an embassy from the King of kings, and yet the sanctity which attached to that office in the common intercourse of nations is denied to him, and he is "an ambassador in bonds" (Eph. vi. 20). For the hope of Israel he is bound with the chain to which he points with something of the same feeling of enthusiasm as that which led him, when he stood before Festus and Agrippa, to utter the wish that those who have heard him might be "almost and altogether" such as he was, "except these bonds" (Acts xxviii. 20; xxvi. 29). Yet all this he was enabled to rejoice in as working "for the furthering of the Gospel." His bonds in Christ had become manifest in all the *prætorium* (*i.e.*, according to the best interpretation, through all the Prætorian guard who lived in the adjacent barracks). The fame which thus spread of his undaunted courage, of the freedom with which he preached the Gospel even under all these seeming hindrances, made others of the brethren "more bold than they had been to speak the word without fear" (Phil. i. 13, 14). So far as we can judge by the tone of these Epistles, there was no period so little disturbed by agitation and annoyance, so full of a bright, cheerful serenity of spirit, as this of the first imprisonment. Even delays which came between him and the trial which he hoped would attest his innocence of the charge laid against him, and set him free to work more widely, did not discourage him. When he wrote to the Philippians he was "hoping" to "come to them shortly" (ii. 24). Months passed by, and yet when he wrote to Philemon he was still only "trusting" to be released, in answer to the prayers of his friends and fellow-disciples (ver. 22). In the meantime, his work went on, the circle of followers and inquirers expanded day by day. The many distinct churches or congregations of which we read in Rom. xvi.—and which the renewed activity of Aquila and Priscilla when they returned to Rome after the death of Claudius, and the consequent repeal of the decree of banishment, must have done much to foster—grew and multiplied. Even in "Cæsar's household," among the freedmen and slaves, who, as artisans, domestic servants, or, it might be, as physicians, scribes, secretaries, were attached to the establishment of the Emperor Nero, there were those who, having had friendly relations with the Roman

citizens settled in the "colony" of Philippi, joined with the Apostle in his salutations to that Church.

And it is in one of the Epistles of this period that we find, as might have been expected, the fullest expansion of that parable of the "whole armour," the "panoply" of God, which the circumstances of St. Paul's life so emphatically presented to him. He and the soldier that kept him, awoke, each of them, morning by morning, to a soldier's work, each needing to be equipped for it. The symbolism on which the Apostle dwelt was determined partly by the nature of the case, partly, perhaps, by the employment of like similitudes which had become familiar to him through the writings of the prophets. In his warfare "against the wiles of the devil," against "the principalities and powers," in whom he recognised the hosts that were under the commands of the great adversary, he could not spare one part of that full equipment. There must be the "girdle of truth," truth in the inward parts, as that without which there would be no consciousness of strength; and the breast-plate of righteousness, of just dealing as between man and man, of right conduct as in the sight of God. As the soldier put the sandals on his feet that he might be ready to do the errand on which he might be sent by his commanding officer, so the Christian was to have his feet shod with "the preparation," better, perhaps, with the "preparedness," the "readiness," which belonged to those who "preached the gospel of peace" (Rom. x. 15; Isa. lii. 7). These formed, so to speak, the actual body armour which made the man strong to act. Over this there was to be the shield of faith, not the small round buckler which protected hardly more than arm and breast, but the large wicker shield, covered with thick hides, upon which the fire-tipped arms of the adversary (St. Paul borrows his imagery from one of the modes of barbaric warfare which the Romans had actually encountered, and of which he may well have heard from some of his soldier-guards) might fall and do no harm. Faith, the broad, all-embracing trust that God would make all things work together to those that love Him, would be enough to "quench" all the doubts and fears which were the most deadly weapons of the cruel and wily foe. Two portions of the panoply yet remained. There was the helmet, the form and fashion of which, the crest of horse-hair or the like, indicated the cohort or the legion to which the soldier belonged; and this the Apostle speaks of as "the helmet of salvation," that which bore witness that all were in the legion of the "saved," acknowledging Christ the Saviour as their head and captain. And, lastly, there was the one aggressive weapon which the Christian combatant was allowed to use, as contrasted with the "carnal weapons" of an earthly warfare, the "sword of the Spirit, which was the word of God." The written word which was so often treated as a dead and lifeless thing became living and mighty when quickened by the Eternal Spirit. And it was not the written word only or chiefly of which St. Paul thought, but that which was given to men, putting thoughts into their heads, and words into their lips, which they could not otherwise have acquired, enabling them to speak so as to probe the conscience, and to pierce, as they themselves had been pierced, "even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow," and showing itself, in so doing, a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. It was not strange that one who had felt its power should speak of that "word of God" as "quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (Heb. iv. 12).

Of special coincidences connected with one of the Churches to which these Epistles were addressed, that at Philippi, I have already spoken (BIBLE EDUCATOR, I., pp. 148—150). Some others remain to be noticed.

1. The disciple who is prominent as the messenger of the Philippian Church, who had sought St. Paul out, and ministered to him, and who, laid low by some sharp attack of sickness, had nearly lost his life, bore the name of Epaphroditus (Phil. ii. 25). That name, it may be noticed, had become common in consequence of its having been assumed by the dictator Sylla, as the Greek equivalent of the Latin Felix, which marked him out as living under the smiles of Aphrodite, the favourite of fortune, and was borne, like the name Cornelius, which belonged to his *gens*, by many of his freedmen and followers. In the Epistle to the Colossians, the messenger of the Church, who brought tidings of its welfare and of its danger, is named as Epaphras (i. 7; Philem. 23). This was but a shortened form of the name Epaphroditus, just as Apollos was of Apollonius, and hence some writers have been led to identify the two who are just named as one and the same man, travelling to and fro as the messenger of both churches. The circumstances of the case, however, the close and intimate relations of each with the church with which he is specially connected, make this in the highest degree improbable; and it seems far more probable that, the two being with St. Paul and the Roman disciples at or about the same time, the longer and the shorter forms of names were deliberately used in order to distinguish them, and so to avoid confusion.

2. The history of the runaway slave Onesimus, who was one of the bearers of the Epistle to the Colossians, and who is there mentioned, without any reference to his former servile state, simply "as a faithful and beloved brother," belongs to the introduction to the Epistle to Philemon. But it may be noticed here, as connecting his name and life with the teaching of both the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, that it was precisely what we should expect in one of St. Paul's keen insight and ready sympathy, that the arrival of such an one, his tale of wrongs suffered, and harsh threats met by insolent defiance, should turn his thoughts to the ever-pressing dangers connected with the wide-spread institution of slavery, which St. Paul did not feel himself called to denounce or uproot, which he hoped the truth that all men are equally free, equally servants in the sight of God, and that with Him there is no respect of persons, would do much to mitigate, but which, so long as it lasted, was the source of constantly recurring evils,

to which even the consciousness of Christian freedom might give a fresh power. And it is accordingly in the two Epistles written after the arrival of Onesimus that we find the fullest exposition of the relative duties of the master and slave, the most earnest entreaties to guard against the besetting dangers of their position. The anxious watchfulness in this respect of which we find here the first trace seems never to have left the Apostle. He recurs to it again in 1 Tim. vi. 1. St. Peter, we may note, in writing to the same Asiatic Churches, was urgent in counsels and warnings of the same character (1 Peter ii. 18—25).

3. In no one Epistle does St. Paul dwell with greater fulness on the thought that the whole company of the faithful made up the temple of the living God, of which Christ was the chief corner-stone, and the foundation that which had been laid by apostles and prophets, than in that to the Ephesians. We cannot forget that those who would receive the letter had, in the days of their ignorance, exulted in the possession of that great Temple of Artemis, the "Diana of the Ephesians," whom all Asia and the world worshipped; and though it might be too much to say that this directly suggested the imagery to the Apostle's mind, it yet remains true that, like the architectural allusions referred to in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, it must have come to them with special force, through those old associations.

4. When St. Paul had made his last journey to Jerusalem, in the vain hope of at least bridging over the gulf between the widening chasm between the Jewish and the Gentile Churches, the immediate occasion of the tumult which defeated his purpose was the rumour spread by Jews of the proconsular province of Asia, that he had brought Greeks into the Temple, and had polluted the holy place (Acts xxi. 28, 29). They had seen Trophimus, the Ephesian, with him in the city, and had assumed that he had taken him beyond the low stone wall which divided the outer court of the Gentiles from that of the Israelite worshippers, and which no uncircumcised alien was allowed to pass under pain of death. If these facts were present in his memory—and surely they could hardly have faded from it—we may see in the stress which he lays, in writing to the Ephesian Church, on the truth that in the true spiritual temple in which they were called to worship Christ had "broken down the middle wall of partition" between Jew and Gentile, a distinct allusive reference to the incident recorded in the Acts.

5. The question as to the special nature of the errors propagated by the false teachers at Colossæ will be treated of, in due course, in the series on the "Books of the Bible." It will be sufficient to note here, as an instance of "local colouring," that one of the most prominent of these errors was "the worshipping of angels" (Col. ii. 18). It was apparently an offshoot from one of the Essene communities, among whom, we learn from Josephus (*Wars*, ii. 8, § 7), the names of the angels (probably of those who were looked upon as specially guardian angels) were communicated with special solemnity to the initiated, and were treasured with the greatest reverence. To the excitable temperament of the Phrygian that *cultus* offered naturally great attraction. And it is a singular instance of the tenacity of the false worship thus condemned in the same locality, that even as late as the fourth and fifth centuries oratories dedicated to Michael the Archangel were found widely scattered throughout Phrygia and Pisidia, and that the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 360)—(Col. iv. 16 shows the close connection between the two cities)—found it necessary to restrain the practices of those who left the Church of God to go to forbidden gatherings and *call upon the names of angels*, and to pronounce a solemn anathema on those who thus yielded to what was rightly stigmatised as a "hidden idolatry."

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

EARLY ATTENDANCE AT THE SANCTUARY (*continued*).

BY THE REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

IT has already been remarked that these "ten men of leisure" had the administration of both the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the respective communities over which they were selected to be the shepherds. How faithfully this synagogual organisation has been preserved may be seen from the description which Benjamin of Tudela, the celebrated traveller of the Middle Ages, gives of the Jewish community at Bagdad. The Jewish population of the city, which at that time consisted of about a thousand, were divided into ten congregations or colleges. These ten assemblies were presided over by ten shepherds called "*batlanim*, or men of leisure, because their sole occupation consists in the discharge of public business. During every day of the week they dispense justice to all the Jewish inhabitants of the country, except on Monday, which is set aside for assemblies under the presidency of Rabbi Samuel, who is the chief of the college called 'Geon Jacob' ('the pride of Jacob,' who on that day dispenses justice to every applicant, and is assisted therein by the ten *batlanim*, the rulers of the respective assemblies."[1]

Three other functionaries connected with the constitution of the synagogue must here be mentioned, inasmuch as they explain certain allusions in the New Testament. The first of them is—

(1) *The Legate or the Apostle of the Congregation* שליח צבור.—Wherever the minimum legal number required for public worship assembled themselves

[1] Comp. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, i. 100, 101. Ed. Asher, London, 1840.

together—that is, the *minyan* (מנין), or ten male persons, from the age of thirteen and upwards—there the ecclesia was constituted. The chief—that is the *parnas*, i.e., shepherd or presbyter—then delegated one of the lay members of the assembly, who was most fit for the office, to ascend the steps of the ark, and conduct the Divine worship before the shrine of the Divine revelation. The office of leader in public worship was not permanently vested in any individual. Any layman who was not under thirteen years of age, and "whose garments were not in rags, could officiate before the ark" (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 6). "If one is before the ark" (*i.e.* ministers for the congregation), says the canon law, "and makes a mistake in the prayer, another one is to minister in his stead, and he must not decline to do it on such an occasion" (*Mishna Berachoth*, v. 3). All that was required was not to be too greedy for the honour, but to manifest becoming modesty when invited to be the officiating apostle for the occasion. Accordingly "the sages have laid it down that he who is asked to conduct public worship is to hesitate a little at first, saying that he is unworthy of it; if he does not hesitate, he is like unto a dish which has been spoiled by the salt. How is he to act? The first time he is asked he should decline, the second time he is to stir, and the third time he is to move his legs and ascend before the ark" (*Berachoth*, 34).

For the time being the legate, angel, or apostle of the congregation became not only the mouthpiece of those who were present, but was the surrogate of those who, by accident or otherwise, were precluded from attending the place of worship (*Rosh Ha-Shanah*, 35). This angel of the synagogue recited the most sacred portions of the liturgy, which could not be repeated in private prayer, and which could only be offered up in the presence of the canonically constituted ecclesia. This circumstance, that all the brethren present were alike considered holy, and that they could appoint the fittest of their number to be their apostle and intercessor, explains the phraseology used in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus" (iii. 1).

The primitive custom of inviting any member present to act as the minister, which of necessity obtained in village congregations, was modified in large towns. Where a large number of able men existed, the elders or rulers could be more particular in their choice. Hence it was deemed most desirable that he who acts as the mouthpiece of the people should be able to sympathise with the wants of the people, and should possess those moral and mental qualifications which become so holy a mission. The canon law, therefore, laid it down that "even if an elder (זקן = πρεσβύτερος) or sage is present in the congregation, he is not to be asked to officiate before the ark; but that man is to be delegated to officiate who has children, whose family are free from vice, who has a proper beard, whose garments are decent, who is acceptable to the people, and who has a good and amiable voice, who understands to read properly the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and who knows all the benedictions of the service" (*Mishna Taanith*, ii. 2). How strikingly this illustrates the apostolic injunction, "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, and modest, . . . one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, . . . not a novice, . . . he must have a good report of them that are without" (1 Tim. iii. 1—7, with Titus i. 1—9).

(2) *The Chazan* (חזן הכנסת).—In attempting to define the character of this official, great care must be taken to distinguish between the duties which he had to perform before and at the time of Christ, and the functions which devolved upon him after the Christian era. The *chazan* of the Temple Synagogue, we are told, had to unrobe the priests of their sacerdotal vestments (*Mishna Taanith*, v. 3); he had to blow the *shophar*, or trumpet, which at that time was used to make public announcements; he acted as the messenger to the rulers of the synagogue when they dispensed justice; and he had to administer the forty stripes, save one, to those who were sentenced to be beaten (*Sabbath*, 35 *b*; 56 *a*; *Sanhedrin*, 17 *b*). He had to call out the names of such persons as were selected by the ruler of the synagogue to read the section from the Law and the Prophets, and to hand the scroll of the Law to those who came up to the platform to read the hebdomadal lesson. He had to stand by and point out to the reader the place where the portion of the lesson began; he had to give the copy of the Law to the ruler of the synagogue, when it had to be given to the high priest. On this occasion, we are told, "when the high priest came to read the Law, and was arrayed either in the garments of byssus, or in his own white upper garment, the *chazan* of the synagogue took out the Law, and gave it to the ruler of the synagogue; the ruler of the synagogue again gave it to the chief priest, and he again handed it to the high priest, who received it standing." He had to take care of the furniture, and clean the synagogue (*Mishna Yoma*, vii. 1; *Sota* vii. 1). It was the *chazan* who "delivered unto Christ the book of the prophet Esaias," and it was to him that Christ gave it again after He had closed it (Luke iv. 17—20). To this *chazan* our Lord alludes in the admonition, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the *officer*, and thou be cast into prison" (Matt. v. 25). It was with these *chazanim*, or servants, that Peter sat in the palace of the high priest, and warmed himself at the fire, when he followed Christ afar off (Mark xiv. 54); and these were the servants of the synagogue who struck Christ with the palms of their hands (*ibid.* ver. 65). The *chazan*, therefore, was like the sexton or beadle, in modern churches, and the apparitor combined in one. It will thus be seen that just as the synagogue was the ecclesiastical and civil tribunal, and as the rulers of the synagogue were the administrators of both the ecclesiastical and civil laws, so the *chazanim*, or servants of the synagogue,

were both the beadles or sextons in our church in so far as they attended to the service of the synagogue, and the apparitors in so far as they waited upon the rulers of the synagogue when dispensing the civil law. Bearing in mind this twofold capacity of these servants, and that the *chazan* of the synagogue is the *hypêretês* (ὑπηρέτης) of the New Testament, we shall be able to understand the full import of this term when used by Christ and the Apostles. *Hypêretês*, as the equivalent of *chazan*, occurs twenty times in the New Testament, and is rendered by three different expressions in the Authorised Version. It is translated (1) "officer" in eleven passages (Matt. v. 25; John vii. 32, 45, 46; xviii. 3, 12, 18, 22; xix. 6; Acts v. 22, 26); (2) "servant" in four passages (Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54, 65; John xviii. 36); (3) "minister" in five passages (Luke i. 2; iv. 20; Acts xiii. 5; xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. iv. 1). This diversity of rendering is greatly to be regretted, since *servant* suits all the passages, whilst *officer* and *minister* are misleading. There can be no doubt that in Luke iv. 20 the *chazan* is meant in the sense of beadle; whilst in all the other passages, with the exception of Acts xiii. 5; xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. iv. 1, he is referred to as the apparitor of the tribunal.

After the time of Christ, when the knowledge of Hebrew disappeared from among the people at large, and when considerable additions were made to the liturgy, which had to be recited with peculiar cantillation and intonation, it became absolutely necessary that there should be a permanent reader of the prayers, who both understood Hebrew, and had a good voice for singing certain liturgical portions. Hence it was determined that this *chazan*, this beadle and apparitor, who was generally the schoolmaster of the infant school, should also act as the official reciter of the liturgy. In the latter capacity the *chazan* continues in the synagogue to this day.[1] The *chazan* of the synagogue exactly corresponds to the Imám of the mosque; and, indeed, if the word *chazan* is substituted for *imám*, the following description which Lane gives of this Mohammedan official may be taken literally as describing the Jewish *chazan*:—"He preaches and prays before the congregation on the Friday; he recites the five prayers of every day in the mosque, at the head of those persons who may be there at the exact times of those prayers. The condition of the Imáms is very different, in most respects, from that of Christian priests. They have no authority above other persons, and do not enjoy any respect but what their reputed piety or learning may obtain for them; nor are they a distinct order of men set apart for religious offices, like our clergy, and composing an indissoluble fraternity, for a man who has acted as the Imám of a mosque may be displaced by the warden of that mosque, and, with his employment and salary, loses the *title* of Imám, and has no better chance of being again chosen for a religious minister than any other person competent to perform the office. The Imáms obtain their livelihood chiefly by other means than the service of the mosque, as their salaries are very small."[2] This is so faithful a picture of the Jewish *chazan*, that we have no doubt that, like most of their ritual and institutions, the Mohammedans introduced this official from the Jewish synagogue.

(3.) *The Meturgeman*, or *Interpreter*.—We have now come to the last functionary in the constitution of the synagogue. As this official is also spoken of in the New Testament, it is desirable to ascertain more minutely the nature of his office, and the duties which devolved upon him.

The interpreter, as a part of the synagogue organisation, came into existence after the Babylonish captivity. To understand his functions, as well as the important versions of the Bible to which this practice gave rise, it is necessary to bear in mind the condition of the Jews before and at the time of Christ. By far the greater portion of those who had returned from exile had forgotten the Hebrew language, and though settled again on their sacred soil, they no more spoke Hebrew, but Aramaic. Besides, large numbers of Jews had at this time emigrated into different parts of Africa, Asia, and Europe, and, with the exception of the learned, these adopted the vernacular of their respective countries. And though they formed themselves into religious communities, and built places of worship wherever they sojourned, yet they looked upon Jerusalem as their sacred metropolis, and regarded the Temple as their central point of unity. They not only constructed their synagogues in every part of the world in such a manner as to enable the worshippers to stand whilst praying with their faces to Jerusalem, but went up to the Holy City on the three great pilgrimage festivals, and on many other occasions. As the Temple could only hold a limited number, these Jews who came from the different countries were simply represented at the Temple service, whilst the non-Palestine people themselves offered up their prayers at the same time in synagogues which they built in Jerusalem for this purpose. This circumstance explains the statement in the New Testament that "the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and them of Cilicia and Asia" had synagogues at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 9, with *Tosephta Megilla*, cap. ii.; *Jerusalem Megilla*, iii. 1; *Babylon Megilla*, 26 *a*). The Palestinian and extra-Palestinian Jews at the time of Christ had no less than four hundred and eighty synagogues at Jerusalem (compare *Jerusalem Megilla*, iii. 1; *Jerusalem Kethuboth*, xiii.; *Midrash* on Lamentations, 52 *b*; 70 *d*), which were by no means too many, when it is borne in mind that, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, two millions and a half of Jews from all countries came sometimes to Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover (Josephus, *Wars*, vi. 9, § 3; *Pesachim*, 64 *b*).

Not only were certain portions of the service recited in the language of the different countries which these

[1] Comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v., p. 17, second edition. Leipzig, 1871.

[2] Comp. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, vol. i., pp. 102, 103, fifth edition, 1871.

synagogues represented, but the hebdomadal lessons from the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, which were read in the original Hebrew, had to be interpreted in the several congregations into the respective vernaculars, for the benefit of the common people who did not understand the sacred tongue. Like that of conducting public worship, the office of interpreter was originally not vested permanently in any single individual. Any one who possessed the gift of tongues volunteered his services. Even a minor—*i.e.*, one under thirteen years of age—or one whose garments were in such a ragged condition that he was disqualified to act as the delegate of the congregation, or a blind man, says the canonical Law, could be asked to go up to the reading-desk to interpret the lesson (*Mishna Megilla*, iv. 6). The interpreter, however, had to observe certain rules and regulations. He was not allowed to look into the codex of the Law whilst interpreting, lest it should be thought that what he gave forth was actually in the Law, and the Scriptures be held responsible for the free rendering of the *meturgeman*. He was obliged to interpret every verse of the Law separately, when the reader had to pause, and was not allowed to begin the next verse in the original until the *meturgeman* had paraphrased it. In the lesson from the Prophets, however, greater licence was given, and three verses were read and interpreted at a time. The interpreter was obliged to deliver his paraphrase in the same tone of voice and not louder than the reader of the original Hebrew (*Berachoth*, 45 *a*).

To prevent extravagant and misleading exegesis, and to secure authority for the interpretation, the learned were asked to undertake the office. Hence a guild of *meturgemanim* obtained in the course of time, and it is from this title *meturgeman*, or *turgeman*, that French and English derived the names *truchement* and *dragoman*. A rule was then made that no one under fifty years of age is to act as interpreter. The paraphrases which this guild of interpreters delivered of the hebdomadal lessons are the basis of the Chaldee, the Septuagint, the Syriac, and other ancient versions. Indeed, the Chaldee paraphrases are called *Targum*—*i.e.*, interpretation—which is derived from the same root as *turgeman*—*i.e.*, interpreter. It is to this guild of interpreters, some of whom became followers of Christ, that the Apostle refers when he says, "If any speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God" (1 Cor. xiv. 27, 28). Again the same Apostle, when referring to the different offices and gifts in the Church, asks "Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?" (1 Cor. xii. 29, 30).

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

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ORDERS XXII.—XXV. GERANIACEÆ, ZYGOPHYLLACEÆ, RUTACEÆ, AND AURANTIACEÆ.

THE Geraniums (*Geraniaceæ*) are a group of strong-scented herbs, easily distinguished by the long beak rising through the centre of their fruits, to which the seed-capsules are attached by a long arm. This character suggested the name Geranium to the Greeks, because of its supposed resemblance to the bill of a crane (γέρανος), and the same notion is retained in our popular English name, Crane's-bill.

The plants of this order are found all over the world. Our British Flora contains fifteen species belonging to the two genera *Geranium* and *Erodium*. The rose, purple, or red flowers of the twelve species of *Geranium* chiefly adorn our hedge-rows and waste places, a few being found in meadows, pastures, or woods. The three species of *Erodium* occur on waste places, near the sea.

Twenty species of the order have been observed in Palestine. One of these (*Biebersteinia multifida*, De C.) belongs to a small anomalous group which has no beak to the fruit; it is found on the Lebanon mountains. A single species of the African *Monsonia* reaches the Wady el-Arish, in the valley of the River of Egypt. The other plants belong to the two British genera, and several of them are identical with the species found in Britain. The shining bright red *Geranium lucidum*, Linn., found on old walls and in hedge-rows all over England and Scotland, grows at Nablus and on the Lebanon mountains; while the yet more familiar species *G. molle*, Linn., and *G. dissectum*, Linn., are found in the higher lands of Palestine. Two of the British storks-bills (*Erodium cicutarium*, Linn., and *E. moschatum*, Linn.) grow in the cultivated fields of the Holy Land.

The Bean-capers (*Zygophyllaceæ*) are shrubs or herbs with jointed, and generally spiny spreading branches, found in the warmer regions of the globe, especially of the Northern Hemisphere. Many are desert plants; they form one of the most striking features of the vegetation of the desert region between Egypt and Palestine; a few are found in the depressed subtropical region of the Lower Jordan, and four species are frequent throughout Palestine. Caltrops (*Tribulus terrestris*, Linn.), the most common of these, is a spreading spiny plant, producing a dry fruit, also covered with spines; it grows in dry and barren places, and is very annoying both to man and beast. The Greek name for this plant, τρίβολος, is used in two places in the New Testament. When our Lord warned the multitude against false prophets, He said, "Ye shall

Tribulus terrestris, Linn. Natural size. Thistles (Matt. vii. 16). Briars (Heb. vi. 8).

know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of *thistles?*" (Matt. vii. 16.) A more appropriate illustration could not be found among the fruits of Palestine, as there does not exist a more remarkable contrast than that between the dry, shelly and spinous capsule of the caltrops, and the fleshy, velvety compound fruit of the fig. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in a passage which has been the subject of much controversy, says "that (land) which beareth thorns and *briars* is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned" (Heb. vi. 8). The presence of caltrops is a certain indication of a poor and barren soil, unfit for the labour of the agriculturist.

Τρίβολος is employed in the Septuagint as the Greek representative of the Hebrew *dardar* (דַּרְדַּר), which is used twice in the Old Testament. The doubtful derivation of this Hebrew word throws no light on the kind of plant to which it was applied, neither does the context of the passages supply any information; there is no reason why the interpretation of the LXX. should not be adopted, if the word is to be limited to a particular plant. The word occurs in the sentence which God pronounced on Adam in Eden: "Thorns also and *thistles* shall it bring forth" (Gen. iii. 18); and again in Hosea's warning to Israel, when he foretells the destruction and desolation of the altars when the idolatrous sacrifices were offered, by declaring that "the thorn and the *thistle* shall come up on their altars" (Hos. x. 8).

The Rue family (*Rutaceæ*) comprises a large number of plants of very different external form—trees, shrubs, herbs—but all distinguished by having pellucid dots on their leaves. The dots are glands filled with a pungent, bitter, aromatic, volatile oil. The plants of the order are distributed over the world, except in cold regions. We have no representative among our wild flowers; but the common rue (*Ruta graveolens*, Linn.), though a native of the south of Europe, is a familiar plant, being cultivated in our gardens. It is a small shrub, with much divided bluish-green leaves and yellowish flowers. The volatile oil in the leaves give it a powerful fetid odour and an acrid juice. Five species of rue are native to the Holy Land; and the common rue is cultivated there, as with us, on account of its odoriferous qualities. The indigenous rues of Palestine are found chiefly in the lower valley of the Jordan, and on the desert to the south of Judæa; they are the outliers of a tropical flora, reaching its northern limit in this region. The rue was highly prized by the ancients, because of its supposed medicinal properties; it was long supposed to be efficacious in warding off contagion. Shakespeare calls it "the herb of grace," and it is stated to have been used by the priests in the Middle Ages for sprinkling holy water on the people. Rue is only once mentioned in the Bible, on the occasion when

our Lord upbraided the Pharisees for their punctilious observance of trifling matters, while they neglected the primary duties of morality and religion. Rigidly interpreting the law concerning tithes, which declared that "all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's" (Lev. xxvii. 30), they scrupulously tithe "mint and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God" (Luke xi. 42).

No representative of the Orange tribe (*Aurantiaceæ*) is found among the plants indigenous to Palestine, but some species are now, and have long been, cultivated there, because of their refreshing fruits, and of the fragrance and beauty of their flowers. That the majority of writers have held the citron to be the apple of Scripture, requires that we should include it in our notice of the plants of the Bible.

The allusions to the apple (תַּפּוּחַ, *tappuach*) in the Song of Solomon imply that the fruit was yellow, fragrant, and sweet, and that the tree bearing it afforded a grateful shade. It is mentioned by Joel (i. 12) as a fruit-tree, sufficiently familiar and important to be reckoned with the vine, fig, pomegranate, and date. That it was indigenous to Palestine is implied in the fact that several places were named after it in the time of Joshua—a city near Hebron (Josh. xv. 53), a second city in Judah (ver. 34), and a district between Ephraim and Manasseh (xvii. 8); the king of one of these places was vanquished by Joshua when he took possession of the Promised Land (xii. 17).

Ruta graveolens, Linn. Natural size. Rue (Luke ix. 42).

Dr. Royle gives the following reasons for considering that the citron has the best claim to be the apple of Scripture:—"It was esteemed by the ancients, and known to the Hebrews, and conspicuously different, both as a fruit and a tree, from the ordinary vegetation of Syria, and was the only one of the Orange tribe known to the ancients. That it was well known to the Hebrews we have the assurance in the fact mentioned by Josephus, that at the Feast of Tabernacles King Alexander Jannæus was pelted with this fruit, which the seditious Jews had in their hands; for, as he says, 'the law required that at that feast every one should have branches of the palm-tree and the citron-tree.'" This incident implies that the citron had, a century before the Christian era, in the days of Alexander, become so common a tree as to be easily obtainable in quantity by the Jewish multitude, and that it answered the requirements of the Mosaic law, which enjoined that "Ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of *goodly trees*, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick

trees, and willows of the brook" (Lev. xxiii. 40). Some, however, consider that the olive was intended by the "goodly tree," because the *etz hadar* ("goodly tree") of Leviticus is replaced by the olive in Nehemiah's proclamation to the people to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 15). But no reasons have been adduced for limiting the *goodly tree* to a particular plant, and one may believe that, in the time of Alexander, the branches of olive, sycamore, or oak were employed, as well as those of the citron, in the celebration of the feasts. It is scarcely possible that the citron was referred to by Moses in the original instructions relating to the feasts, for the native locality of this tree is the forests of tropical India, where it was discovered by Dr. Royle; and it is most probable that the Jews became acquainted with it during the captivity, and brought it with them on their return to their own land. At all events it may be considered certain that the citron was not introduced into Palestine during the patriarchal period; and it is improbable that it was so familiar to the Jews in the days of Joel, a century before the captivity, as to be the tree referred to in his prophecy.

The generally entertained opinion, that the famous apples which grew in the garden of the Hesperides were either citrons or oranges, has been made untenable by the investigations of geographical botany, for none of the species of *Citrus* is indigenous to the Mediterranean basin, or indeed to any district west of Persia, or perhaps of the more limited area of tropical India. The citron was known to the Greeks and Romans as a Median fruit, but the tree is believed to have been brought to Europe in the third or fourth century. The bitter orange was introduced by the crusaders, and the sweet orange was unknown in Europe till the Portuguese brought it from India in the end of the fifteenth century.

But not only is the geographical distribution of the citron opposed to its being the apple of the Old Testament, the tree itself does not accord with the Scripture references. Its evergreen foliage might supply a dense shade; but when the plant (it can scarcely be called a tree) grows to a height of only eight or ten feet, we would not expect it to be referred to in these terms: "As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight" (Cant. ii. 3). Equally unsuited to the remaining clause of the passage, "and his fruit was sweet to my taste," is the hard and indigestible fruit of the citron, which cannot be eaten except when prepared with sugar or honey.

Setting aside the different kinds of oranges, we must look among the indigenous fruit-trees of Palestine for the "apple" of Scripture. Lady Calcott and others maintain the accuracy of the Authorised Version. Dr. Thomson, in arguing for this view, apparently establishes the truth of his position, for he says, "The whole area around Askelon is planted over with orchards of various kinds of fruit which flourish on this coast. It is especially celebrated for its apples, which are the largest and best I have ever seen in this country. When I was here in June, quite a caravan started for Jerusalem, loaded with them, and they would not have disgraced even an American orchard" (*The Land and the Book*, p. 545). He, however, mistook the quince for the apple. Besides, it is certain that the climate of Palestine is unfitted to the cultivation of the apple; indeed, the few trees that exist are found in the highlands of the north, between Sidon and Damascus, and these yield but a poor fruit.

Celsius argues in favour of the quince, which is a native of the Mediterranean basin, and extends to India. Its ripe fruit has a fine golden yellow colour, and when the tree is laden with it, it forms a striking and ornamental object. But the fruit itself is astringent and unpleasant to the taste till it is cooked. It was a favourite in Rome, but before being used it was boiled in honey or new wine. It is consequently unsuited to the requirements of the Bible narrative.

Canon Tristram has suggested another fruit well known in the Holy Land, and the arguments he adduces in favour of his view establish that if the apricot is not the true apple of the Hebrews, it has better claims than any other that has been proposed. He says, "Everywhere the apricot is common. Perhaps it is, with the single exception of the fig, the most abundant fruit of the country. In highlands and lowlands alike, by the shores of the Mediterranean, and on the banks of the Jordan, in the nooks of Judæa, under the heights of Lebanon, in the recesses of Galilee, and in the glades of Gilead, the apricot flourishes, and yields a crop of prodigious abundance. Many times have we pitched our tents in its shade, and spread our carpets secure from the rays of the sun: 'I sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.' 'The smell of thy nose (shall be) like *tappuach*.' There can scarcely be a more deliciously-perfumed fruit than the apricot; and what fruit can better fit the epithet of Solomon, 'Apples of *gold* in pictures of silver,' than this golden fruit, as its branches bend under the weight in their setting of bright yet pale foliage?" (*Natural History of the Bible*, p. 335.)

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

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FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE (*continued*).

A METAPHOR may exhaust itself in a single image. One vivid word is enough to paint a picture. With so slight a spell the magic of imagination works.

The natural style of Hebrew poesy was favourable for such short brilliant metaphors; hence its images are often strung together like pearls on a string, and as line treads on line in the rapid parallel dance, each movement displays the splendour of a new gem.

But, on the other hand, there is in figured speech room for almost unlimited extension and digression. A metaphor may, like a simile, grow in the fertile fancy of the poet. The truth awaiting symbolic utterance may be too complex for one image or a succession of distinct images. An extended illustration may be necessary to bring into relief the more important points of a subject; or an artist's delight in the sense of his own creative power may lead the poet on to longer exercise of it, when the immediate purpose of an image has been served.

These extended metaphors bear the names of *allegory, fable, parable,* according to the form they take. They may all be conveniently grouped under the name *symbolical,* which includes every expression of a higher truth by an inferior sign, and allows us to class with the fable and parable that *acted allegory* which entered so largely, and with such poetic effect, into the teaching of the prophets in the later days of the Jewish monarchy. Moreover, a perception of the symbolic force of *metaphor* fixes by contrast the true rank of *personification* in the poetic art.

Symbolism is easily debased. A perfect symbol will contain its own interpretation. Between the sign and the thing signified there must be a real analogy. Thought must be at home in its figurative dress. Spenser's Una, with her maiden innocence and simple beauty, "making a sunshine in the shady place," is a perfect emblem of Truth, which Milton says "can no more be soiled by any outward touch than the sunbeam." The use which mediæval painters made of colours to express the religious emotions and virtues was noble and right, because colour has a sanctity of its own, and is necessarily connected with pure and deep feeling.[1] Water for its cleansing office, bread and wine for their power to nourish man's body, are consecrated to the most solemn mysteries of the Christian life. But symbols which have but an accidental or conventional relation to the truths for whose illustration they are employed, have nothing noble or elevating in them. The attempt to present a metaphysical doctrine by a set of arbitrary gestures, or by the cut of a garment, carries no moral impulse with it. Such symbolism is apt to degenerate into a meaningless and wearisome form.

Allegory will be found to depend, for its beauty and power over the imagination, chiefly on the observance of this law. This might be shown by a comparison of the greatest examples of it in modern literature with their inferior copies. It will prove itself in all the instances of Biblical allegory.

Before proceeding to quote any of these, it must be remarked that the Hebrew poets were as free and untrammelled by rules in their use of symbolism as in their employment of metrical verse. There is a luxuriance, an abundance and variety in their imagery, which often defies the attempt to reduce it to any fixed laws of composition. Metaphor and simile are intertwined; the allegorical and the real are blended together; the literal and figurative are confused. Rapt in his prophetic theme, the seer does not stay to distinguish between the actual and the imaginary, but weaves the rich colours of his fancy across the sober threads of real life without thought of method or conformity to rule. If the pictures thus produced acquire a certain confusion, they gain from this free treatment the utmost boldness and life.

The patriarchal blessing (Gen. xlix.), in which the fortunes of the twelve tribes of Israel are delineated in a series of vivid and powerful sketches, offers a fine instance of the rapid interchange of metaphor and simile:—

> "Judah is a lion's whelp:
> From the prey, my son, thou art gone up:
> He stoopeth down, he coucheth as a lion,
> And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?"

Psalm lxxx. contains a fine example of the mixed style, where the transition from plain to figurative language is peculiarly easy and graceful:—

> "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt:
> Thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it.
> Thou madest room for it,
> And when it had taken root, it filled the land;
> The hills were covered with the shadow of it,
> And the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedar-trees.
> She stretched out her branches unto the sea,
> And her boughs unto the river.
> Why hast thou then broken down her hedge,
> And all they that go by pluck off her grapes?
> The wild boar out of the wood doth root it up,
> And the wild beasts of the field devour it.
>
> Turn Thee again, thou God of Hosts:
> Look down from heaven, behold
> And visit this vine!
> Forasmuch as the vine that Thy right hand hath planted,
> And the branch that thou madest so strong for Thyself,
> Is burnt with fire and cut down."
>
> (Ps. lxxx. 8—16.)[2]

Allegory is a figure which under the *literal* sense

[1] "God has employed colour in His creation as the unvarying accompaniment of all that is purest, most innocent, and most precious." (Ruskin, *Mod. Painters*, vol. iv., v. iii.)

[2] For another noble instance see Ezek. xxxi.

conceals a *foreign* or *distant* meaning. This meaning is, however, as we have seen, not seldom *directly* expressed side by side with its representative symbols. The latent truth obtrudes on the notice like the gold in the fairy castle in Spenser's poem :—

> "Round about the walls yclothed were
> With goodly arras of great majesty,
> Woven with gold and silk so close and near,
> That the rich metal lurked privily.
> *Yet here and there and everywhere unwares*
> *It shewed itself, and shone unwittingly;*
> Like a discoloured snake, whose hidden snares
> Through the green grass, her long bright burnish't back declares." (*Faëry Queen*, iii., ii. 28.)

The true *fable* or *parable* is allegory without this mixture of the real. A comparison of the passage given above from Ps. lxxx. with Isaiah's treatment of the same image (v. 1—7), employed for the same purpose, makes the distinction clear. In the prophet's fable there is no confusion of plain with figurative language. Every word is figurative ; the whole mass of colouring is taken from the same palette. Thus, what in the former quotation is expressed in undisguised language —namely, the casting out of the nations, the preparation of the place, and its destruction from the rebuke of the Lord—is by Isaiah expressed wholly in a figurative manner : "The Lord gathered out the stones from His vineyard and cleared it; but when it deceived Him, He threw down its hedge and made it waste, and commanded the clouds that they should rain no rain upon it."[1]

Isaiah calls his fable or parable a song. There are other examples very similar to it in the Old Testament which are not written in a poetical form, and have only the same claim to be ranked with poetry which all allegory possesses. It has been said with truth that we should properly regard such fables as that of Nathan or Jotham[2] rather as the "rudiments of popular oratory," than as specimens of poetry. This mode of imparting their wisdom has always been a favourite one with Oriental sages. Our Lord himself adopted it, and in His parables we see its almost unlimited power as a vehicle for the very deepest moral and spiritual lessons. They are the oratory of the lips which spake as never man spake, and an oratory so coloured by the truest sympathy with nature and with human life, that each of them becomes a poem, more perfect than any outward form could make it.

Mr. Ruskin has remarked of symbolism that "it is almost always employed by men in their most serious moods of faith, rarely in recreation. Men who use symbolism forcibly are almost always true believers in what they symbolise."[3] But *personification*, or the bestowing of a human or living form on an abstract idea, the same writer considers to be in most cases a mere recreation of the fancy, and to be apt to disturb the belief in the reality of the thing personified. There is abundant evidence of this tendency in the history of religious art, the deterioration of faith being exactly marked by the abandonment of its symbolism and the profuse employment of personification.[4]

There are in our own literature enough of feeble odes addressed to personified lady-virtues to prove the justice of this remark. No strength of heart or will comes of these languid invocations. And the artist too often seems to weary of the effort to admire the abstract qualities which he has dressed up like so many lay figures to resemble living beings. But the greatest poets put their hearts into personification, as into every other turn of their art. There is a true ring of earnestness about Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*. Milton has condensed the faith and passion of a religious and ardent youth into his sonorous line—

> "Triumphant o'er Death and Chance, and thee, O Time."

The Biblical writers translate their most vehement moods into this figure. Habakkuk, in his fiery ode, describes the march of God heralded by pestilence and attended by plagues of fire, which follow the footsteps of the Most High to finish the tremendous work of slaughter and destruction (Hab. iii. 5). The prophet Isaiah, who excels in the use of this as of every other element of poetry, in a "tremendous image sees Hades extending her throat and opening her insatiable and immeasurable jaws"—

> "And down go her nobility and her populace;
> And her busy throng, and all that exult in her."
> (Isa. v. 14.)

Personification is most natural and powerful when it is employed on qualities which enter into the character or nature of man. Virtues and vices, passions and states of feeling, readily take an objective form. The "still small voice," which makes itself heard above the noise of outward things, may seem to come from Law or Duty, at whose desecrated shrine we bow in shame and repentance. In every youthful breast a fateful choice must be made between good and evil, between God and the world. The poet of the Bible represents this crisis in an allegory. Wisdom and Folly, rival maidens for the young man's love, unfold their treasures and display their charms. So the Greek fable of the "Choice of Hercules" personified Pleasure and Virtue.

An additional force and sublimity is lent to the Hebrew's use of this figure, from his vivid and abiding conviction of the nearness and life of God. Accustomed as he was to refer all power to one Divine source, and especially to regard goodness as an immediate inspiration from above, the investment of moral virtues with human form and speech transformed them into messengers from heaven, or even into assessors of the Most High, Godlike presences dwelling near the throne of God. Thus Wisdom is represented in the Book of Proverbs (viii. 27—31) as presiding at the creation, watching over the primeval world, herself the co-mate and offspring of the Divine Creator.

In the Book of Job there is an incomparable description of the greatness of the same quality.

[1] Lowth, Lect. x.
[2] 2 Sam. xii. 1—4; Judg. ix. 7—15.
[3] *Stones of Venice.*

[4] In some of the later Litanies, SS. Faith, Hope, and Charity are *invoked* immediately after SS. Clara and Bridget.

"Where shall wisdom be found?
And where is the place of understanding?"

cries the poet. And then with intense dramatic power he sketches the universal defeat which succeeds to the effort to find her Man first confesses his inability—

"Man knoweth not the price thereof,
Neither is it found in the land of the living."

Then the ocean declares that even his vast domain does not hide her—

"The depth saith, It is not in me;
And the sea saith, It is not in me."

Profound mines are searched in vain; the womb of the earth has produced nothing that will buy wisdom—

"No mention shall be made of coral or of pearls,
For the price of wisdom is above rubies;
The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it,
Neither shall it be valued with pure gold."

And the wistful question is asked once more—

"Whence, then, cometh wisdom?
And where is the place of understanding?"

And then, when man and all sensible things have given up the quest, as if imagination could in no way else conceive of the remoteness and unapproachable value of this Divine thing, a hollow voice comes from the under-world, a whisper from the shadowy land beyond the bounds of sense—

"Destruction and death say,
We have heard the fame thereof with our ears."[1]

Death has always been a favourite object of personification. The Latin poet describes him as the universal leveller, stamping down impartially the cottage of the poor and the castle of the great. So in an English poem, "Death lays his icy hand on kings." The Biblical poets, both of the Old and the New Testament, have drawn powerful images of the monster. Hosea's exultant challenge has been adopted by St. Paul—

"O Death, where is thy sting?
O Grave, where is thy victory?"[2]

To match these bold figures we must go to the creations of the very greatest masters of song: the tortured Titan invoking the deaf and pitiless elements to sympathise with his pain; "poor distressed Lear" raging against the raging storm, bidding the "winds crack their cheeks;" or Hamlet in his passionate cry—

"O all you host of heaven! O earth! What else?
And shall I couple hell?"

The power of man's sympathy leads him to invest the moving forms and forces of nature with human passion and sentiment. To dress them in human form, and endow them with human speech, is a natural step from this. The Hebrew was led by another path to ascribe life to inanimate things. Nature had no meaning to him apart from his sense of the nearness of God. The Greek peopled the world with his divinities. He hid a naiad in every tree, and crowned every rock with an oread.[3]

But the Hebrew's conception was of "a great One Spirit, feeding by His perpetual presence the lamp of the universe, speaking in all its voices, listening in all its silence, storming in its rage, reposing in its valour, its light the shadows of His greatness, its gloom the hiding-place of His power, its verdure the trace of His step, its fire the breath of His nostrils, its motion the circulation of His untiring energies, its warmth the effluence of His love, its mountains the altars of His worship, and its oceans the mirrors where He beholds His form 'glassed in tempests.'"

Since thus only through God nature became living and intelligible to the Hebrew poet, his personification of natural objects took a bolder tone than is possible even with the modern spirit, which has penetrated so many sources of tenderness and feeling hidden to the ancients. The poet of Israel was not satisfied with a silent communion. He called on hill and forest and sea to take human shape, and speak with human mouth the praise of God. The very water shouted, the waves clapped their hands, the hills "rejoiced together before the Lord." One Eternal Presence spread animation and joy throughout the world, and gave all nature a living voice.

There is another class of objects occasionally personified, which do not at first seem to admit of the employment of this figure with equal propriety. The works of man's own hand do not offer, it would seem, room for such treatment even in poetry. But there is one circumstance which is powerful enough to invest even these with a human character. Whatever is serviceable to us becomes our friend. An attachment grows up even for the tool which we use, the instrument on which we play. And this tie has been acknowledged in poetry by the use which has been made of personification. It is thus that the bard himself apostrophises his harp, or dispatches his book into the world with prayers for its safe and prosperous journey.

But no poets have ventured on such bold flights in this direction as some of the poets of the Bible. Take for example the animated dialogue in Jeremiah—

"Ho! sword of Jehovah,
How long wilt thou not be at rest?
Return unto thy scabbard;
Return and be still.
How can it be at rest,
Since Jehovah hath given it a charge?
Against Askelon, and against the sea-coast,
There hath He appointed it." (Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.)

As a very similar use, compare Isaiah's grand invocation of Jehovah's aid—

"Awake, awake, clothe thyself with strength, O arm of Jehovah!" (Isa. li. 9.)

[1] Job xxviii. 12—22.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 55. I have given the familiar English version. The best MSS. repeat "Death" in the second line. In Hosea the verse runs—

"O Death, I will be thy plague;
O Grave, I will be thy destruction."

The Apostle quotes from the LXX., and with the freedom usual to him.

[3] Cf. Gilfillan, *Bards of the Bible*, p. 6,

There is one figure originating in a Hebrew idiom, and partaking of the nature of personification, which gives great animation to the Biblical poetry. To regard the result or effort of any object as its offspring is common to all people. The Hebrews gave a very lively turn to the idea by the use of the words "son" or "daughter." Thus an arrow is the "daughter of the bow" (Job xli. 28), or the "son of the quiver" (Lam. iii. 13); sparks are "sons of the burning coal" (Job v. 7, margin).[1] In like manner a city or a nation is not seldom personified under the character of a maiden, as in the following passage from Isaiah:—

> "Descend and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon!
> Sit on the bare ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldæans!" (Isa. xlvii. 1. Lowth.)

[1] Gesenius and Renan explain "birds of prey" who fly faster than the lightning.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

THE VALUE OF LAND, LABOUR, CORN, SILVER, AND GOLD, DURING THE COURSE OF THE HISTORY RECORDED IN THE BIBLE.

THE practical measure of value is the return that is earned by human labour. From year to year this relation is most conveniently expressed by reference to definite weights of silver or of gold, which is money value. From century to century it is more correctly measured by bushels of corn. The amount of food necessary for the support of human life, in the same country, being unchanged from age to age, the expression of the daily earnings of a labourer or craftsman, in pints of corn, shows what margin is left him for the luxuries, after providing for the comforts, of life.

During the existence of the Roman Empire, a marked and rapid change occurred in the value of money, that is to say, in its purchasing power, as compared with other commodities, owing to what we call the debasement of the currency. Emperor after emperor struck lighter and lighter coins, of the same nominal value, with the momentary advantage of enriching the state by the plunder. But the purchasing value of coin is never permanently fixed by the name by which it is called. It depends on the actual weight. From the fall of the empire, the same kind of debasement has been continuously effected. The *denarius*, or piece of ten *asses*, units, or ounces, was (under the Second Temple) equiponderous with the Persian *dinar* of ninety-six grains troy. When the division of our present scale of troy weight was made, the weight of the *denarius* had sunk to twenty-four grains. The English silver penny of 1795 weighs eight grains. The present silver penny weighs only about 7·2 grains, as a pound of silver is coined into sixty-six shillings, instead of sixty, in order to prevent the absorption of the currency by the silversmiths, if the price of silver, stated in gold, should rise much above five shillings per ounce.

During the 964 years that elapsed from the Exodus to the Captivity, that dread of innovation which was a permanent feature of the Jewish character, and a main result of the Jewish law, protected the steady permanence of value. The tax for the support of the Temple was the same per head in the days of Zedekiah that it was in those of David; the same in the days of David that it was in those of Moses. Thus in those indications which we obtain in the Bible of ancient rates of value, we have not to make that constant correction for steady depreciation of currency that is necessary in modern history.

We have three instances of the purchase of land, by Abraham, by Jacob, and by David. The price is mentioned in each case. But as the area of land is not stated, we attain no positive indication of value from the record of these early transfers.

The first definite valuation which we are able fully to grasp is that of the value, in silver, of the ordinary returns of a given acreage of barley in Palestine, at the time of the Exodus. In the law relative to the redemption of vows this is estimated, by Moses himself, at fifty shekels to the *corus* or *kor* of land. This amounts to about £2 14s. per acre in silver. But silver at that time bore the relation to gold of ten, or more probably nine, to one, instead of its present relation of sixteen to one, making the value of the crops, stated in gold, from £4 8s. to £4 18s. per acre; the present value in this country being from £5 per acre for poor land to £10 per acre for good soil, under oats and barley.

Eight hundred years later we obtain some indication of the value of land cultivated as vineyard. In speaking of the desolation caused by the Assyrian invasion, the prophet Isaiah rates a thousand vines at a thousand pieces of silver.[1] It is very probable, from the existence and import of similar Chaldaic words, that the word here translated "place" is a definite measure of land. Until further research shall make this clear, it may be remarked that the *quartarius*, or 720th part of a *kor* of land, was the smallest space that it was lawful to allot to a plant, such as a vine, when growing among other vegetables, by the law of *kilaim*, or intermixture. When vines grew alone, there was no limit but that of convenience to their thickness of planting. And if the prophet were speaking of standard vines, cultivated, as they are now in the Bordeaux districts, on *echalards* or poles (like our hop-bines, only much smaller), it does not seem

[1] Isa. vii. 23.

improbable that 1,000 might be planted to the *kor*. In that case the returns would be equal to nearly £55 per acre, or to £40 per acre if we suppose a vine to be planted on each *quartarius*. The proportionate value is higher than that before obtained for barley; but the cereals prosper best beyond the climate proper to the vine and the olive.

For about A.D. 80 we obtain from the Talmud a definite corn price. A shekel is mentioned as an average price for four *sata* of wheat.[1] This is at the rate of 4s. a bushel, paid in silver. The golden *denarius* was then worth twenty-five silver *denarii*, giving the relation of twelve and a-half to one between silver and gold. The price in gold, according to the present relation between the metals, would thus be equal to a little more than 5s. per bushel. This is a valuable and instructive fact.

The *denarius*, which was the Roman equivalent for the *zuza* or quarter-shekel, was the day's pay of the Roman soldier. This is in exact accordance with the price, mentioned in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, of a penny a day. The fact, which is recorded by Josephus, that the labourers in the repairs of the Temple received a day's pay, even if they only wrought for a single hour, is illustrated by this parable. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the hire of a labourer or of a workman, about the time of the Christian era in Palestine, was equivalent to the price of a quarter of a bushel of wheat. If we take 56s. a quarter as an average wheat price, we have a day's wage of 1s. 9d., which is rather higher than the ordinary rate in Wales, and other parts of the island remote from the metropolis, before the introduction of railways. It is as high as the rate still prevailing for the agricultural labourer in some country districts at the present day.

We have another indication of the relative wealth or poverty of the industrial classes in Palestine, at the time of Christ, and in Europe at the present day, from the provisions as to the distribution of alms. The limit between the proper subject for alms, for the purpose of support, and the independent man, was fixed by the Oral Law at the receipt of 200 *zuzas* per annum. As the year was lunar, this approaches, as closely as it is needful to reckon, to four *zuzæ*, that is to say, to one shekel, per week, or two-thirds of the income of a labourer. On the calculations above given, it is the equivalent of 7s. per week. This was considered, by the law of Moses, to be the lowest rate at which life was to be supported. In England, in 1873, the maintenance of an adult pauper in Kensington Workhouse cost 6s. 1¼d. per week.[2] The balance is very greatly in favour of the poor Jew, from the fact that, in the climate of Palestine, so much less food and clothing are requisite, during the greater part of the year, than in our colder and damper atmosphere.

Indeed, if we compare the income of the poor Jew, thus distinctly ascertained, with that of the fishermen and peasants of the south of Italy (which is a far more appropriate comparison than can be made with the English peasant), we shall be led to the conclusion that the law of Moses not only was designed to secure, but absolutely did ensure, to the entire nation of Israel, a degree of material comfort and frugal wealth, to which, as regarding the case of the poorest of the population, rather than the extreme wealth of the richest, or the ordinary average income of the masses of society, the world, in the course of history, can afford no parallel.

It is impossible to give careful study to the ancient systems of metrology, without becoming aware of the permanent influence which Chaldean science has exercised on European thought. The Chaldean notation, whether as we find it indicated in the *Almagest*, or as we are enabled to recover it from the inscribed weights at the British Museum, has affected every scale of measurement with which we are acquainted, with the sole exception of the metrical system which was the offspring of the French Revolution.

It is true that we continually find the gradation of the sextile scale broken and modified by the use of multiples taken from other than Chaldean sources. Thus in the Jewish coinage there is a constant subdivision by two, by four, and so on. In the Phœnician system of weights, according to Mr. Madden, the number seven is continually present. Of this it is probable that the "quarter," in our avoirdupois weight, bears trace. In the Jewish weeks, of days, of years, and of sevens of years, the same radix is used. But the divisions by four, or by seven, seem to have been engrafted on the original scale of the *soss*, the *ner*, and the *sar*, or 600, 3,600.

The origin of this mode of division appears to have been purely geometrical. The modern science of trigonometry still employs (in most cases) the notation invented by the Chaldean Magi. The fact that the circumference of the circle is geometrically divisible by four, by five, and by six, appears to have suggested the law of the scale employed; and the fact that the number of days in the year so closely approaches to six times sixty, gives an appropriateness to the use of the sextant, and the decade, in division, which no other system could acquire. Thus the division of the circle into 360 degrees almost assumed the form of a natural law; and the division of the degrees into minutes, and of the minutes into seconds, was a consistent sequel.

The weights of the Jewish coinage, under both the first and second systems, held closely to the Chaldean scale. Not only so, but the relations between the two systems are the relations between the highest, and the highest but one, denominations of the sextile scale. It is a most striking and satisfactory proof of the exactitude of our own determination, that the weights of the Chaldean lions and ducks in the British Museum give a talent, which is within one *per mille* of the weight of the shekel defined by Maimonides, multiplied by the number which the Book of Exodus affords as that of shekels in the talent.

While the barleycorn, which is the natural standard

[1] Tract *De Commissionibus*, viii. 2.
[2] *Builder*, No. 1604, p. 859.

of Hebrew weight, is thus proved to be identical with the troy grain, it does not follow that this weight was an actual unit of the Chaldean scale. That it was exactly commensurate with it, is all that we have yet proved.

There exists a special unit of weight, which at present appears to be totally isolated from all other metrical systems. It is that by which the most precious of all merchandise is sold—namely, the diamond carat, which contains 3·2 troy grains. This fractional weight, however, is the hundredth part of the first Jewish shekel. It is thus precisely the three-hundred-thousandth part of the Chaldean talent, of which it was therefore probably the actual unit.

The British Museum weights indicate the existence of a Babylonian shekel of somewhere about 288 troy grains, corresponding to three Persian *sigli*, and to the Jewish *righia* or three-quarter shekel. The weight of the *maneh* on those lions of bronze is equal to fifty Jewish shekels of 100 carats. This is the exact weight of the *lason* or tongue of gold secreted by Achan, together with a Babylonish garment, on the invasion of Palestine by Joshua. We here again come face to face with a definite unit of the Chaldean scale.

There remains another instance of the close relationship between measurements of length, of capacity, and of weight, on the Chaldean scale, which none but the very sceptical can ascribe to chance. We have seen that the *log*, a small Jewish liquid measure, of which we determine the capacity at twenty-four cubic inches, holds a quantity of water that weighs 6,060 grains at a temperature of 62° Fahr. If we could rely on the temperature being that which was observed by the ancient metrologists, we should come to the conclusion that there was an error or misfit to the amount of one per cent. in capacity, and thus of ·01 per cent. in linear measure; but at a temperature of 113° Fahr, which is nearly equidistant between freezing and boiling temperatures, the *log* of twenty-four inches contains exactly 6,000 grains of water, or minims of the apothecary's fluid measure. The temperature produced by a mixture of equal weights of boiling and freezing water is 122°. Fahr.; a mixture of equal bulks gives a result of 111°. In the absence of any accurate thermometer, so close an approach to a natural mean water temperature, at which weight and bulk so nearly accord with the statements of ancient literature, is wonderfully exact.

TABLE OF VALUES AND EQUIVALENTS OF VALUE.

Anno Sacro.		Value taking Silver at 5s. per ounce, and Gold at 2d. per grain.		
		£	s.	d.
3269	Crop of an Acre of Barley . .	4	18	0
3788	Price of a Yoke of Oxen and Implements	13	6	8
3829	Price of a Charger.	40	0	0
4069	Return of 1,000 Vines . . .	166	13	4
4889	Price of a Bushel of Wheat .	0	5	0
	Day's pay, Soldier or Labourer	0	1	0
	Year's Income, the receiver of which had no right to Alms	10	0	0

BIBLE WORDS.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

CARRIAGE (*substantive*).—We have here another word which has become so familiar to us in a sense which it never bears in the English Bible, that it cannot fail to give an erroneous meaning to the ordinary reader. We cannot but share in the "misgivings" expressed by Dr. Lightfoot,[1] whether St. Luke's statement, the apostles' company "took up their *carriages*, and went up to Jerusalem" (Acts xxi. 15), is universally understood; while there is hardly any child, or uneducated person, who on hearing that "David left his *carriage* in the hands of the keeper of the *carriage*" (1 Sam. xvii. 22), will not have pictured to himself the young son of Jesse driving his wheeled vehicle to the edge of the camp, and on hearing the battle-cry, throwing down the reins, jumping to the ground, leaving the horse and carriage (in the modern sense) in the care of the groom, and rushing into the fray. Such an entire misconception of the whole scene would be rendered impossible by the removal of this archaism, and the substitution of the word "baggage" for "carriage," which would also render intelligible the passage of the Acts quoted above, and make clear the other places where this word occurs in the A. V.[2] These are:—"They," the Danites, "turned and departed, and put the little ones, and the cattle, and the *carriage* before them" (Judg. xviii. 21). "At Michmash, he," the Assyrian invader, "hath laid up his *carriages*," *i.e.*, left the heavy baggage of his army—*impedimenta* (Isa. x. 28). "Your *carriages* were heavy loaden, they are a burden to the weary beast;" *i.e.*, your ponderous idols, Bel, Nebo, and the rest of them, are lifted up as loads to be carried away by beasts of burden (Isa. xlvi. 1). The truth is that the use of *carriage* as a vehicle for carrying is comparatively modern, and represents a different word from the old Bible word signifying baggage. The modern *carriage* as a vehicle is a corruption of the old

[1] *Revision of New Test.*, p. 174.

[2] *Carriage* is the rendering of no less than three (or, if we take the margin into account, five) perfectly distinct Hebrew words, כֵּלִים (*keelim*), "vessels" (1 Sam. xvii. 22; Isa. x. 28); כָּבוּדָה (*k'budah*), "a burden" (Judg. xviii. 21); נְשׂוּאָה (*n'suah*), "something borne" (Isa. xlvi. 1); מַעְגָּל (*ma'gal*), "a circular rampart" (1 Sam. xxvi. 5, marg.); מַשָּׂא (*masa*), "a burden (1 Chron. xv. 22, marg.).

English *caroche, caroach*, now abbreviated into *coach*, of constant occurrence in our earlier writers: *e.g.*, "During all the time of his empire he neither took up any man to sit with him in his *carroch*, nor admitted any private person to be his companion" (Holland, *Ammian. Marcellin.*, 1609). This comes to us from the Italian *carroccio*, an augmentative of *carro*, "a car." Carriage, in the old sense of "things to be carried," is derived from the verb "to carry," just as "marriage" is from "to marry," and belongs to an abundant class, *e.g.*, herbage, baggage, luggage, &c. "It is chiefly remarkable," says Mr. Earle,[1] "as one of the very few instances in which an ephemeral expression got into the revision of 1611, displacing more permanent words." As to the displacement Mr. Earle is correct, for we do not find *carriage* in any of the places where it now occurs in any of the older versions, except in one instance (1 Sam. xvii. 22) in the Geneva version. This last-named version, in Acts xxi. 15, has the quaintly idiomatic rendering, "we trussed up our *fardels*," which also appears in Wiclif (1 Sam. xvii. 22), "David lefte the vessels which he hadde brought undur the hand of a kepere at the *fardels*,"[2] though in the Acts Wiclif simply renders it "we were maad redi," as Coverdale does, "we were ready." But it is difficult to see how Mr. Earle can call that "an ephemeral expression," which appears continually in our best writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We may instance Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (Bk. ii. § 9): "You must observe David's military law, that those which staid with the *carriage* should have equal part with those which were in the action, else will the *carriages* be ill attended;" and North, *Plutarch*, page 470—"Spartacus charged his lieutenants . . . . gave them battle, and overthrew them, and took all their *carriage*." An earlier example is given by Mr. Aldis Wright from Udal's *Erasmus*, Luke, f. 69 r.: "Up they gotte theyr heavie *carriage* to the house roufe in the outsyde, and the tylyng pulled away, they let down the sicke man with chordes."

Chambering (*subst.*) occurs once in the A. V., signifying acts of unchastity (Rom. xiii. 13), "Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in *chambering* and wantonness," where Wiclif's version has "beddis and unchastities." Our version inherits the word from earlier translations, *e.g.*, Becke's Bible, 1549, and that of 1551, where it appears as *chamburyng*, and the Geneva Bible. Latimer in his "Sermons preached in Lincolnshire," when expounding the Epistle for the First Sunday in Advent, thus writes: "Beware, therefore, of 'chambering.' What is this? Marry, he understandeth by the word 'chambering,' all manner of wantonness . . . . for when folkes will be wanton they get them in corners: but for all that God He seeth them, He will find them out one day" (*Remains*, p. 18).

[1] *Philology of English Tongue*, p. 284.
[2] Fardel = Fr. *fardeau*, Ital. *fardello*, a bale or bundle.

Chapiter (*subst.*).—The ornamental headpiece of a column, between the shaft and the entablature, now known as "the capital." It occurs in the A. V. as an architectural term in the description of the Tabernacle and Temple—*e.g.*, Exod. xxxviii. 17, "The sockets for the pillars were of brass . . . . and the overlaying of their *chapiters* of silver;" 1 Kings vii. 16, "And he made two *chapiters* of molten brass, to set upon the tops of the pillars." This is the genuine old English word, for which "*capital*" is a modern substitute, and comes to us through the French *chapiteau*, as "capital" is derived from the Italian *capitello*. We may compare the analogous instances of *chant* and *cant* from *canto*; *chariot* and *car* from *carrus*; *chandler* and *candle* from *candela*.

Chapman (*subst.*) only occurs once in the A. V. (2 Chron. ix. 14), where the chronicler states the weight of gold annually received by Solomon, "besides that which *chapmen* and merchants brought." "Chapman" represents the Anglo-Saxon *ceápmann*, and the German *kaufmann*, and signifies a man engaged in *chaffare*, or merchandise. The A.S. root *ceáp*, which is found in a slightly altered form in "Cheapside," "Cheap Street" (in Bath and Sherborne), "Chipping Wycombe," "Chippenham," indicating the localities where markets are held, originally meant to "barter," or give and take in exchange (cf. the schoolboy word "to chop," a "horse-couper," "to recoup"), without the necessary passing of money. We may illustrate its use from Chaucer—

> "In Surrie (Syria) whilom dwelt a compagnie
> Of *chapmen* rich and therto sad and trewe,
> That wide were senten hir spicerie,
> Clothes of gold, and satins riche of hewe"
> (*Man of Law's Tale*, 4535)

and from Shakespeare—

> "Beauty is bought by judgment of the eye,
> Not uttered by base sale of *chapmen's* tongues."
> (*Love's Labour's Lost*, ii. 1.)

Charger (*subst.*), used in the sense of a large dish, or platter, in the account of the beheading of St. John the Baptist (Matt. xiv. 8; Mark vi. 25, 28): "(He) brought his head in a *charger*, and gave it to the damsel." We read also that at the dedication of the Tabernacle, each of the twelve princes of the tribes presented among other offerings "one silver *charger*," filled with fine flour and oil (Numb. vii. 13, &c.). The "thirty *chargers* of gold, and thousand *chargers* of silver," sent back by Cyrus from Babylon (Ezra i. 9), represent a different Hebrew word, the meaning of which is doubtful. "Charger" in this sense is a genuine old English word of frequent occurrence in ordinary speech—*e.g.*, "Lay two halfes in a fair *charger* . . . . and set it again on the table" (*A new Book of Carving and Sewing*, 1650). "In this one *charger* he served up at the table all kind of birds that either could sing, or say after a man" (Holland's *Pliny*, x. 51). It comes to us through the French *charger*, to load, to lay a weight, or burden on, from the Low Latin *caricare*, a derivative from *carrus*, a cart; still

preserved in the Italian verb *caricare*, and the substantive *carico*, which we have in the form *cargo*. A *charger*, therefore, is anything fitted to bear a heavy load, whether, as here, a dish, or, as in military language, a war-horse.

Clout (*subst.*), **Clouted** (*part.*). The worn-out clothes let down to Jeremiah to put under the ropes that they might not cut his skin, when he was drawn up out of the pit, are described as "old cast *clouts* and rotten rags" (Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12), where Wiclif has simply "olde clothis." "Clout" is a word which, according to Mr. Earle, has "a fair Keltic reputation," and is found in A.S. as *clút*, for "a patch." The primary sense seems to have been a *blow*, as when we speak now of "a clout on the head." It was then applied to a bit of material clapped on, or hastily applied to mend a breach, "a patch." Thus we find in Wiclif, "No man putteth a *clout* of buystous clothe into an elde clothing" (Matt. ix. 16); and in the A. V. the patched shoes of the Gibeonite ambassadors are described as "old and *clouted*" (Josh. ix. 5), just as Shakespeare speaks of "clouted shoon" (2 *Hen. VI.*, iv. 2) and "clouted brogues" (*Cymb.* iv. 2). It then came to mean any rag, or fragment of cloth or linen, —*e.g.*, Chaucer:—

> "Then shew I forth my longe cristal stones,
> Ycrammed ful of *cloutes* and of bones
> Relikes they bin." (*Pardoner's Tale*, 12,282.)

And Shakespeare—

> "He looks as pale as any *clout*." (*Rom. and Jul.*, ii. 4.)

That modern denizen of the nursery, a rag-doll, was styled "a babe of clouts"—*e.g.*, Shakespeare's Constance says—

> "If I were mad I should forget my son,
> Or madly think a *babe of clouts* was he."
> (*K. John* iii. 4).

And Richardson gives the following quotation from Strype:—

> "'Item,' he said, 'we have a lyvyng Christ, and not a Christ of *clouts*.' This I said, say, and will say: My Lord Jesu Christ is risen from the dead, and lyveth, and reigneth, Lord and King in the glory of His Father, world without end.'
> (R. Wisdome, *Vindication*, No. 115.)

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

SACRED PLACES (*continued*).

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FROM the Golden Candlestick and the Table with its Shewbread in the Holy Place, we have now to turn to the Altar of Incense, standing between the two, at the extremity of the apartment most distant from the entrance, and immediately in front of the vail which separated this portion of the Sanctuary from the Holy of Holies. The directions for its construction are given in the following terms: "And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon: of shittim wood shalt thou make it. A cubit shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the horns thereof shall be of the same. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a crown of gold round about. And two golden rings shalt thou make to it under the crown of it, by the two corners thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make it; and they shall be for places for the staves to bear it withal. And thou shalt make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold. And thou shalt put it before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony, where I will meet with thee" (Exod. xxx. 1—6). From this description it appears that the Altar of Incense—a correct idea of which may be gathered from the illustration in page 229—was one cubit in length, one in breadth, and two cubits high, being thus half a cubit higher than the Shewbread Table, and, in all probability, than the Golden Candlestick; that, like the altar of burnt-offering in the court, it was square and furnished with horns; but that, in these respects differing from it, it was surrounded by a wreath instead of a simple border, that it had a top not of earth but of materials similar to those used for all its other parts, and that it was constructed not of brass or bronze, but of acacia wood overlaid with gold. The object of the altar was to burn incense on, and its use for any other purpose, such as burnt sacrifice, or meat-offering, or drink-offering, was expressly prohibited (Exod. xxx. 9). The incense, placed in all probability in a pot or vial for the purpose, was replenished every morning and evening, so that it might consume away with a gentle and slow, but continuous burning, filling always the apartment with its fragrant odour; and the moments chosen for replenishing it were those when the lamps of the golden candlestick had their wicks dressed and their flame renewed: "And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense every morning: when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn incense upon it. And when Aaron causeth the lamps to ascend at even, he shall burn incense upon it, a perpetual incense before the Lord throughout your generations" (Exod. xxx. 7, 8). The fire with which the incense was kindled was to be taken from that kept constantly burning upon the brazen altar in the court (Lev. xvi. 12), and any other was "strange fire," the use of which, as in the case of Nadab and Abihu, was punished with death (Lev. x. 1, 2).

The nature of the incense to be used is carefully pre-

scribed. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight: and thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, salted together, pure and holy: and thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation, where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy" (Exod. xxx. 34—36). It is of no moment to our present purpose whether we can identify the spices thus named or not;[1] for, whatever they were, we cannot doubt that they were selected as the richest and most valuable of their kind. It is of more consequence to observe that not only might no other incense than that now mentioned be employed at the altar of which we speak, but that every imitation of it for private purposes was forbidden, under the penalty of being cut off from among the people (Exod. xxx. 38). In connection with the structure of the Altar of Incense, it is only further necessary to bear in mind that it stood in a much closer relation to the Holy of Holies than either the Golden Candlestick or the Table with the Shewbread. It not only occupied a position immediately in front of the second vail, which they did not, but its connection with the inner sanctuary is described in language altogether peculiar to itself. It is to be put "before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony" (Exod. xxx. 6; comp. xl. 5, 26; Lev. iv. 7, 18), language not used in regard to any other part of the furniture of the Holy Place; while in 1 Kings vi. 22, the corresponding altar raised by Solomon is spoken of as "the altar that was by the oracle;" and, both in the visions of Isaiah in the Old Testament and of St. John in the New, an altar which can hardly be any other than the Altar of Incense—which in St. John indeed certainly is so—has its place assigned to it in heaven, "before the throne," and "before God" (Isa. vi. 6; Rev. viii. 3; ix. 13). Although, therefore, the Altar of Incense stood outside the second vail, it is in thought at least fully as much within it as without it. We turn to its import for Israel, and to its fulfilment for ourselves.

The determination of the first of these two points depends greatly on the meaning we attach to the incense of the Old Testament worship, for the chief object of the altar that we are now considering was to sustain the pot of incense there kept continually burning. In its first and simplest meaning, then, incense appears in the Old Testament as the symbol of prayer. "Let my prayer," says the Psalmist, "be set before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice" (Ps. cxli. 2); and, again, we read in the prophecies of Isaiah, "They shall bring gold and incense, and they shall show forth the praises of the Lord" (lx. 6), where, though the word in the original denotes frankincense—one of the leading constituents of incense—rather than the compounded incense itself, it is hardly possible to separate the thought of the latter from that of the former. We meet with the same idea in the New Testament. Of the four living creatures and of the four-and-twenty elders it is said that "they fell down before the Lord, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints" (Rev. v. 8); and, again, in the same book we are told of the angel whose appearance immediately preceded the sounding of the first of the seven trumpets, that "another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand" (viii. 3, 4). These passages are sufficient to show how closely as well as easily the thought of prayer and praise associated itself with the spectacle of the smoke of incense as it went up into the air. In conformity with this, too, we cannot forget that when Zacharias went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense "the whole multitude of the people were praying without" (Luke i. 9, 10), giving answer by their action to what they knew to be passing within the Sanctuary. Yet it can hardly be allowed that prayer alone, in the sense in which the word is commonly understood, is the antitype of which incense is the type. In the first place, it is not unworthy of notice that in the first of the passages just quoted from the Apocalypse (v. 8), it is not the materials for the incense that are directly said to be "the prayers of saints," but, as appears in the original, the vials in which these were kept, so that the words would rather lead us to think of prayer as that by which the real materials of incense were guarded and preserved. Still further, to regard incense as the symbol of prayer alone is to give undue prominence to that ascent of the smoke which is entirely subordinate in the symbol. It is the diffusion of sweet odours, not the ascent of smoke—of which there would probably be little from a slowly consuming fire—that is characteristic of incense; and when it was burned upon the Golden Altar the object was not to send up its smoke towards the roof, but to fill the whole apartment with its fragrance. Above all, Bähr has shown, by an examination of the words used to signify a savour, that they all connect themselves with the idea of breath or spirit, and that among Oriental nations the leading conception of a sweet smell is the breathing forth of the inmost soul or life of that by which it is produced.[2] He has thus, indeed, been led to regard incense as a symbol of the Spirit of God, or rather of that name of God in which His Spirit finds expression, and the act of burning the incense as symbolical of spreading abroad His name. We need not follow him thus far; but, proceeding on the hint which he has given, we shall be guided to a larger, and what seems a juster, view of the symbolism of incense than that which limits it to prayer. It is not prayer alone that is expressed by it. Prayer is only one of those manifestations of a devout life which are required by

[1] See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 151.

[2] *Symbolik*, i., p. 458.

the Almighty of His creatures, which are pleasing in His sight, and which have been already symbolically exhibited in the shewbread loaves. What we have now before us is something more: it is the breathing forth of the life of the true Israelite, taken as a whole—that breathing forth of it which diffuses fragrance on every side, which passes even towards the vail and the immediate presence of God, and which is grateful to Him of whose enlightening and quickening Spirit it is the fruit. That this thought of fragrance was connected in the mind of Israel with the thought of the life yielded up to God is shown by different passages of the Old Testament to which Bähr has himself referred, where the impression made by the whole personality of those spoken of is described under the figure of their savour. Thus, when the officers of the children of Israel during the captivity in Egypt complained to Moses and Aaron of the additional hardships they had been the means of bringing on them, they said, "The Lord look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to stink in the eyes of Pharaoh" (Exod. v. 21); and when Jonathan smote a garrison of the Philistines, and roused that people to the thought of war, we are told that "all Israel heard say that Saul had smitten a garrison of the Philistines, and that Israel did stink with the Philistines" (1 Sam. xiii. 4). In like manner, when the prophet Malachi describes the extension of the Church among the Gentiles, the Lord exclaims by him, "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering" (i. 11); while the exhortation of the son of Sirach to his people is couched in the words, "Hearken unto me, ye holy children, and bud forth as a rose budding by the rivers of water; and give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lily; send forth a smell, and sing a song of praise; bless the Lord in all His works" (Ecclus. xxxix. 13, 14). Passages such as these are amply sufficient to establish the point now before us. A good or evil savour was to Israel the symbol of a good or a godless life; and when, therefore, the sanctuary of God was kept continually filled with fragrance, they beheld in this the sweet savour not of prayer alone, but of that life to which as a priestly nation they were called.

The conclusion to which we have now come will be confirmed if we consider the names by which the Golden Altar and the presentation of the incense upon it were designated in Hebrew. The former was not merely an altar in the sense of being an elevated place; it was "a place for sacrifice," and that although no animal was permitted to be slain in the apartment in which it stood, or to be laid upon it to be burned. The latter again is distinctly spoken of as an "offering" (Exod. xxx. 9). Hence, also, the former had its horns, those special symbols, as we have seen, of the power and majesty of God, which were to be smeared with the blood of the sin-offering; while the latter was to be marked by the characteristics of being "salted pure and holy" (Exod. xxx. 35). The two last-named qualities belonged to the "offering," in the very nature of the case; the former was expressly enjoined in the Law (Lev. ii. 13). But if thus an "offering," it is hardly possible to limit the symbolism of the incense to the mere thought of prayer. It is not prayer that is our offering to God, it is ourselves. That is the fundamental idea which found expression in the "offering;" and, if so, it must be the fragrance of a devout spirit, its pleasingness in itself and in the sight of God, when regulated according to the requirements of His law, that meets us in the burning of incense upon the golden altar. There is no doubt a sense in which all this may justly be spoken of as prayer; only it is not what we generally understand by the word. It is rather that constant sending up of prayer and praise alluded to by the Apostle when he says, "Pray without ceasing. In everything give thanks" (1 Thess. v. 17, 18).

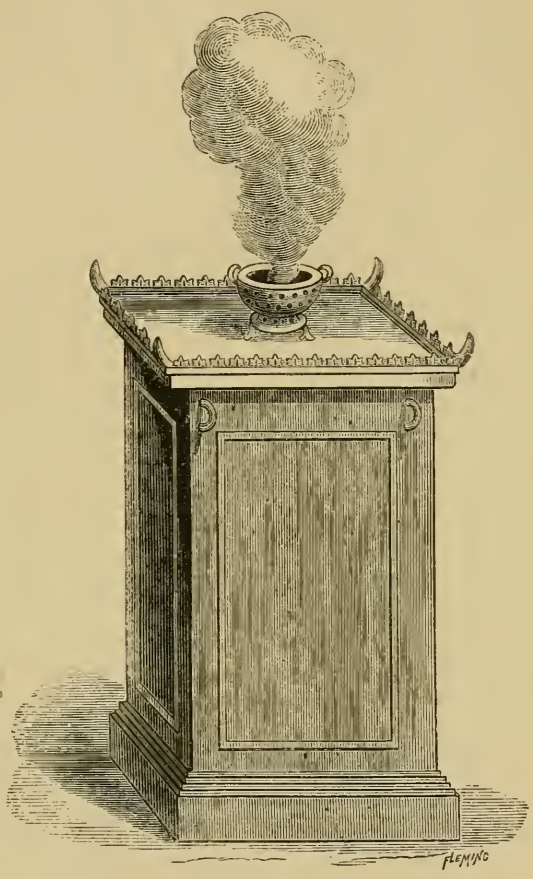
We are thus, however, brought to the fulfilment of the symbol in New Testament times. Like that of the Golden Candlestick and of the Table with the Shewbread, it is fulfilled in the Lord Jesus Christ and in His Church.

First, in the Lord Jesus Christ himself, on whom not only was the Spirit of God poured out without measure, by whom not only were fruits of the Spirit produced in all their perfection and completeness, but who exhibited these in such a manner as to be a constant object of delight to His Father in heaven, and to all who were taught to understand Him upon earth. Even in His early years it was said of Him, that "the grace of God was upon Him" (Luke ii. 40)—that grace which is not merely power, but beauty; and when He passed into the years of boyhood and youth, he increased, not only in wisdom and stature, but "in favour with God and man" (Luke ii. 52). Again and again was it proclaimed of Him by the voice from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;" and He himself said, referring to the Father, "I do always those things that please Him;" "I come to do thy will, O God" (John viii. 29; Heb. x. 9). It was not otherwise with man. The multitude exclaimed, "He hath done all things well;" and throughout all the ages of her history the Church has felt Him to be "fairer than the children of men," to be "altogether lovely." In short, it was not only holiness, but the "beauties of holiness," that the Saviour constantly exhibited on earth. His whole life was a breathing forth of devotion to His Father and of love to man. His name was like "ointment poured forth," and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

But, secondly, the burning of incense upon the Golden Altar is to be fulfilled also in Christ's people; and it is so only when they walk with God and diffuse everywhere around them the pleasant savour of their walk. It was so at the first, when they not only "praised God," but had "favour with all the people" (Acts ii. 47); and it ought to be so still. Not in stern faithfulness alone do they fulfil their high commission, but in the manifestation of all that is sweet and lovable in character. When St. Paul, giving his final exhortation

to the Philippians, enumerates those things which they were to think of and to do, he speaks not only of "whatsoever things are true and honest, and just and pure," but also of whatsoever are "lovely and of good report," of all such as have in them not only "any virtue," but "any praise" (Phil. iv. 8); and the Christian graces commended in the New Testament are not less beautiful in themselves than beneficial to men. "Thy people," the Psalmist had said, addressing the Messiah to come, "shall be willing in the day of Thy power; in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning" (Psalm cx. 3); and it is the constant lesson of the Scriptures that Christians are "to adorn" the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things. Grace is their distinguishing characteristic; and grace, if divine in its power, is not less so in its loveliness.

May we not say, before bringing these remarks on the Golden Altar to a close, that this fulfilment of it and of its incense, ought, as in the case of the Golden Candlestick, to be made by them even when they have no thought of the world at all? As it was enough for the candlestick to shine, so ought they to feel that, though there were none for whom to scent the air but God and themselves, they ought still to scent it. It may be well for them to think of leading others to glorify God by observing what they are; but the true spring of a fair Christian life lies deeper than the thought of man at all. It lies in the thought of God; and in yielding up the soul to Him, and breathing out towards Him their inmost life, Christians send abroad their sweetest savour, not because they strive to do so, but because in the kingdom of God that is always sweetest which has least thought of self, and which both loses and finds itself in God alone.



THE ALTAR OF INCENSE.

Before passing from the Altar of Incense, it may be well for us to devote a few sentences to the consideration of the great difficulty connected with it arising out of the language of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, when he says, referring to the Tabernacle and its furniture, that there was "after the second vail, the Tabernacle which is called the Holiest of all, which had the golden censer," &c. (Heb. ix. 3, 4). Even if we accept the translation of the original by the word "censer" here, the difficulty thus occasioned is by no means slight, for no mention is made of any such golden censer in the Law of Moses; and it is with the fulfilment of God's arrangements, as set forth in it, and not in either the traditions or later practices of the Jews, that the writer of the Epistle has to do. Besides this, the golden censer used in the later history of Israel was kept not in the Holy of Holies, but along with the other sacred vessels in a chamber for the purpose. And, finally, it could not have been kept—if in existence while the Tabernacle stood—in its innermost and most sacred apartment. for the ritual of the great Day of Atonement—the only day of the year when the high priest might enter that apartment—required that he should do so, under the penalty of death if he did not, with the censer in his hand. The difficulties, therefore, that meet us upon this supposition are hardly less great than those which we have to contend with on the other, that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is speaking not of the golden censer, but of the golden altar, and that the verse before us should run, "After the second vail the Tabernacle which is called the holiest of all, which had the golden altar," &c. That this is the true meaning of what he says may appear from the following considerations:—(1.) The word employed by him is that commonly used in the later period of Israel's history to denote the golden altar, and to distinguish it from the brazen altar in the "court."[1] (2.) It is in a high degree improbable that, in enumerating the articles of sacred furniture both in the outer and in the inner division of the Tabernacle, he should omit that one which was not only much more important in itself than either the Candlestick or the Table with the Shewbread, but whose importance in comparison with theirs was immeasurably increased on that great Day of Atonement, the services of which are the theme of the whole

[1] See Delitzsch on Heb. ix. 4.

chapter in which the words under consideration are found (comp. Lev. iv. 7, 18; xvi. 12, 18). (3.) This improbability is greatly increased when we notice that it seems a part of the author's aim to tell us of three sacred objects as connected with each of the two divisions of the Tabernacle. He might easily have had three at command for the outer division. There were three there—the candlestick, the table with its contents, and the golden altar. Had these, however, been reckoned to it, there would have remained only two for the inner division—the ark and the cherubim. How, then, does he meet this difficulty? He divides, it would seem, the table with the shewbread, which was really one object, into two, and then the golden altar is free to be transferred to another connection, if not another place.

Accepting, then, the translation "golden altar," and not "golden censer," in Heb. ix. 3, are we to suppose that the author was mistaken as to the facts of the case? Let us remember the stress he lays upon the circumstance that the Holy of Holies was closed to every one but the high priest, and even to him on all days of the year but one (ix. 7); let us give due weight to the knowledge which he must have possessed that incense was offered by the ordinary priests every morning and evening upon the altar of incense; and, lastly, let us keep in view the intimacy of acquaintance with the rites of Judaism displayed by him throughout the whole of his Epistle; and, doing all this, we shall find it impossible to think that he has laid himself open to the charge either of ignorant or careless statement. What then is the explanation? We answer, that it is to be found in this, *that he sees the Tabernacle with its inner vail withdrawn.* It is on the great Day of Atonement that he sees it, with his mind full of the thoughts suggested by that day, and it is not the same then as on other days. We must ask our readers to present the events of that day to themselves in a form slightly different from that in which they are generally regarded. The common supposition is, that the high priest drew aside the vail only at the moment when he approached it with the censer and the incense in his hands; that having withdrawn it, and entered the Holy of Holies, the vail fell back into its usual position, and that this operation was repeated by him each time he returned into the Most Holy Place in discharge of the special functions of the time. Is this a probable supposition? How could the act thus attributed to the high priest be performed? His hands were full. In one he held the censer "full of burning coals of fire from off the altar of the Lord;" in the other as much "sweet incense beaten small" as it could contain (Lev. xvi. 12). He could not, therefore, have drawn aside the thick and heavy curtain forming the vail in the manner supposed. It is surely much more probable that he would withdraw the vail, without entering or even perhaps looking into the shrine, before he began what he had to do, and that it remained withdrawn until he had finished. That this would be the case is rendered likely not only by the general spirit of the symbolism of the day, which was to extinguish for the time any distinction between the Holy and the Most Holy Place, but by a circumstance to which, so far as we have observed, sufficient importance has not been attached, that it was an express injunction of the Law that no one should be in the Tabernacle of the congregation until all that the high priest had to perform within it was completed (Lev. xvi. 17). The best explanation of this fact is surely that, had any one been within, the whole of the sanctuary to its inmost recesses would have been open to his eye. We seem justified, therefore, in concluding that on the great Day of Atonement, and for a time at least, the two apartments of the Tabernacle were really thrown into one. *It is at this moment that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews sees them.* The second vail is drawn aside; the one long apartment is before his view. He counts the articles of furniture it contains, and it seems to him that he can easily have three for each of its divisions, while at the same time, by so dividing, he will assign the golden altar to that division to which, both by its position and by the language of the Law, it obviously belongs. This, then, is what he does. Beginning with the outer one, he sees in it the candlestick, the table, and the shewbread; and there remain for the inner one the golden altar, the ark, and the cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat. Thus the golden altar has assigned to it the position which was, as we have seen, always in thought its true one, and which on the great Day of Atonement may be said to have even locally belonged to it.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. LUKE.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

"And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."—LUKE xvi. 9.

THE parable of the unjust steward has received many and widely different interpretations. The plain and obvious drift of the parable, which was addressed, primarily, at least, to our Lord's disciples, seems to be this:—The worldly prudence of a steward, who, in the prospect of losing his stewardship, made provision for his reception into the houses of his master's creditors by a fraudulent remission of a portion of their debts, is employed as the occasion of enforcing a deep spiritual lesson. The master of the steward commended the sagacity, not the dishonesty, of his agent; and our Lord, regarding the conduct of this unjust steward

as a fair specimen of that of men actuated only by earthly motives, observes to His disciples that in their dealings (not "*in* their generation," as the Authorised Version has it, but) "towards [or in respect to] their own generation," as exemplified in those of the steward towards his lord's debtors, the men of this world show more prudence and sagacity than the children of light in their intercourse one with another.

In the 9th verse our Lord follows up the same train of thought, and in the form of a direct exhortation to His disciples, applies to them the lesson which this parable is designed to teach. Some degree of ambiguity appears to exist as to the precise sense in which this world's wealth is described by our Lord as "the mammon of unrighteousness." It is quite possible that allusion may be made in the word rendered in the Authorised Version "unrighteousness," to the original[1] acquisition of wealth by means which, whether lawful or unlawful, according to the code of this world, will not bear the test of a higher and severer scrutiny. But it seems more probable that the primary allusion, in the adoption by our Lord of the word ἀδικία in reference to wealth, was not so much to the mode of its acquisition as to the root of selfishness out of which the necessity of the laws of property has arisen, and to the essentially ensnaring influences of money, the "love" of which has proved itself in all ages "the root of all evil." Nor is it improbable that here, as throughout the Septuagint, the idea of *falseness* is closely connected with the use of the word ἀδικία and its cognate form; and that there is allusion made in the designation of this world's wealth as "the mammon of unrighteousness" to "the deceitfulness of riches," and to their tendency to betray the confidence and to disappoint the expectations of their possessors.

The general meaning of the injunction, as addressed to Christ's disciples, to make to themselves friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness, is too plain to require exposition. The allusion to the conduct of the children of this world towards "their own generation" seems to imply that the primary reference of our Lord is to works of kindness and of Christian charity towards those who are "of the household of faith." If, with the received text, we read ἐκλίπητε or ἐκλείπητε, "when ye fail," we must understand the allusion to be, in accordance with the use of the verb ἐκλείπω in the Septuagint, to the period of the death of those who have made a faithful use of their stewardship. If, with some of the best MSS., we read ἐκλίπῃ or ἐκλείπῃ, "when it fails," the primary allusion will still be to the expiration of the period of the earthly stewardship, and the day of solemn account.

It has seemed to some too much to ascribe to the intercessions of men such efficacy that the words, "they may receive you into everlasting habitations," should be understood as referring to those friends who have been made by a rightful use of "the mammon of unrighteousness." It is quite possible, indeed, to understand the plural form as being here, as elsewhere by the same Evangelist (cf. Luke xii. 11, 20; xxiii. 31), used impersonally, so as to denote nothing more than "ye shall be received." Such an interpretation, however, does not appear necessary; and the obvious reference to the words of the parable, "they may receive me into their houses" (ver. 4), seems to demand a different interpretation of the corresponding portion of its application, and to require that the "friends" made by a rightful use of this world's wealth should be regarded, *instrumentally*, as one of the contributing causes of the reception of their benefactors into "everlasting habitations." Moreover, the carrying of Lazarus "by the angels into Abraham's bosom," as recorded in the same chapter, may serve as an illustration of the close and intimate connection which has been ordained by God between the now divided portions of the earthly and the heavenly "family" (Ephes. iii. 15), and of the joy experienced by both, as represented in the preceding chapter of this Gospel (vv. 7, 10), in accessions to their number, corresponding to the misery anticipated by the rich man in the prospect of his five brethren coming into that place of torment to which he himself had been consigned. But it must not be overlooked that the righteous are represented both in the Old and in the New Testament as the "friends" of God and of Christ; that acts of kindness done to the poor, the sick, and the suffering, are represented by our Lord as done to Himself (Matt. xxv. 45); and, consequently, inasmuch as "friends" is a term which implies a reciprocal relationship, that we may, consistently with the analogy of Scripture, consider as denoted by the "friends" who shall receive the faithful stewards of the unrighteous mammon into everlasting habitations, not only "the spirits of just men made perfect," but "God the Judge of all" and "Jesus the Mediator of the new" and better "covenant."

The word rendered "habitations" is not, as we might have anticipated, from the epithet here ascribed to it, the same as, or a word similar to, that employed in St. John xiv. 2, μοναί, *i.e.*, "mansions," or enduring abodes; but σκηναί, "tents" or tabernacles, the same word which is used in the Greek version of the Old Testament to denote the wilderness-habitations of the Israelites, and (in the singular number) the tabernacle which accompanied them in their wanderings, which was so constructed as to admit of easy removal (Exod. xxxiii. 10); which word is used also in the New Testament as denoting the migratory life of the patriarchs in the land of Canaan, whilst looking for the city which had "the foundations" (Heb. xi. 9). The difference, however, between the temporary character of the tent or tabernacle, so familiar to the ancient Israelites, and the enduring character of the future

[1] We use the word "original" advisedly, inasmuch as in regard to those cases of ill-gotten wealth in which *restitution* is practicable, it would be altogether contrary to the whole tenor of the morality of the Gospel to suppose that any other course should receive the Divine approval.

abodes of the righteous, is brought into full prominence by the combination of two words, which are apparently antithetical. Nor is it unworthy of notice that the same word is employed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (viii. 2), with the addition of another epithet, ἀληθινή, true or veritable, to denote the divine sanctuary, in contradistinction from the earthly tabernacle, which was made after the archetypal pattern shown to Moses in the mount; and that both the noun σκηνή,[1] "tabernacle," and the cognate verb σκηνόω occur several times in the Apocalypse as presenting the realisation of the idea designed to be conveyed in the construction of the Jewish tabernacle, and in reference to that higher and more glorious manifestation of Deity which is reserved for that day when the new heavens and the new earth shall have taken the place of the heavens and the earth which now are, and when He who sitteth upon the throne shall say, "Behold, I make all things new" (Rev. xxi. 1—5).

[1] The word σκηνή is used in the LXX. to denote both the wooden erection or *mishkan*, and also the tent or covering, *ohel*, which enveloped it. It occurs as the equivalent of *mishkan* in Exod. xl. 19, and Numb. ix. 18; and as the equivalent of *ohel* in Exod. xxxiii. 10, and Numb. ix. 17.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

CRANE.

OF the *Grallatores*, or wading birds, the crane, heron, bittern, and stork are mentioned in our English Bible, though there is some doubt as to the real meaning of the Hebrew words translated "heron" and "bittern." The following are some of the principal grallatorial birds occurring in Palestine:—The Common Heron (*Ardea cinerea*), the Buff-backed Heron (*Buphus russatus*), the Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea*), the Squacco Heron (*Buphus ralloïdes*), the Bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*), the White and the Black Storks (*Ciconia alba* and *C. nigra*), the Purple Gallinule (*Porphyrio antiquorum*), and the Egrets (*Egretta alba* and *E. garzetta*).

COMMON CRANE (*Grus cinerea*).

The crane, there can be no doubt, is the correct translation of the Hebrew *âgûr* which occurs in Isa. xxxviii. 14, "Like a crane or a swallow so did I chatter;" and in Jer. viii. 7, "The turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming." Our translators have in the first passage (Hezekiah's lament in his illness) rendered *âgûr* by "swallow" and *sûs* by "crane;" this has been noticed under "Swallow." The crane utters a loud trumpeting noise which could not properly be described as "chattering" or "twittering;" but the words of the complaint may be elliptical, as, "I did utter a loud noise as a crane, I did twitter as a swallow." Jeremiah refers to the migratory habits of the crane, which visits the cultivated region of Palestine at the time of its spring migration northwards. It is a beautiful bird, and next to the ostrich the largest in the Holy Land. It is a rare visitor to this country now, but formerly it was frequently seen in the winter. The bill of fare at the feast of Archbishop Neville included two hundred and four cranes! Dr. Tristram mentions that these birds resort in immense flocks to their favourite roosting places in the wilderness south of Beer-sheba, during the winter; and Gould says that flocks of cranes are seen at stated times in France and Germany, passing northwards and southwards according to the season, in marshalled order, high in the air, their sonorous voices distinctly heard even from their elevated course. Occasionally they descend, attracted by newly-sown fields, or the prospect of finding food in marshes, on the borders of rivers, or even the shores of the sea, but generally they continue their flight unchecked towards their destined resting-places. The high-flying habits of the crane are expressed in Virgil's "aeriæ grues," and the same poet refers to the loud noise these birds make on the wing—

"Strymoniæ dant signa grues, atque æthera tranant
Cum sonitu, fugiuntque notos clamore secundo." (*Æn.* x. 265.)

The structure of the crane's windpipe is singular, for the organ, after leaving the neck of the bird, passes downwards and backwards between the branches of the merrythought towards the sternum or breastbone, where it makes several convolutions before it passes to the lungs.

The Hebrew word *âgûr* is probably derived from an unused root *âgar*, "to cry," "to make a noise;" the

BITTERN.

Arabic *kirkî* may also be onomatopoetic. Our English *crane*, A.S. *kran*, Germ. *Kranich*, Fr. *grue*, Greek γέρανος, Lat. *grus*, are all from the Sanskrit *grî*, "to utter a sound," "to call out;" compare the Greek γηρύω, "to speak," "to cry," the Latin *garrire*, and the English "to cry."

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE:—(3) RACES IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY THE REV. W. LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.

§ 3.—TIME OF SOLOMON.

WHEN we turn from the period of the Judges to that in which it is proposed next to trace the different elements of the population of Palestine, we find ourselves in what may be truly described as, from every point of view, a new world. The chosen race had not only subdued all their enemies within their own borders, but greatly extended their dominions on every side. The kingdom over which Solomon from the moment that he ascended the throne exercised undisputed sovereignty extended from Lebanon to the frontiers of Egypt, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. If the coasts of Tyre still retained their ancient independence, that

territory had long ceased to be claimed by Israel; and with its enterprising and ingenious, but unwarlike people, whose chief ambition was the development of their own trade and manufactures, both Solomon and his father had entered into friendly alliance, establishing with them indeed, intimate relations which greatly promoted, at least, the *material* advancement of both kingdoms. The disunion, anarchy, insecurity, and distress of the people of Israel in the former period, their continual warfare, their terrible periods of subjection to foreign oppressors, had now passed away. "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry." "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and fig-tree, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon" (1 Kings iv. 20, 25). Nor was there merely peace in those days. The nation had risen to a position of worldly power, prosperity, and even glory, undreamt of in former times. No longer satisfied with tilling their fields and tending their flocks and herds, for the supply of their own simple wants, they had become a great commercial people, with a foreign trade which opened up to them markets for their native produce in all parts of the world, and brought the riches of all other lands to their doors; and while it thus immensely increased their resources, at the same time introduced a new life and movement among all classes of the community. With wealth, too, had come luxury. The magnificence of the court of Solomon himself is proverbial; and the cedar palaces of the king (1 Kings vii. 2), his royal gardens and orchards, in which were planted trees of all kinds of fruits (Eccles. ii. 5), and the splendour of his retinue (1 Kings x. 5) were doubtless, emulated, in their degree, by his subjects. Then, many of the older cities had been rebuilt, and new cities founded throughout the land; but above all, after seven years' labour, the Temple—a structure less imposing in its dimensions than rich and ornate in its embellishments, but by all accounts (Isa. lxiv. 11; Hagg. ii. 3) surpassingly beautiful—had taken the place of the homely Tabernacle; and within its walls of carved cedar and polished stone, resplendent with costly decorations of gold and jewels, the worship of God was celebrated with a ceremonial pomp and a lavish expenditure which, whatever inference may be drawn from them as to the state of religion in Palestine, in the time of Solomon, were, at all events, no more, doubtless, than in correspondence to the material wealth and prosperity of the nation.

The data furnished in the Bible as to the ethnology of Palestine at this period are full of interest. The population, as a whole, had greatly increased. The full-grown men, or those fit for military service, in all the tribes, except Levi and Benjamin—Levi and also, for some reason (cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 6; xxvii. 24), Benjamin being omitted in the enumeration—was by the census taken by David, near the close of his reign, 1,300,000 (2 Sam. xxiv. 9), according to 1 Chron. xxi. 5, 1,570,000; or, at the lowest computation, more than twice as many as at the Exodus. The numbers imply a total population of not less than between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 souls. No information is given as to the relative proportion of Israelites and non-Israelites, which last class seems (2 Sam. xxiv. 7) to have been included in the census. It is very evident that the bulk of the inhabitants of the country at this time belonged to the seed of Abraham. But that non-Israelites, comprehending under that term not only Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites (1 Kings ix. 20), and Philistines (ii. 39), but Egyptians (x. 28), Phœnicians (vii. 14), Ammonites, Edomites (xi. 1), and probably many other peoples, were largely represented, we have ample means of knowing.

(1.) Of one class indeed of the foreign subjects of Solomon there is, in 2 Chron. ii. 17, a separate enumeration, founded on a special census which was taken by direction of that monarch himself. The class now referred to consisted of the remnants of the ancient Canaanites, or the descendants—as far as they were still to be found in the land—of those of the Canaanites "whom the children of Israel had not been able utterly to destroy" at, or after, the conquest. It is a remarkable proof of the tenacity with which these races clung to the home of their ancestors, that after the lapse, according to the chronological statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, of between 400 and 500 years, since the time of Joshua, their numbers should have been so great as appears from the passage now referred to. From a comparison of the various allusions to them, occurring in Kings and Chronicles, we may form a very distinct idea of the position which they at this time held in Palestine. They appear to have been distributed, probably in separate towns and villages, throughout the whole land, or over "all Israel" (1 Kings v. 13), enjoying, too, such a measure of social freedom as is implied in their possession of "homes" of their own[1] (verse 14). At the same time they were not now, whatever may have been the case in earlier times, in the same position with free citizens. Since the later years of David's reign (cf. 2 Sam. xx. 24, with 2 Sam. viii. 15, sq.) they had been placed under "tribute of bond-service" to the state, that is, had been made liable, like the Israelites themselves in Egypt, to furnish able-bodied labourers, when so required, for employment in public works undertaken by the state. Their "bondage" appears not to have been of the same oppressive character, nor to have been imposed with the same object, as the Egyptian bondage (Exod. i. 10, sq.); but in principle it was very much the same, and doubtless must have involved the endurance on their part of very severe hardships. The great public works in the form of splendid palaces, and fortifications, and new cities, which Solomon left behind him as monuments of his glory, were not completed without cost, at once in money and in human suffering, any more than the pyramids of Egypt or "Pharaoh's treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Exod. i. 11). The works of

[1] In some cases at least the original inhabitants retained their paternal inheritance. From Araunah, the Jebusite, David bought the threshing-floor on Mount Moriah, as a site for an altar to Jehovah. It was evidently at Araunah's absolute disposal (2 Sam. xxiv. 18).

this kind undertaken by that monarch are described in 1 Kings ix. 15, and included the building of "the house of the Lord," of Solomon's palace, "and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer, and Baalath, and Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the cities of store that Solomon had, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen," with other undertakings of a similar description "in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion." In all of these extensive undertakings, some of which cost many years' labour, the bond-service of the remnant of the Canaanite races was called into requisition (vv. 15—20). The nature of the labour required from them is clearly enough indicated in the account of the building of the Temple, from which it appears that different tasks were apportioned to different classes of the tributaries. Some were employed at Lebanon, in cutting down cedar-trees and quarrying stones. Others were set apart to transport the materials thus prepared to Jerusalem; and a smaller number were constituted overseers "to set the people a work" (2 Chron. ii. 18; cf. Exod. i. 11; v. 6). The whole numbers "told out" for these distinct labours were not, however, at any moment in actual service. The only levy, the extent of which is specified, embraced less than a fifth of the persons liable to be called upon (cf. 1 Kings v. 13; 2 Chron. ii. 17); and even from them continuous labour was not exacted, arrangements being made by which, after every month spent in state-labour, the workman was allowed to return home for two months to attend to his private affairs (1 Kings v. 14). It has been said that this class of the foreign population was considerable in point of numbers. The census only embraced the able-bodied men; it, of course, also excluded those individuals of the ancient races who had become naturalised by "transferring themselves to the religion and nationality of Israel" (Ewald, *Hist.*, iii. 230); and the number upon the whole is stated at 153,000. Allowing for women and children, the class of "strangers" now referred to must, by the usual mode of computation, have amounted to a total of not less than between 600,000 and 700,000 souls.

(2.) Amongst the non-Israelite population of which we have notices in connection with this period, another class consisted, in part at least, of men of the same origin, and occupied a somewhat similar, though a less servile and more honourable position than that just mentioned. The "Nethinim" were *servi publici* attached to the Temple, and, under the Levites, employed in the more menial duties connected with the Temple services. Unless we find an earlier trace of them in the Midianite captives given by Moses to the Levites in the wilderness (Numb. xxxi. 47; see Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, ii. 169), the first "Nethinim" consisted of the protected Hivites of Gibeon and its allied towns. Having by craft secured a treaty with Joshua, by which their lives were spared, but on condition of bond-service, the families of this Canaanite tribe were set apart to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord" (Josh. ix. 27). How far the attempt made by Saul, in one of his fits of misdirected zeal, to exterminate the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 2) had been successful, is not known. Apart from any serious diminution of their original numbers due to the incident now referred to, the introduction of a more stately ceremonial in the public services of religion when the sanctuary was transferred to Jerusalem, may have required that additions should be made to the "Nethinim." It appears, however, that for one reason or another that body received in David's reign important accessions, probably from the captives taken in some of David's wars (Ezra viii. 20). That the new "Nethinim" were, like the Gibeonites, of non-Israelite birth, is in itself probable, and derives confirmation from the fact that in the roll of some of their families which has been preserved by Ezra, the names are unmistakably foreign. Whether Solomon made further additions to the number is not certain; but there is a presumption in favour of this view from the fact that an order of men called "Solomon's servants" is referred to in the passage just cited in immediate connection with David's "Nethinim," and included under a common numeration with that body (Ezra ii. 55, 58). What their numbers were in the times with which we are at present dealing, is a point as to which there is no direct information accessible to us. At the return from the Captivity the Nethinim (including "Solomon's servants") were considerably in excess of the Levites. While only 379 Levites returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra, the sum of the subordinate members of the sanctuary of whom we now speak reached 518 (Ezra ii. 58; viii. 20); both doubtless mere fractions of the numbers in those days when the country had reached the culminating point of its glory and prosperity, and all departments of the public service were maintained in a state of the utmost splendour and efficiency. It must be added that the Nethinim were proselytes to the Jewish faith and worship. In Nehemiah (x. 28) we find them included among those who after the Captivity took part in the solemn covenant by which the restored people renewed their national engagements to Jehovah, entering into an oath to "walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord their God, and His judgments and His statutes."

(3.) The domestic slaves of the Jews at this period were probably very numerous, and must specially be taken into account in any attempt to form an estimate of the numbers and character of the foreign population of the country. It need hardly be said that slavery had always existed among the Hebrews from the earliest times; and with other usages which have gradually disappeared under the influence of Christian principles, was, owing to "the hardness of their hearts" and their unripeness for higher instruction, to some extent tolerated by the Mosaic law (cf. Matt. xix. 8), the provisions of which, on the subject of slavery, appear to have had chiefly in view the amelioration of an evil for whose entire suppression the time had not yet arrived. It probably continued to exist among the Jews as long as they were a nation. By

slaves are here, of course, to be understood non-Israelite slaves. There were native servants in Israel: not only *hired* servants, but servants who either by their own consent, or as a judicial punishment of certain offences, *e.g.*, theft (Exod. xxii. 3), had become bound, for a period strictly limited by statute, to a servitude which, while it lasted, was in some respects very much the same as that of persons reduced to slavery. Doubtless there were always in the land Hebrew bond-servants of the class last described. Their condition, however, was essentially different from that of slaves. That they were in every case free to leave their service at the end of six years, or earlier if the year of Jubilee intervened (Exod. xxi. 2; Lev. xxv. 10; Deut. xv. 12), formed of itself a vital distinction; but on every ground it would be an abuse of language to call any servitude legally imposed on the Hebrews by their own countrymen slavery (see Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, ii. 149, sq.). In addition, however, to native servants of the descriptions now mentioned, there were in the service of Israelite families numbers of slaves in the ordinary sense of the term; and these last appear to have been invariably non-Israelites.[1] Some of them were captives taken in Israel's own wars, and reduced to slavery by that people themselves (Numb. xxxi. 26); others, slaves purchased for money, in which case it may be assumed that they were "bought *of the heathen*" (Lev. xxv. 44), slave-markets being prohibited within the territory of Israel (Exod. xxi. 16). A great proportion, doubtless, were always slaves "born in the house," the offspring of enslaved parents. The only basis furnished in the Bible itself for a calculation of their probable numbers at this period is found in an account in the Book of Ezra of the relative numbers of slaves and freedmen who returned from the Babylonish Captivity under Zerubbabel. Of that miserable remnant of the former population of the land there were 42,370 Israelites, members of "the congregation of the Lord;" and their "servants and maids," who are enumerated separately, and not included in "the congregation," numbered 7,337, or stood in the proportion of 1 to 6 (Ezra ii. 64, 65). How much greater the proportion must have been in the days of Solomon need not be said. Doubtless among the Jews, as among other ancient peoples, the number of their slaves kept pace with the growth or decline of their prosperity (cf. Strabo xiv. 5, § 2). Solomon himself in the number of his "servants and maidens," including those born to servitude in his house, no less than in his riches in other respects, "increased more than all that were before him in Jerusalem" (Eccles. ii. 9). Among the Athenians it is tolerably certain that in the times of their greatest splendour the slave population was much larger than the free (Smith, *Dict. Antiq.*, l. c. "Servus"). In the time of Cecrops, the proportion is even said (*Deipnos.*, l. vi., quoted by Potter. *Arch. Græc.* i. 5) to have been 20 to 1, there being 400,000 foreign slaves to 20,000 Athenian citizens. In Delos as many as 10,000 slaves were sometimes sold in a single day (Strabo, l. c.). Athens, Ægina, and Corinth alone had in the days of their prosperity, 1,330,000 slaves (Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, 135, with authorities there cited). Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 140) speaks of the possession of crowds of slaves as one form of ostentation common in Rome in his day. Throughout Italy—to omit exceptional cases, in which the numbers are so great as to appear fabulous—it seems that 200 slaves was not an uncommon proportion for a private family (Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 11). Two cases are incidentally mentioned (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 43; Apulæus, in *Apolog.*, 548), where such a family had 400 slaves; and a freedman in the reign of Augustus, referred to by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 10, § 47), after great losses in the civil wars, left at his death 4,116 slaves. (See further details in *Dict. of Antiq.*, l. c.; Gibbon, *Rome*, c. ii.; Hume, *Essays*, i. 397, sq.; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. 370, sq.).

The nationalities of the private slaves of the Israelites can only be guessed at. We read both in earlier and later times of Midianite, Edomite, and other Arabian races being represented among the number. Some of them were Egyptians. Many probably were Africans; at least the slave-dealers of Phœnicia, to whom the Jews would naturally chiefly look for keeping up the supply, whether for the palaces of the rich, or for the homes, the fields, and the workshops of the middle classes, obtained the greater part of their slaves from Ethiopia (Heeren, *Hist. Researches*, iv. 179, sq.), the chief nursery of slaves for all the world from the earliest to the latest times.

(4.) In those countries which were in more immediate proximity to Palestine, it was not uncommon to find foreigners admitted to the king's court, and employed even in high office about the person of the sovereign (1 Kings xi. 19; Gen. xli. 40; Dan. ii. 48). The usage had not been unknown in Israel itself, either before or after the time of Solomon (cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 9; Jer. xxxviii. 7). In David's reign, even the royal body-guard (2 Sam. viii. 18; xx. 23; xxiii. 23) was a troop of foreign mercenaries, known as the Cherethites and Pelethites ("Cretans" and "Philistines," Ewald, *Hist.* i. 346): and among the officers in high command in the royal army were Ittai the Gittite, probably a native of Gath, and therefore a Philistine, but at all events "a stranger, and also an exile," as David expressly calls him (2 Sam. xv. 19); Zelek the Ammonite (xxiii. 37); and Uriah the Hittite (xxiii. 39). To what extent the practice was adopted by Solomon is a question for the determination of which we are left simply to inference from the general facts of the history of that monarch. Judging from these facts it may be assumed to be much more probable that in this respect Solomon improved upon, than that he departed from, the example set before him by his father. The fact that he had early in life married the daughter of the reigning king of Egypt, and afterwards, unhappily for himself and his country, formed unions with a

[1] Lev. xxv. 39; 1 Kings ix. 22. It seems, however, that at some periods, the provisions of the Mosaic law as to the release of Hebrew servants at the end of six years were, like others of the provisions of that law, openly transgressed by many of the people. (See Jer. xxxiv. 8, sq.; Neh. v. 1, sq.)

multitude of other foreign women—"women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Zidonians, and Hittites" (1 Kings xi. 1)—demands notice here on its own account. But the natural tendency of these connections to introduce foreigners into the court of the sovereign, and to gain for them admission to important and lucrative offices about his person, must especially be kept in view. Solomon was not by any means proof against the influences to which he was thus exposed, even when those influences were exerted in favour of innovations which affected the most fundamental principles of the Theocracy. Although, however, it is every way most probable that the court of this monarch swarmed with foreigners, we have, as already said, no direct information on the subject.

(5.) It appears incidentally that the commercial relations which had at this period been established between Palestine and other lands introduced many foreigners into the country, not only as temporary, but also as permanent residents there. From the extent and also the nature of these relations, such a result was inevitable. During the reign of Solomon "almost the whole commerce of the world passed into his territories" (Milman, i. 321). With Phœnicia he had established so strict a confederacy that, to use again the words of the historian just quoted, "Tyre might be considered the port of Palestine, Palestine the granary of Tyre" (*ib.*). Nor had he only thus been admitted to a participation in the extensive commerce of the greatest mercantile and manufacturing people of the ancient world, with—to say nothing of their inland traffic—a mercantile navy whose flag was found in every port, and colonies and factories of their own already established in all the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. With the co-operation of the same people, he opened up for himself, no less than for them, new spheres of commercial activity. The conquests of his father David had made him master of important harbours on the Red Sea; and aided by the skill and experience of the Phœnicians, he extended his maritime trade to Southern Arabia, the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and some parts of India (Milman, ii. 323). Then he had likewise commercial relations with the countries beyond the Euphrates; with Egypt—a trade carried on entirely through the Jews; and above all with the inland countries of the vast Arabian peninsula (Heeren, *Hist. Researches*, ii. 112). So active and wide-spread a trade with foreign lands could not fail to have an important influence in many ways on the condition of the Holy Land (cf. Wilkins, *Phœnicia and Israel*, c. iii.); and one of its first results must have been to introduce into that land, at every moment, a medley of representatives of many alien races—most of them forming, doubtless, no more than a floating population, but numbers also finding occasion to settle there permanently. The fact that Palestine was the highway through which much of the merchandise intended for other countries now found transit, must be taken into account, as well as the extent of her own trade. Above all we must keep in view the mode in which in these times all *inland* traffic was necessarily carried on. Especially when, as in the case of the western continent of Asia, the routes lay through countries intersected by deserts, and infested by lawless hordes, merchandise could only be transported from place to place with safety by caravans, or companies of men associated in sufficient numbers to be able to defend themselves against hostile attack (cf. Heeren, i. *Introd.*, lxxxix.). Then the retail trade was, in great part, in the hands of Phœnician packmen or pedlars. In these circumstances it was inevitable that at this period crowds of foreigners—Phœnicians, Egyptians, Arabians, Babylonians, Ethiopians, and even East Indians, and from the European continent, men of Spain, and still more distant countries—shipmasters, mariners, merchants, dealers, carriers, with their "multitudes" of camels and dromedaries (Isa. lx. 6) and attendants—should be found at all times on the great roads through Palestine; or encamping at the outskirts of the cities; or bargaining with the native buyers and sellers at the great fairs; or carrying their packs of Egyptian linen yarn, or Tyrian purple cloth, and trinkets, and jewellery, from house to house in the thriving towns and villages. Nor are we without many incidental traces of the existence of such a population. Too obvious indications of one of the corrupting influences which foreign settlers brought to bear on the youth of Israel, occur in the repeated allusions in Proverbs to the "strange" women, against whose enticements the royal Preacher found it necessary again and again to warn the young men among his subjects; and in one of the passages now referred to, the temptress is described as the wife of a foreign merchant who, with his family, had taken up his residence in Jerusalem, from whence he made journeys in pursuit of his trade to distant markets (Prov. vii. 9). Again, we read (1 Kings x. 11) of the arrival in the ports on the south-eastern frontier of Hiram's ships with gold, algum-trees, and precious stones from Ophir; and of the arrival, once in three years, on the Mediterranean coast of Solomon's own ships of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks (x. 22)—both arrivals involving a land carriage through Palestine, in which many foreigners must have been employed; of the troops of horses, and bales of linen yarn, brought up from Egypt, with the prices which were paid to the Egyptian carriers for transit money (vv. 28, 29); and of the spice merchants of Arabia who brought from year to year to Solomon's court the native products in which they trafficked (vv. 15, 25). Then as the merchants of Israel traded in the markets of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 17), there were, so late as the times of Nehemiah, traders from Tyre dwelling in Judah, and bringing their wares into Jerusalem for public sale (Neh. xiii. 16). It is a curious indication of the manners of the times, that the "virtuous woman" of Prov. xxx. is described as making "fine linen" and "girdles" for sale or barter to the Phœnician merchants (ver. 24)—the same merchants, doubtless, from whom she purchased her "coverings of tapestry" and the "scarlet cloth" for her household.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

MEASURES OF TIME.

I. SMALLER DIVISIONS:—DIVISION OF DAY (TWENTY-FOUR HOURS).

I. HOROLOGY:—SMALLER DIVISIONS OF TIME.

THE measurement of time has two distinct objects and methods; the first being applicable to minute portions, and the second to cycles and terms of years. The former was called, by the great Latin writers of the seventeenth century, *Chronometry*, and the second *Chronotaxis*. *Chronology* is now generally the word employed for the second division of the subject.

The chief, if not the only, distinct reference to any artificial measurement of small portions of time, that occurs in the Bible, is that made to ten degrees of the dial of Ahaz. These steps, or degrees, were probably those of the Chaldean scale, which is used by Ptolemy, in the *Almagest*,[1] for his account of the lunar eclipses observed at Babylon. These degrees were 60, in the course of a diurnal revolution of the earth; and thus each one contained 24 of our minutes. A degree was divided into 80 scrupules, of 18 seconds. There can be little doubt that our ordinary division of the day into 24 hours, and of the hour, and of the minute, by 60, is also Chaldean. The face of a clock or watch is still divided into 60 degrees, every fifth of which is indicated by a number. But the astronomical notation which we have described is that in which the early eclipses are recorded; and it is referred to by Scaliger in his great work, *De Emendatione Temporum*.

We cannot find that any accurate system of the minor divisions of time was known to the Jews. Before the discovery of the pendulum, accurate measurement of mean time was impossible. In the time of Charlemagne a *clepsydra*, or water-clock, was sent to that Emperor by the Caliph Haroun al Raschid. Our own King Alfred is said to have invented the use of graduated candles to measure the hours of the night. The Chaldean sun-dial appears to have been introduced into Palestine by Ahaz; although the determination of the moment of noon, by the absence of shadow cast from a wall built north and south, was well known to all Eastern people, and appears to have been introduced into the structure of the Court of Israel by King Solomon. The division of the sun-dial of Ahaz was probably the Chaldean division into sixty degrees, each degree containing eighty scrupules of time.

The hours of the night must have been measured by the Chaldeans by the motions of the stars. Amongst the Jews we find no mention of any indication of their flight, except the crowing of the cock. The legends of the Rabbis, as to the harp suspended by David over his bed, which sounded at midnight of its own accord, and woke the king to prayer,[2] form strong negative evidence as to the want of any chronometric division of the night. There is a very old dispute as to how many watches formed the most proper division of the time of darkness; but the Halacha, or decision, establishes three.[3] The vigils of the guard of the Temple were visited by the prefect of the guard, but the irregularity with which that officer made his rounds is matter of direct tradition.

The point of noon was fixed, by daily observations, with sufficient accuracy. The rising of the first ray of the sun, or, as it is called, the column of the dawn, was watched for from an elevated place in the Temple; and a *præco*, or officer appointed to cry the hour, announced the illumination of the mountain-range to the south of Jerusalem. Sunset, on the sixth day of the week, was announced by six blasts of the trumpet.[4]

The division, into the great and the small vesper, of the whole time of the descent of the sun from the zenith, appears to have separated the afternoon into two equal portions. The most natural explanation of all the information which is contained on the subject of the division of the day, in the Bible and the Talmud, is, that from sunrise to sunset was counted as twelve hours, and that the length of the hour varied with the season of the year; no indications being recognised except such as were taken from Nature; as by the falling of the shadow, or the movements or voices of animals.

A remarkable proof of the want of any means, however rude, of artificially testing the flight of time, is found in the account given in the tract *Tamid* of an error in the morning sacrifice. The light of the moon, on one occasion, was so strong, that it was mistaken by the priests for the sunrise, and the morning victim was accordingly slaughtered. When the actual sunrise followed, and showed the error, a second lamb had to be slain, as no burnt-offering could be legally performed by a nocturnal rite.

The brief twilight of Palestine lasted from the actual setting of the sun until the stars were visible, and from the upcasting of the first rays of the sun until the appearance of the great light. The morning prayer, or *Shema*, might be said at any time, from dawn to the third hour of the day, or, as some held, from dawn until noon. The offering of the daily sacrifice was to take place as soon as the morning rays of the sun illuminated the mountains south of Jerusalem. The opening of the seven gates of the sanctuary, which were all unlocked and opened by signal at the same moment, was announced by three blasts of the trumpet.

Thus the divisions of the Hebrew day, as far as they are mentioned in the Bible or the Talmud, are exclusively natural and unartificial. The only need of exactitude

[1] *Almagest*, lib. vi., cap. 1.
[2] *Le Talmude de Babylon, traduit par l'Abbe Chiarini*, vol. i., p. 262.
[3] *Berachoth*, i. 1, Ghemara.
[4] *Codex Succoth*, v. 5.

was that which arose from the injunctions as to morning and evening prayer, and as to the services of the Temple. The moment of the commencement of the Sabbath, on the close of the sixth day of the week, was another point of importance. It was announced to Jerusalem by six blasts from the trumpets of the Temple. But so careful were the provisions with which the observance of the Day of Rest was hedged, that any occupations likely to consume a lengthened time were prohibited after noon on the day of preparation, or eve of the Sabbath. The chronometry, as well as the larger divisions of time, contemplated by the Law, was that afforded by the visible movements of the heavenly bodies, or indicated by those divinely-implanted instincts of animals which the appliances of modern civilisation have led us to disregard. Throughout the Holy Land, under the rule of the Divine law, man responded to every utterance of Nature by a blessing on the name of the Creator. When the crow of the cock fell on the ear the Oral Law taught the pious Jew to respond, "Blessed is he who hath given wisdom to the bird."[1]

The subjoined tables indicate the early Chaldean division of time, and the Jewish division of the day, according to natural phenomena and religious observances. The Arabic divisions now used in Palestine are added.

ARTIFICIAL HOROLOGY.

CHALDEAN (USED IN ALMAGEST).

Dimension.	Sec.	Scru.	Deg.	Dies.
Second	1	—	—	—
Scrupule	18	1	—	—
Degree	1,440	80	1	—
Day	86,400	4,800	60	1

NATURAL HOROLOGY.

Italian Hour.		English.	Jewish.	Named in Talmud.
ANGELUS (Italy)	0	6	Sunset.	
				Twilight. ('Abra, Arab.)
	$\frac{1}{3}$	6.20	Stars appear.	Evening Shema, or prayer.
CURFEW (Eng.)	2	8		
	4	10	1st watch ends.	The ass brays.
	6	12	Midnight.	
	8	2	2nd watch ends.	The dog barks.
	9	3	Cock-crow.	
	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	2nd cock-crow.	
LARUM (Belgium)	$11\frac{2}{3}$	5.40	Column of dawn.	
				Twilight. (Subáh, Arab.)
	12	6	Sunrise.	Three blasts of trumpet Shema, or prayer. MORNING SACRIFICE, at N.W. of ALTAR. Nine blasts of trumpet.
TOCCO (Italy) Since 1456.	18	12	Noon.	(Doher, Arabic.)
	$19\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Great vesper.	First Mincha.
	$21\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Small vesper.	Second Mincha. ('Aser, Arab.) (Mogoreb, Arabic, before sunset.)
	$23\frac{2}{3}$	5.40		EVENING SACRIFICE, at N.E. of ALTAR. Nine blasts of trumpet.
	24	6	Sunset.	Six blasts of trumpet, on eve of SABBATH.

[1] *Codex Beracoth*, cap. ix., mis. 6, Ghemara, page 327.

II. THE SUBSTITUTE FOR A CALENDAR, IN DIVISION OF THE YEAR.

The accuracy in the determination of time, which the Law of Moses made incumbent on the Hebrew people, was of a different character from that which, for astrological purposes, had been attained by the Chaldee astronomers, at least as early as the days of Abraham. When Alexander the Great took Babylon, it is said that he found records of eclipses as far back as a date which fell almost on the very year of the departure of Abraham from Mesopotamia; the two events, probably, coinciding with a revolution, or change of dynasty at Babylon, where the accession of the second dynasty, consisting of Median kings, is attributed to that date. The records of these eclipses must have perished in the destruction of the famous library at Alexandria, by the Caliph Omar, in A.D. 640. The great mathematician, geographer, and astronomer, Ptolemy, had access to a series of Babylonian observations, the earliest of which, that he cites in the *Almagest*, was an eclipse of the moon, which occurred in the first year of Mardocempadus, B.C. 721.[2]

The great object of ancient astronomy and chronometry was astrological prediction. This was expressly forbidden to the Jews by the Pentateuch. We find, in consequence, that so far from their attempting, like the Greek philosophers, to foretell eclipses, or even to make use of the *saros*, or eclipse table, the Hebrew writers ascribed to all such phenomena the character of portents, or "signs from heaven." We can recognise contemporary references, in the Hebrew prophets, to certain famous ancient eclipses, under this description.

It may have been with a view to render astrology impossible, that the Jews were forbidden to keep a calendar in the Holy Land. Their years, like those of the Greeks, were lunar. The importance of securing the light of the moon for all great gatherings of people, involving distant journeys, was no doubt one principal reason why the Jewish, like the Grecian, festivals were fixed at full moon. With the Greeks the value of a calendar was so highly prized, that the discovery by Meton, in the 86th Olympiad, of that relation between the movements of the great planets, which gives a cycle of nineteen years, was regarded as a national benefit, and was commemorated under the name of the "golden number." With the Jews the first day of each month was sacred. But these days were determined, according to the Oral Law, not by a calendar, but by direct observation of the new moon.

It is well known that the actual conjunction of the sun and moon, when these planets are in the same degree of longitude, is invisible to the naked eye, except on the comparatively rare occurrence of an eclipse of the sun. Forty-three times in eighteen years occurs an eclipse of the moon, partial or total; but the number of eclipses of the sun in the same time is only twenty-nine; and many of them are only partial, and visible near the poles, or in widely differing regions of the

[2] *Almagest*, lib. vi. c. 5; lib. x. c. 5, 8.

earth. On most occasions the new moon is invisible for two or three days after the actual change.

As the length of the lunation, or lunar month, is, roughly speaking, twenty-nine days and a half, it is easy to know, from month to month, when to expect the crescent to become visible. Six times in the year the beginning of the month was decided by observation of the new moon. These were: in Nisan, or the first month, on account of the Passover; Ab, the fifth month, on account of the Fast; Elul, for the beginning of the civil year, that is to say, for anticipating what would probably be the first day of the following month; Tisri, or Ethanim, the seventh month of the sacred, but the first of the civil year, for the Day of Atonement; Cisleu, the ninth month, for the Feast of Lights; and Adar, for the Feast of Purim. On these occasions, and, during the time of the monarchy, on the first of Ijar, the second month, on account of the second passover (for any who had missed the proper day of the first month), the persons who observed the new moon hastened to the Beth-din, or council, to give evidence to that effect.

On two months of the year the determination of the new moon was of such importance, that the witnesses who observed the crescent were authorised to profane the Sabbath, by travelling to give information at Jerusalem. These occasions were the months Nisan and Tisri, in which occurred the Passover and the Day of Expiation. The Mishna records that on one occasion as many as forty pairs of witnesses thus arrived on the Sabbath at Lydda. Rabbi Akiba detained them, but was reproved for so doing by Rabbi Gamaliel. The witnesses were examined by the Beth-din, as to the form and exact position of the crescent. If they had seen it through the clouds, through glass, or reflected in water, the evidence was not accepted. When the evidence was satisfactory, the judges declared the month to be commenced; and a beacon was lighted on Mount Olivet, from which the signal was repeated on mountain after mountain, until the whole country was aglow with their fires.

For special purposes, such as the tithing of cattle and the plantation of trees, the Jewish year began at distinct times. The regnal year began with Nisan. The first year of each king's reign began on the first day of Nisan after his accession, the preceding days being counted to his predecessor. This accounts for the precise specification of the time of three months, as exceptional, in the case of the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jeconiah. The year of Jubilee, which occurred every forty-nine years, commenced on the Day of Expiation. An ecclesiastical year, as in the case of the Advent of the Catholic Church, commenced a month before the ordinary year. Thus the "first Sabbath"[1] was the first Sabbath of the month Adar, on which day the section of the Pentateuch prescribing the annual payment of the half-shekel was read in the synagogue. This fact explains the often discussed difficulty of the "first-second" Sabbath, mentioned by St. Luke, which was the first Sabbath in the month of Nisan. It fell, in the year 782 A.U.C., on what we should now call the 5th of April.[2]

On the fifteenth day of Adar the sepulchres were whitewashed,[3] and on the twenty-fifth the tables were placed in the courts of the Temple to receive the annual tribute of the sacred half-shekel. Those who had not the legal money, and required change in order to pay it, had to pay the addition called the *kalbon*, which, according to Rabbi Meir,[4] was a silver *obolus*, although the sages allowed half this coin to be thus given.

[1] *Meghilla*, iii. 4.

ERAS.

	Era.	Anno.	
1	Mundane . . .	0	Restored Sacred Reckoning.
2	Julian	96	1 Jan.
3	Menes founds Memphis	355	
4	China	2053	First cycle of 60 years commences ♂, 5th April.
5	China	2173	First historic cycle. Full moon, Kia zing.
6	Babylon . . .	2675	Second dynasty. Median Kings commence.
7	Second Egyptian Monarchy . . .	3104	18th dynasty accedes in Egypt.
8	Exodus . . .	3269	15 Abib, falling on 28 Pharmouthi.
9	Olympiads . . .	4033	Ol. A.a. begins full moon ♋, 4034.
10	A.U.C. . . .	4056	Rome founded Kal. Maii, 4057.
11	Nabonassar . . .	4062	1 Thoth, 18 Feb. 4063.
12	Metonic . . .	4375	New moon of Skirrophoreon, 21 June, 4376.
13	Callippic Period . .	4479	24 Gemini fell 13 June, 4480.
14	Seleucus . . .	4497	1 Thoth, 3 November, 4498.
15	Actiac . . .	4779	28 Aug., Battle of Actium.
16	Christian . . .	4809	A.D. 1. 1 April, 4810.
17	Diocletian . . .	5092	17 Feb. Era of Martyrs, 29 Aug. 5093.
18	Pontifical Indiction .	5120	1 Jan. 5121.
19	Hegira . . .	5430	New moon, Thursday, 18 July, 5431.
20	Papacy . . .	5414	29 June, 5415. Pope styled Universal Bishop.

CYCLES,

COINCIDENCES BETWEEN WHICH ARE DETERMINATIVE AS TO DATE.

	Term.	Length	Correction.
		Years.	
1	Septennial Cycle .	49	None.
2	Dominical Cycle .	400	One day omitted in 4000 years.
3	Lunar Cycle . .	19	One day added every 228 yrs.
4	Bissextile Cycle .	400	As Dominican Cycle.
5	Eclipse Cycle . .	54	Gradual transformation, by about 52′ 3″ in each cycle.
6	Vague Egyptian year	1504	Year travels round to given point.
7	Sothiac Cycle . .	1460	The same, in terms of Julian time.
8	Olympiads . .	4	Commenced on full moon in Cancer.
9	Chaldean Great year	360	Used in prophetic books.
10	Callippic Period .	76	As Lunar Cycle.
11	Cycle of 24 orders .	23	Determined in accordance with Dominical Cycle.
12	Year of Hegira .	1	Contains 12 lunations.
13	Cycle of Indiction .	15	Julian or Gregorian.
14	Julian Period . .	7980	Reckoned by Julian time.

[2] This is not Julian time, but Gregorian, carrying back the existing relation of the 1st of April to the present position of the equinox.

[3] *De Siclis*, i. 1.

[4] *De Siclis*, i. 7.

III. CYCLES—THE WEEK—THE COURSES OF THE PRIESTS —THE JUBILEE.

The computation of time amongst the Jews is remarkable for the co-existence of a number of distinct methods of reckoning, invented for different purposes, and each following its own law. The coincidence of two or more of these different systems in any particular point thus yields a certitude as to date which it is hard to find rivalled elsewhere; almost the only corresponding examples being found in the revolution of the vague Egyptian year, and in that of the Chinese cycle of sixty years.

The first and simplest of these systems is that of the week. One of the main distinguishing features of the Jewish law was the command to do no manner of work on the seventh day, or Sabbath. The existence of this division of time is, however, much more ancient than the Exodus. It is referred to in the Book of Genesis, as known in the time of Jacob, and, still earlier, in that of Noah. It is said to have existed among the Phœnicians. In China it is mentioned under the third dynasty, which acceded B.C. 1122. The attaching to the days of the week of the names of the seven astrological planets is first mentioned by Dion Cassius, by whom the day on which the city of Jerusalem was taken is thus spoken of as *Dies Saturni*. As far as we can detect, the existence of a sevenfold division has everywhere an astrological origin. Astronomy, in ancient times, was only the rudimentary part of astrology; and the use of astrological inquiry was so directly forbidden in the Law, that it is easy to understand the disinclination shown by the Jewish teachers towards any approach to artificial chronometry.

The lunar months were brought into co-relation with the course of the seasons, or solar year, by the simple method of observing the ripening of corn. Three ears of barley, coming from at least two out of the three provinces of Judea, were required for the celebration of the Passover, and thus for the determination of the first month of the year. Maimonides gives an astronomical rule from which it would result that the new moon of Nisan (or Abib, the month of green ears) could never fall earlier than the fifth day of our present month of March. This rule may possibly be comparatively modern, but it closely accords with the provision as to the ripening of the corn.

The division of years, appointed by the Law, was septennial. Questions have been raised by persons to whom Hebrew literature is unfamiliar, as to this point. The Church of Rome, adhering to the Roman decimal chronology, has made her year of Jubilee fall on the fiftieth, not on the forty-ninth year, and many critics have supposed that the Sabbath years were neglected or even disused.

There is, however, no doubt on this subject possible to those who will go to the true sources of information. The revolution of the week of years was as fixed and regular, amongst the Jews, as that of the week of days. In the fourth year of each septennate the fruit of all planted trees was hallowed, in obedience to the precept in Lev. xix. 24. On the seventh year it was forbidden to plough, to reap, or to prune, and the self-sprung fruits of the earth were alone to be gathered in. In this year, also, all money debts outstanding between Israelites were to be forgiven. The fiftieth year was not conterminous with the other years of the cycle. It began and ended on the day of expiation, and thus included a portion of the seventh and a portion of the first year of the week (*Rosh Ha-Shana*, i. 1). In this year land which had been alienated returned to the family to which it hereditarily belonged. The Hebrew slave, male or female, who had refused his or her offered liberty on a preceding Sabbatic year, was freed in the year of Jubilee. The instances in which the Sabbatic years can be identified as falling on known regnal years, during the course of Jewish history, are too numerous to allow of the slightest doubt as to the regular observance of the order of annual reckoning prescribed by Moses, and referred to by the prophets.

Independent of either the lunar or the Sabbatic cycle, was a cycle of twenty-four weeks, in which the twenty-four courses of the priests went through their successive terms of service in the Temple. This division into *mishmaroth*, or courses, was not confined to the tribe of Levi. The whole people were divided in a like manner. The men of the course that coincided with the acting course of the priests, sent up deputies to Jerusalem to represent the congregation of Israel in the sacrifice, and the other members of the same course met daily, through their week of service, in the synagogue, to read certain prescribed lessons of the Law. In twenty-three solar years the order of the priests made exactly fifty revolutions, gaining a single day. This order of courses thus embraced the whole people, and its coincidence with the destruction of the Temple, and with the appearance of the angel to Zacharias, forms a very decisive check as to the chronology of these two remarkable events.

Thus the principles of the measurement of time, contemplated by the Law of Moses, were, like the entire metrical system of the Jews, directly referable to a natural standard. The limits of error were thus small, and readily to be ascertained. The Day of Atonement, that of the Passover, the day of Pentecost, the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, the day of the Feast of the Dedication, or that of Purim, may be recovered, on any year during the long historic period, to a single day. It can only be more closely fixed when any reference occurs to the day of the week. But when we have a coincidence noted between the day of the month and that of the week, we have an absolute astronomical determination of time.

Errors may occur in ancient records when a decimal notation is employed. They may, of course, occur in any mode of reckoning. But if we find a date that is fixed by regnal years, or by decennial notation, to coincide with a specified year of the septennial reckoning, we have an absolute determination. More than twenty coincidences of this nature are to be traced in the Old

Testament, the Apocrypha, and the *Antiquities* and *Wars* of Josephus.

To enter into the very numerous instances of chronological coincidence between the cycle of the week and the courses of the moon, and between the decennial and septennial reckoning, is beyond the province of the present inquiry. It is the basis of the restored chronology of the Bible, and it is intimately connected with the import of that prophetic cycle of 1,260 years which is not a mere casual definition of certain specified sequences of time, but a primary law of historic chronology.

From the records of Egypt, of Babylon, of Nineveh, of Tyre, of Grecian history, from observations of eclipses in Assyria and in China, and from coincidences of the decennial reckoning of the Bible with the cycles of the week, the Sabbatic year, the courses of the priests, and the monthly phases of the moon, a series of mathematical checks on the restoration of the actual chronology of the Bible, such as no other history can show, is obtainable, and has been obtained. From these mathematical determinations we are able to fix the chief dates of the Bible history with a precision hitherto unattained.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

COMING, as the preachers of the Gospel did, into the midst of a complicated imperial system, and confining themselves to their work as preachers, attempting no revolutions political or social, and for many years scarcely even suspected of attempting any, we cannot be surprised at the comparative absence of any direct reference to them in the contemporary monumental records of the Apostolic age. We can understand, though we cannot excuse, the temper which, impatient of the absence of that direct testimony, sought to fill up the gap by documents, such as the spurious *Acta Pilati*, to which even Tertullian referred as authentic; the letter of Tiberius to the Roman Senate, asking them to place the name of Christ in the catalogue of the gods whom the State recognised; the alleged correspondence (said by Eusebius to have been extant in his own time in the archives of Edessa) between our Lord and Abgarus, the prince of that city; the inscription, said to have been found in Spain, commemorating Nero's extirpation of the Christians. These spurious records have shared the fate which sooner or later falls on all pious frauds, and are now relegated by the accordant consent of critics to the region of the apocryphal.

On the other hand, the records of the work of the Apostles and their immediate followers, narrated by a writer like the author of the Acts, who professes to have been largely a sharer in the events which he chronicles, bring us at every step into contact with the details, not only of social customs and religious feeling, but of political and official life. Serious inaccuracies in statement or even in phraseology, affecting those details, would lead us to judge unfavourably of the trustworthiness of the book in which we found them. Here, we might justly say, is proof that we are dealing with what are not even "cunningly devised fables," but with documents in which blunders and anachronisms betray at every turn the hand of the impostor. If we find so much that is fatal to all claim on our belief in that which professedly deals only with what is on the level of ordinary history, how can we trust the narrative when it rises into the region of the extraordinary and the supernatural?

Objections of this kind, if not absolutely fatal, would, it will be admitted on all sides, seriously affect the impression left by the New Testament records on the minds of competent inquirers. And, therefore, in proportion to the discrediting weight which they would have must be the interest attaching to any series of testimonies tending in the opposite direction, to coincidences and illustrations from contemporary records, showing that the historian is true and faithful where, if not faithful, he would have been most likely to betray himself; that he is accurate where he deals with common facts; that he thus establishes a character for veracity which ought to tell in his favour when he deals with those which are uncommon. Some of these illustrations I now proceed to notice.

I. It will be recollected that St. Luke in his account of St. Paul's visit to Cyprus speaks of that island as being under the government of Sergius Paulus, "the *deputy*" (Acts xiii. 7). The word thus used was applied in the time of Elizabeth and James I. to the officer whom we now know as the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and it was, therefore, a natural one for the translators of the Bible to use of the proconsul of a Roman province. Here, however, a difficulty meets us. When Augustus became the sole ruler of what had been the Roman republic, under the title of Imperator, or Commander-in-Chief of the Roman legions, he divided the subject provinces into classes, (1) those that were supposed to be tranquil and capable of being governed by the Senate, as being theoretically the supreme executive body of the State; and those which, as needing more direct military control, were placed under the care of the Imperator. Now in the division which was thus made by Augustus, Cyprus was placed in the latter class. It is mentioned by Strabo in his *Geography* (xiv. *ad fin.*) as being governed by στρατηγοί, or prætors, as the representative of the emperor. Assuming this

state of things to have continued, it would have been a blunder to use, as St. Luke uses, the term ἀνθύπατος, or pro-consul, of the Roman ruler. This had accordingly been a matter of perplexity to scholars. Beza, in one of his editions of the New Testament, had even suggested an emendation of the text in order to bring it into agreement with the supposed facts. Here, however, later researches have thrown light on what was before obscure. Cyprian coins of the time of the Emperor Claudius—*i.e.*, of nearly the same date as St. Paul's visit—have been found with the legend ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΙΝΙΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ("under the pro-consulship of Cominius"), and have thus given indisputable proof that pro-consul was, at the date of which St. Luke writes, the proper term to use. It would appear, from other evidence, that Augustus had about B.C. 27, when he had succeeded in reducing the island to something like tranquillity, transferred it from the provinces under the military to those under the civil rule, and had placed it once more under the direct government of the Senate.

II. When St. Paul is accused by the turbulent mob of Thessalonica of doing contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, and is brought before the magistrates of the city, the term which is used in the Acts (xvii. 5) to describe those offices is a very peculiar one. They are called "politarchs." The term is not found elsewhere in the New Testament, is not named even by writers who discuss with great fulness the municipal institutions of Greek cities. But though not found in books, it is found in inscriptions, and the inscription in this case is on a triumphal arch, still standing in the town of Saloniki (the ancient Thessalonica), the architecture of which belongs to the first period of the empire, and is believed to have been erected after the battle of Philippi in honour of Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, and Antony. The inscription runs thus:—

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟ
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ
ΠΟΥΒΛΙΟΥ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΖΩΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ
ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΛΛΕΙΟΥ ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ

Translation.

THE POLITARCHS BEING SOSIPATER THE SON OF CLEOPATRA, AND LUCIUS PONTIUS SECUNDUS, PUBLIUS FLAVIUS SABINUS, DEMETRIUS THE SON OF FAUSTUS, DEMETRIUS THE SON OF NICOPOLIS, ZOILUS THE SON OF PARMENION THE SON OF MENISCOS, GAIUS AGILLEIUS POTITOS.

Here, then, we have distinct evidence that the name which St. Luke uses for the magistrates of Thessalonica was absolutely appropriate there and nowhere else. As compared with Philippi, the city had been favourably treated by the Emperor Augustus. While the former, as having supported Brutus and Cassius in their struggle for a republic, became a Roman "colony"—*i.e.*, was occupied by a Roman garrison, and brought under the direct control of Roman law—Thessalonica, which had supported Augustus, was allowed to remain as an *urbs libera*, and, as part of its freedom, to frame political institutions for itself, or to retain those which it formerly possessed. Under which head the title of *politarch* came, the entire absence of any record but this hinders us from determining. It is worthy of notice, that three out of the seven names thus given are identical with those of three persons mentioned in the Acts as belonging to the converts of this region—Sopater (or Sosipater) of Berœa (xx. 4), Gaius the Macedonian (xix. 29), Secundus of Thessalonica (xx. 4); so that here again we have a coincidence which would imply either a highly elaborated fraud, or a narrative whose genuineness is shown by these touches of undesigned accuracy.

III. Scarcely less striking is the case of "Lydia, the purple-seller of Thyatira," who is named as the first of the European converts of St. Paul, on his preaching at Philippi (Acts xvi. 14). Here, too, there is direct monumental evidence that the Asiatic city thus named, one of the seven churches of the Apocalypse, was at this very time conspicuous for the manufacture thus described. Three votive inscriptions have been found in its ruins, of no other special interest, but all purporting to have come from the guild of dyers (βαφεῖς), who must therefore, we may presume, have occupied an important position in the town. A second coincidence is equally interesting. Why, we might ask, should a "purple-seller of Thyatira" have established herself in a Macedonian city? It is obvious that, had we been obliged to leave that question without an answer, it would not have affected in the slightest degree the credibility of the history. But it adds something to its credibility, or, at all events, to its interest, when we learn that of the towns in Asia Minor which, like Miletus and Laodicea, were more or less famous for their purple dyes, Thyatira alone was originally a Macedonian colony (Strabo xiii. 4). The connection between the city from which Lydia came and that in which she had settled, made it, therefore, natural that she should have establishments in both. It may be noted, further, that at the time of St. Paul's preaching she was already one that "worshipped God" (Acts xvi. 14), *i.e.*, a proselyte to Judaism. In Philippi itself there was, however, no synagogue, apparently no Jewish teacher, and the women who, with Lydia, went out to pray, or to a *proseucha*, or place of prayer, were without a Rabbi to lead their devotions. She must, therefore, we may infer, have learned to worship the God of Israel before she came there—must, in her own city or on her travels, have come under the influence of the Jews, who were found so widely spread in all the cities of Asia.

IV. No illustration of the details given by St. Luke is more striking than that supplied by the discovery, in the course of the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Society, of a stone near the site of the old Temple, the one stone with an inscription of which we can say

that it is certainly a relic of the Temple. It runs thus :—

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ. ΟΣ Δ'ΕΑΝ ΛΗΦΘΗΙ ΕΑΥΤΩΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ.

Translation.

NO MAN OF ALIEN RACE IS TO ENTER WITHIN THE BALUSTRADE AND FENCE THAT GOES ROUND THE TEMPLE. AND WHOSOEVER IS DETECTED WILL HAVE TO ANSWER TO HIMSELF FOR THE PENALTY OF DEATH THAT FOLLOWS.

Here, then, we have, as it were, the embodiment in words, which may have met the Apostle's eye as he went up to worship in the Temple, of that spirit of ferocious zeal of which he was so nearly the victim. The fact that he had been seen in the streets of Jerusalem, at the very time when he had upon him all the outward tokens of his Nazarite vow, with Trophimus the Ephesian, gave occasion to the false report that he had brought Greeks into the Temple, and so had polluted the holy place (Acts xxi. 29), and thus threw the whole city "into an uproar." The multitude were about to kill him. It was with difficulty that the centurion and his soldiers rescued him from their violence. The fact of such a prohibition was, it is true, known before. Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11, § 5) describes the stone wall which served as a partition between the Court of the Gentiles and the sacred precincts. Rabbinic writers speak of the Levites who kept guard under the captain of the Temple, going their rounds with their clubs in their hands ready to dash out the brains of any profane intruder. But it was reserved for the researches of the last few years to bring to light an actual fragment of that "middle wall of partition," with all its terrible accessories, which divided the Gentile from the Jew in the visible Temple of Jerusalem, and which was the visible symbol of the barrier by which they had been separated for ages, but which was now, chiefly through St. Paul's instrumentality, broken down by Christ.

V. An inscription, the significance of which has remained unnoticed by commentators, is found in the collection of Orelli, No. 720 (i., p. 177). It runs thus :—

D. M.
CLAUDIAE
DICAEOSYNAE
TIB. CLAUDIUS NARCISSUS
LIB. EID. COIU.
PIENTISSIMAE
ET FRUGALISSIMAE
B. M.

Translation.

TO THE MANES
OF
CLAUDIA DICÆOSYNA,
TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NARCISSUS,
A FREEDMAN, TO HIS WIFE
MOST PIOUS AND MOST FRUGAL,
WELL DESERVING.

I have ventured on the suggestion that this may connect itself with the Christian members of "the household of Narcissus," to whom St. Paul sends a salutation (Rom. xvi. 11). Narcissus was, it will be remembered, the name of the freedman who, under Claudius, became an imperial favourite and exercised great influence. His own slaves and freedmen naturally took his name, and the inscription now before us may have come from one of these. The two names prefixed, Tiberius Claudius, imply that the man had been born while one or other of the two emperors of the Claudian house were reigning. This alone, however, would go but a little way towards establishing any connection between the monument and St. Paul's salutation, and would possess but little interest. What we note, as more suggestive, is the name and character of the wife, Dicæosyna, "righteousness." With one solitary exception, and that, probably, of the same period, it occurs nowhere in the vast multitude of records of the Greek and Roman world which the researches of archæologists have brought to light. Is it too much to conjecture that it occupies a conspicuous, almost the foremost, position in the long list of personal names in which the influence of the new life of Christendom may be distinctly traced? Among these, within the first three centuries of the Church's life, we may note Sophia (*Wisdom*), Irene (*Peace*), Agape (*Love*), Elpis (*Hope*), Adeodatus (*Given by God*), Deusdedit (*God has given*), Deogratias (*Thanks be to God*), Theodoret and Theodosius (*God given*), Anastasius (*One who hopes for the resurrection*), Athanasius (*One who hopes in immortality*), Gregorius (*One who watches*), Cœlestinus (*One who loves the heavenly life*), Refrigerius (*One who seeks the time of refreshing*), Redemptus (*He that is redeemed*). In the new name of Dicæosyna we may, I believe, trace a like significance. And, remembering how prominent that word was in all the teaching of St. Paul, how it forms the ever-recurring theme of the great argument of the Epistle to the Romans, it is surely every way interesting to find it in a household, the head of which bore the same name as one to whom in that Epistle he sends a Christian greeting. The formula of the inscription, "to the manes" of the wife, implies, it is true, that the husband still used the old formula of heathenism; but the character which he ascribes to her "as most pious, most frugal," so opposed to the prevalent tone of female society in Rome under the early emperors, implies the working in her of a leaven like that of Christianity. She aspired after righteousness, and proved herself not unworthy of the name which bore witness that she did so. We may see in her, on this assumption, an early instance of that true influence for good which St. Peter had in view when he urged that Christian women should so live in chastity, so adorn themselves with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, that even those husbands who obeyed not the word might "without the word be won by the conversation of their wives" (1 Peter iii. 1).

VI. A votive tablet was found, A.D. 1723, at Chichester, with the following inscription. The letters enclosed in brackets indicate a conjectural restoration

of parts of the inscription lost with the portion of the stone broken off:—

[N]EPTUNO ET MINERVÆ
TEMPLUM
[PR]O SALUTE DOMUS DIVINÆ
AUCTORITATE TIB. CLAUD.
[CO]GIDUBNI REGIS LEGATI AUGUSTI IN BRIT.
[COLLE]GIUM FABRORUM ET QUI IN EO
[A SACRIS SUNT] DE SUO DEDICAVERUNT DONANTE
AREAM
[PUD]ENTE PUDENTINI FILIO.

Translation.

TO NEPTUNE AND MINERVA
THIS TEMPLE
FOR THE WELFARE OF THE DIVINE (*i.e.*, THE
IMPERIAL) FAMILY,
BY THE AUTHORITY OF
TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS COGIDUBNUS,
LEGATE OF AUGUSTUS IN BRITAIN,
THE GUILD OF SMITHS AND THOSE IN IT
WHO MINISTER IN SACRED THINGS, HAVE AT THEIR
OWN COST DEDICATED,
A SITE BEING GIVEN BY
PUDENS THE SON OF PUDENTINUS.

The chain of evidence which connects this inscription with the writings of the New Testament is a somewhat long one, but it will be found, if I mistake not, that at every step we come across some fact of interest, and that the result to which we are led, through the long series of converging evidence, is both coherent and satisfactory in itself, and throws light on the state of society in the midst of which St. Paul lived and worked at Rome, and on the progress which the new faith was making, then and after his decease, among the higher classes of that society. It will be convenient to take each step separately, and to weigh, as we go on, the results which we have reached.

(1.) In the closing salutations of the last epistle written by St. Paul before his martyrdom, we find "Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia" sending a special greeting to Timotheus as one whom they had known and loved (2 Tim. iv. 21). All that we could infer from this is that Eubulus, from his Greek name, was probably a slave; that Claudia was in some way connected with the imperial family then on the throne, and was the daughter of some one entitled, if only by adoption, or as a freedman, to bear the name of Claudius. The name of Mævius Pudens appears a little later than this among the officers of Otho's army, and as having been connected with Tigellinus, the ruling favourite of Nero's later years. A century later, A.D. 165, 166, we find two persons of the name in the list of consuls. We might fairly infer that it belonged to one of the upper class of families.

The Epigrams of Martial bring into closest juxtaposition the two names of Claudia and Pudens which are thus brought together by St. Paul. From these we learn (the epigrams are not always such as to bear translation) that Aulus Pudens was a centurion, that he was looking for promotion to a higher rank, that of commander of the first division of the *triarii;* that he had a favourite slave, Eucolpus, who, as a votive offering, had consecrated his flowing locks to Apollo, should his master gain that promotion; that the vow thus made was fulfilled, Pudens giving a reluctant assent to it (i. 32; v. 48). Something there was in the centurion's character which endeared him to the writer of the epigrams, and won from his pen, which was for the most part fruitful only in foulness, the tribute of a respectful homage. Pudens had been in the far north, and during his absence Martial had been ill, nigh unto death.

"Yea, all but snatched where flows the gloomy stream,
I saw the clouds that shroud the Elysian plain,
Still for thy face I yearned in wearied dream,
And cold lips 'Pudens, Pudens,' cried in vain."

We may fairly see, I believe, in this at least a gleam of a better nature breaking through the crust of a life all but hardened in vice. A man does not turn in hours of pain and sickness to one who has been his companion in evil. What he craves for is the sympathy and support of one whose presence is bright and gladdening, in whom the sufferer finds a purity which he himself has lost, while yet he hopes and believes that he is not altogether shut out from pity and from fellowship.

But the information which we get from Martial goes far beyond this. He writes an epigram addressed to Rufus, which is, in fact, an epithalamium on the marriage of Pudens and Claudia. Considering the man and the subject, there is a singular absence of the allusive references, more or less prominent, which are found in most classical poems of the same kind. We can translate it without the omission of a word save that which may be forced upon us by the hard necessities of rhyme:—

"Claudia, the fair one from a foreign shore,
Is with my Pudens joined in wedlock's band,
On them, O Hymen, all thy blessings pour,
And let thy torches wave in either hand;
Thus Attic honey blends with Massic wine,
Thus cinnamon and nard their fragrance blend,
Not more the lotos streams, nor elm the vine,
Nor myrtle loves the shore than they, my friend.
O Concord, bless their couch for evermore,
Be with them in thy snow-white purity,
Let Venus grant from out her choicest store
All gifts that suit that even-balanced tie.
When he is old, may she be fond and true,
And she in age the charms of youth renew." (iv. 13.)

Lastly, we have an epigram which carries us one step further in the history of the marriage which began so happily:—

"Our Claudia, named Rufina, sprang, we know,
From blue-eyed Britons, yet behold she vies
In grace with all that Greece or Rome can show,
As born and bred beneath their glowing skies.
Grant, O ye gods, that she may ever prove
The bliss of mother over girl and boy,
Still gladdened by her pious husband's love,
And in her children find perpetual joy." (xi. 53).

The picture of such a home life as that thus drawn is rare indeed in the pages of Martial, and was, we may well believe, very rare indeed in the society in which he lived. The fact brought before us in the last epigram

brings us, it will be seen, in close contact with the Chichester inscription. The Claudia who was a foreigner had been born among the blue-eyed Britons. If the king, Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, had had a daughter, her name would have been Claudia. And in close and friendly relations with that chieftain we find the name of Pudens as the giver of a site (the gift implies property in the king's territory) on which a temple is erected. Were we concerned only with Martial and the inscription, we might trace in this the commencement of the affection which began while Pudens was on his service in the North, and issued in the marriage of which he speaks so warmly. But we can go further. Cogidubnus was, we learn from Tacitus (*Agricola*, c. xiv.), the faithful ally of Rome in the reign of Claudius, when Aulus Plautius was governor of Britain (A.D. 43—52). The right to use the imperial name, as by a kind of adoption, was, in all likelihood, the reward of his fidelity. That his daughter should be sent over to Rome as a security for its continuance was entirely in accord with Roman policy. And if so, there was no one under whose care she was so likely to be placed as the wife of the general who was commanding in the territory of Cogidubnus.

And here we come across a fresh link in the chain. A strange, sad history attaches to that wife of Aulus Plautius. He returned to Rome in the full blaze of triumph, and then in four short years (A.D. 57) was called upon, according to Roman law, to sit as judge *in foro domestico*, his wife, Pomponia Græcina, being the accused. The crime alleged against her was that of having adopted a foreign superstition. No other guilt was laid to her charge. Her husband pronounced a formal acquittal, and no punishment was inflicted, but her life for forty years from that date was one of continual sorrow. Her mode of life, in its simplicity and sadness, presented a strange contrast to the luxury and splendour of other Roman matrons. She went through the remainder of her life as one dead to the world and its allurements. We are now advancing to a hypothesis which, at least, includes and explains all the phenomena of the case. Assume what has been shown to be highly probable, that Claudia was at Rome under Pomponia's care, that from her, as connected with the Rufi,[1] she took the name of Rufina, and the whole story is coherent. The "foreign superstition," the austere and gloomy life, what was this but the aspect which a conversion to the faith and life of Christians would present to the outer world? Claudia would be exposed, directly and indirectly, to the same influences. Pudens, who had known her father, and served under Pomponia's husband, would be naturally drawn within the sphere of the same attraction, would hear their teachers, come to love one in whom he found a purity and sweetness so rare at Rome, be joined with her first in affection and afterwards in wedlock. That he may have been before his conversion among those whom Martial knew and jested with was, of course, natural enough. It did not follow that that conversion should lead to an abrupt termination of his friendship, great as must have been the gap made by it. On this hypothesis even the epigrams which speak of heathen vows made by an attached young slave, and which were meant to suggest, it must be owned, an impure attachment, may have been only the satirist's foul-mouthed jest on a vow like that of a Nazarite, taken in the ardour of youthful enthusiasm, after the manner of devout Jews, and, probably (remembering Timothy's abstinence from wine), after the example of St. Paul's favourite disciple as well as of the Apostle himself. The epithet which he sportively but not scornfully applies to Pudens, "*sanctus* maritus," may have been at once a tribute to his faithfulness as a husband, and to his having become one of those who spoke of each other as having joined the company of the saints. Traces of the growing repugnance which Pudens felt for the "jesting which was not convenient" may be found in Martial's half-bantering complaint that his friend grew weary of his epigrams, and wanted him to correct them (iv. 29; vii. 11).

Two more strange coincidences have to be added, and this singular romance of early Christian life reaches its completion. Among those who were named in mediæval tradition as having taken part in the following generation in the conversion of the Britons we find the name of Timotheus the son of Pudens,[2] and among the most ancient Churches of Rome is one dedicated to St. Pudentiana, who is said to have been the daughter of Pudens, a Roman senator, converted by the preaching of St. Paul. Uncertain as may be the historical evidence to these facts, it is at least probable that a noble Roman convert should have had an eminent Christian daughter, and that if Pudens owed his higher life to Timothy, he should name one of his sons after him; and that a son of his should go to his mother's native land, and become a preacher of the faith in which she and those dearest to her had found peace and blessedness.

It may be enough to state, in conclusion, that the view here taken is adopted in its main features by Collier in his *Church History* (i. 15), by Dean Alford, Dean Howson, Archdeacon Williams, and many others. It is questioned by Canon Lightfoot on the ground that the *Epigrams* of Martial belong for the most part to a later date (A.D. 66—100) than the *Pastoral Epistles*, and that they imply heathen practices and vices. It may, however, be answered (1) that individual epigrams in the collection may have been of an earlier date; and (2) that the jesting, bantering tone of Martial, while it adds to the weight of any admission of a higher life than his own as belonging to his friends, diminishes that of mere playful insinuations which were flung broadcast in the very wantonness of sport.

[1] Some such connection is implied in Martial's epithalamium being addressed to one of that family.

[2] See Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, on 2 Tim. iv. 21.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

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THE remaining names belonging to Eastern Geography of the Bible will, perhaps, be best taken alphabetically.

AHAVA (Ezra viii. 15).—"The river that runneth to Ahava" is either the Euphrates, or, more probably, a wady which enters that river from the west a short distance above Hit; and Ahava, from its mention in later times in connection with bitumen, is probably *Hit*, a place about 170 miles by the river above Babylon, where bitumen still abounds, and is used for covering boats, and making them impervious to water. (Ainsworth, *Res.*, p. 85; Chesney, i. 54; Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 316.)

ARAM.—This word is used, except in two instances of mere proper names, only twice in our version: (1) in Gen. x. 22, where it denotes a son of Shem, *i.e.*, a people of Semitic origin; (2) a word of place near to or identical with the "mountains of the East," from which Balaam came (Numb. xxiii. 7). The original word is almost always rendered "Syria," and its derivative "Syrian." It means "to be high," and appears to denote the country lying to the north-east of Palestine, which extended as far east as the upper part of Mesopotamia. Strabo informs us that the people of this region called themselves Aramæans, but that the Greeks and Romans called them Syrians (Strabo, i. 42). If we knew the exact position of Pethor, from which Balaam came, we might determine more exactly the situation of Aram, which it is not quite possible to do, though from the subsequent combination of the word with *Naharaim*, "Aram of two rivers," rendered in our version "Mesopotamia," and generally taken to represent its upper part, we may infer that the Aram from which Balaam came was near or between two rivers, and that these rivers were probably the Tigris and Euphrates. (See PADAN-ARAM, ZOBAH.)

ASHKENAZ.—Mentioned as son of Gomer, and grandson of Japheth (Gen. x. 3), and as a kingdom in connection with Minni and Ararat, *i.e.*, in Upper Armenia (Jer. li. 27). (See BIBLE EDUCATOR, I. 233.) The name has been thought to be recognised in the name *Ascanius*, on the north coast of Asia Minor. Some have connected it with the old name of the Euxine Sea, and some have traced it in the name Scandinavia. Modern Jews give the name to the German nation. If so, the races originally seated in the part of Asia near Mount Ararat have, as is very probable, migrated westwards, and given their name, wholly or in part, to districts or nations of Europe. (Clark, *Bible Atlas*, p. 2.)

AVA.—One of the places from which settlers were sent to re-people Israel (2 Kings xvii. 24). It is, perhaps, the same place as *Ivah* (2 Kings xviii. 34), but has also been identified with Ahava. (See IVAH.)

CANNEH is, perhaps, the same as *Calneh*, which reading is found in one MS. If so, it is represented by *Niffar* (BIBLE EDUCATOR, I. 266), but its mention in connection with Haran and Eden (Ezek. xxvii. 23) seems to point to a more northerly position. (See the next article.)

CARCHEMISH, or CHARCHEMISH (2 Chron. xxxv. 20) is mentioned as the place on the Euphrates at which Nebuchadnezzar defeated Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 29; Jer. xlvi. 2), B.C. 605. It had been taken by Necho in the campaign in which he defeated Josiah at Megiddo (Magdolus), B.C. 608. Carchemish was formerly identified with the town whose Greek name was Circesium, and its Latin Cercusium, or Circessus, situated in the fork of the confluence of the *Abora* (Khabour) with the Euphrates on the west side of the former river. It was a position of great importance, and was strongly fortified by Diocletian. A town called Karkisia, whose situation answers fairly to this, was visited by Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century A.D., and the ruins of a town called *Kerkisiyah* still exist, connected by a bridge with those of another town, which has been supposed to represent Calneh, or Calno (Gen. x. 10; Isa. x. 9); but this is now usually regarded as represented by *Niffar* (BIBLE EDUCATOR, I. 266), nor is there any reason for placing the two cities near each other. (Amm. Marc. xxiii. 5; Zosimus, iii. 12; Eutrop. ix. 2; *Early Trav.*, p. 94; Chesney, *Exp.*, i. 52; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 284.) The name Carchemish probably means "citadel of Chemosh" (Ges., *Com.* on Isa. x. 9), and its site has of late been placed much higher up on the west side of the river Euphrates, not far from the much-used ferry at the modern town of Bir, at the ruins of the town Hierapolis, or Mabog, where Julian assembled his forces before his advance into Assyria, and which Assyrian inscriptions show to have been a town of the Hittites, or Syrians, whose dominion extended as far as Bir (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 142, 354). This opinion is recommended (1) by the fact that the approach to Circesium would lead an invading army by the almost impassable route of the desert; (2) by the Assyrian inscriptions, which place Carchemish much more to the north than Kerkisiyah, and (3) give to that place the name *Sirki*, with which Carchemish has no connection. (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 251; *Anc. Mon.* ii. 67.)

CASIPHIA.—Only mentioned in Ezra viii. 17, a place on the road from the Euphrates to Jerusalem. If Ahava be the same as Hit, it would probably be on the south-west of that place; but its situation is not known certainly, though some have connected its name with that of the Caspian Sea, which is quite out of the road to Jerusalem.

CHEBAR (RIVER OF).—Mentioned by Ezekiel as a station of the Jewish captives (Ezek. i. 1; iii. 15), thought by some to be the river Khabour, which flows into the Euphrates from the east at Kerkisiyah; but as Chaldæa, in which it is placed by Ezekiel, scarcely

reached so far to the north as this point, it is thought by others, from the meaning of its name, "great," to be the *Nahr-malcha*, or royal canal joining the Tigris and Euphrates about thirty miles above Babylon, and said to be the work of Nebuchadnezzar (Euseb., *Pr. Evang.* x. 41; Plin. vi. 120; Strabo, xvi. 747). The name Chebar has also been identified with Habor, a river or place near which some of the captives from Israel were placed by Sargon, king of Assyria (2 Kings xviii. 11; BIBLE EDUCATOR, II. 331); but this would seem to be farther to the north than the place of Ezekiel's captivity, and, besides this, it may be mentioned, that Ezekiel has been long believed to be buried at a place called Keffil, about twelve miles south of Hillah, where a building exists said to contain his tomb, a tradition which there seems no good reason to doubt. (*Early Trav.*, p. 101; Rich, *Memoir*, p. 11; Loftus, p. 35.)

CHARRAN.—See HARAN.

CHILMAD.—A name mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 23, and rendered in the Septuagint version *Charman*, which gives some support to the opinion that it denotes a place named by Xenophon *Charmande*, which must have been on the west side of the Euphrates, not far from the Babylonian frontier. It is also identified with *Kalwadha*, a place very near Bagdad, but its exact position is not known. (Xen., *Anab.*, i. 5, 10; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i. 21.)

CUSHAN, if it be not the name of a person, which seems unlikely to be the case, is probably the name of the same country as that which is described by Cush, *i.e.*, a region either of Southern Arabia, or of the eastern side of the Persian Gulf. (Hab. iii. 7; BIBLE EDUCATOR, I. 152.)

CUTH, or CUTHAH.—The name of a place, or district, from which settlers were brought by the king of Assyria, either Sargon or Esarhaddon, but probably the former, to dwell in Samaria, after the conquest by Sargon (2 Kings xvii. 24, 30). It is said by Josephus to have been in the interior of Media and Persia, and that there was a river there named *Cuthus*, but he gives no further clue to its locality. A warlike mountain tribe, called *Cossaei*, are mentioned by Arrian and Strabo as having been subdued by Alexander, and these have been thought, from their name, to answer to the Cutheans. Possibly the Assyrian monarch may have gained some advantage over these troublesome mountaineers, and have found it convenient to transplant some of them to the distant region of Samaria; but there is no direct evidence to support this opinion (Arr., *Exp.*, vii.; Strabo, xi. 524; xvi. 744). But the name Cutha is mentioned by Arabian writers as being in the neighbourhood of Babylon, at which Abraham is said in the Talmud to have been imprisoned by Nimrod; and bricks inscribed with the name Cutha have been found at Toweibah, or Tiggaba, a place about fifteen miles north-east of Babylon. Moreover, Assyrian inscriptions show that the special deity of the Cutheans was Nergal, the one whom the men of Cuth are said in the Book of Kings to have introduced into Samaria, a circumstance which seems to fix the true locality of Cutha. (2 Kings xvii. 30; Ainsworth, *Researches*, p. 166; Sale, *Koran*, c. xxi., p. 269; Rawlinson, *Herod.*, i. 632; *Anc. Mon.* i. 136.)

DEDAN.—A name belonging to two distinct tribes, (1) the one mentioned as sons of Raamah, son of Cush (Gen. x. 7); (2) the other as sons of Jokshan, son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3). The former is associated with Sheba, a descendant of Ham (x. 7), while farther on Sheba is mentioned as a descendant of Shem (ver. 28). Thus there was a Cushite Dedan, and a Semitic Dedan, as well as a Cushite and a Semitic Sheba. The settlements of the two Dedanim were not very distant from each other, but their occupations were very different. One of them, perhaps the Semitic Dedanim, were neighbours of the Idumeans (Jer. xlix. 8), and were probably a pastoral people, for we find Dedan mentioned as supplying Tyre with chariot clothes, no doubt a woollen manufacture (Ezek. xxvii. 20); while another Dedan, perhaps the Cushite race, traded with the Syrians in foreign productions, ivory and ebony, the produce not of Arabia, but of India and Ceylon; and thus they were clearly a commercial people (Ezek. xxvii. 15), inhabiting, probably, the western shores of the Persian Gulf.

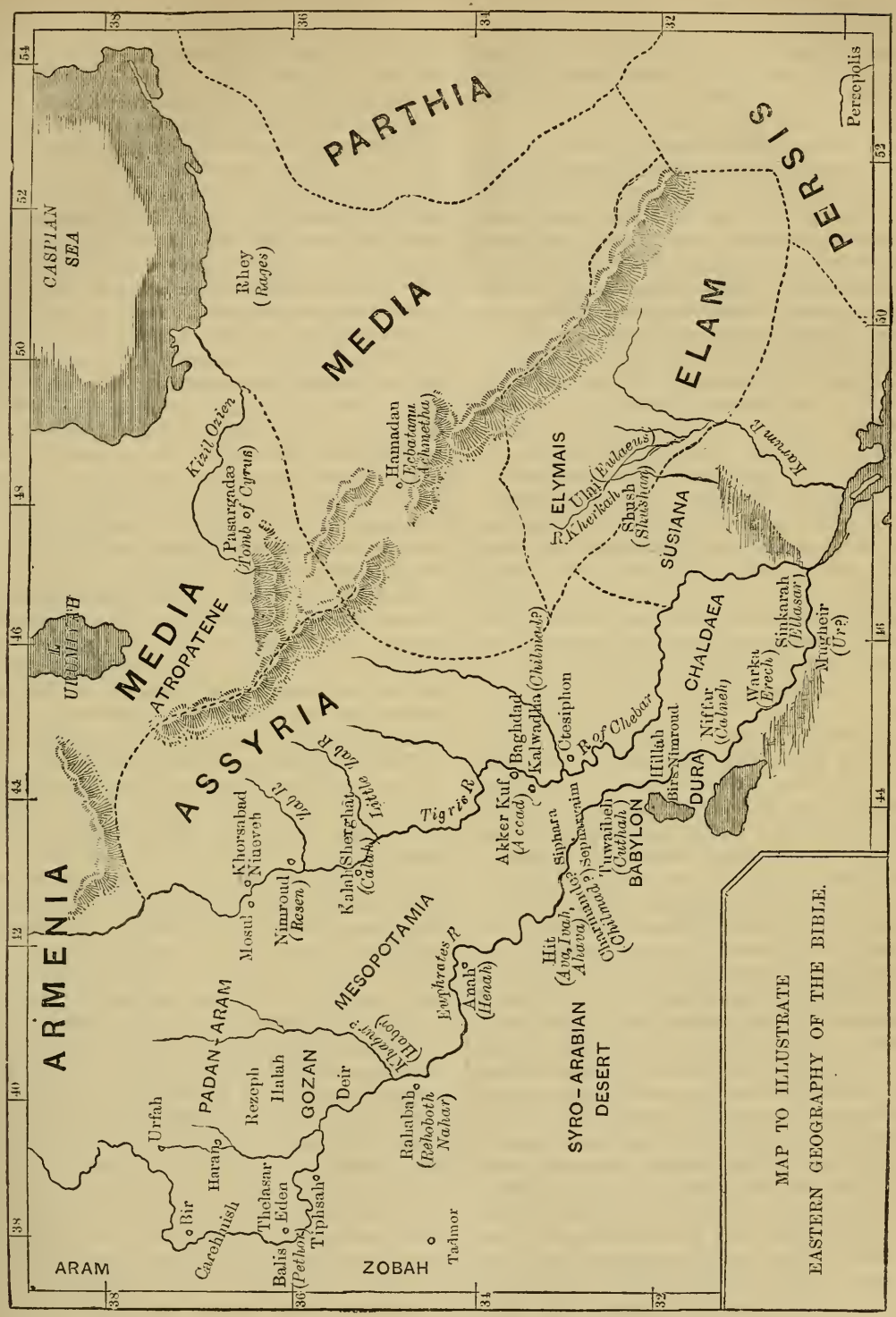
DURA, PLAIN OF, in the province of Babylon, in which Nebuchadnezzar set up his golden image (Dan. iii. 1), formerly thought to be represented by a place called *Imam Dour*, situate in a plain on the left (east) bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles below Tekrit, but believed by M. Oppert with greater probability, as being more distinctly within the province of Babylon, to be on the western bank of the Euphrates, about six miles S.S.E. from Hillah. The pedestal of a statue exists there, which may, perhaps, be thought to represent the site of the image. (Rich, *Res.*, ii. 148; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 469; Oppert, *Exp.*, pp. 85, 239.)

EDEN, mentioned in connection with Haran and Rezeph (2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12). It is said there to have been the abode of a tribe, the "sons of Eden," who "(were) in Thelasar," and who had been subdued by the Assyrians. Ezekiel mentions Eden in connection with Haran, Canneh, Asshur, and Chilmad, as trading with Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 23). A city called Beth-Adina, inhabited by a tribe of this name, appears from inscriptions to have been captured by the Assyrians in the ninth century B.C. The same authority states that the conqueror built in the neighbourhood a town, which he named after the god Asshur; thus Thelasar, or Tel-Assur, probably means "hill of Asshur." (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 88.)

EPHAH, mentioned in Gen. xxv. 4 as a son of Midian, and in Isa. lx. 6 as a name either of person or place sending gold, probably from Arabia, as an offering to the City of God.

GOG.—See MAGOG.

GOZAN.—The name of a district conquered by the Assyrians, and subsequently made the abode of the captive Israelites after the capture of Samaria by Sargon (2 Kings xvii. 6; xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12; 1 Chron. v. 26). In this last passage our version has "the river Gozan."



as if there were a river of this name; but the original conveys the same meaning as the passage in 2 Kings xvii. 6, and, like that, is properly rendered "river of Gozan." This river is the Khabour, to be described presently. Gozan is the same as the district called by Ptolemy *Gauzanitis*, which he describes as watered by

the *Chaboras*. It lay between lat. 35° and 37° in the north of Mesopotamia. In verification of its implied subjection to Assyrian dominion, Assyrian remains were found by Mr. Layard at Arban, a town on the Khabour. (Ptol., v. 18, 3; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 275, 283. See also above under ECBATANA.)

HABOR.—As seen in the preceding article, this name denotes (1) the river Chaboras, called by Strabo *Aborras*, of which the true source is at *Ras el-Ain* (head of the spring), in lat. 36° 35′, long. 40° 9′, and which, having run in a somewhat circular course for about one hundred and forty miles, enters the Euphrates near Kerkisiyah; (2) also a town called *Chabora*, mentioned by the same geographer as being in Mesopotamia, near the Euphrates. Benjamin of Tudela mentions the Khabour as identical with Habor of the Book of Kings, but he is incorrect in his description of its course. In 2 Kings xvii. 6, and xviii. 11, our translation has "Habor by the river of Gozan." The word "by" should be omitted, and the name Habor would then denote properly the principal river of Gozan, on whose banks the captive Israelites were placed by their conquerors. The name of the town mentioned by Ptolemy may, perhaps, indicate a district adjoining the river, and called by its name. The beauty and fertility of the country on the banks of the Khabour are spoken of in high terms by Mr. Layard. There is also another Khabour river, which runs into the Tigris on its eastern bank, but the one described above is no doubt the true Habor. (Ptol. v. 18, 6; Strabo, xvi. 747; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 235, 275, 308; Nieb., *Voy.*, ii. 316.)

HALAH, mentioned above in connection with Habor and Gozan as one of the settlements of the captive Israelites. The name, spelt in Hebrew *Chalach*, seems to agree with that of a district named by Ptolemy *Chalcitis*, and placed by him north-west of *Gauzanitis*, described above. He also mentions a town of Mesopotamia called *Eleia*, though without specifying its position; but the name given in the Septuagint version of 2 Kings xvii. 6, and xviii. 11, *Elae* or *Alae*, agrees fairly with this in sound, as well as with the general position which his list of towns, containing among others, Carrhæ, Nisibis, and Edessa, seems to assign to it. Mr. Layard also mentions, in the neighbourhood of the Khabour, a remarkable mound, called *Gla* or *Kalah* (castle), which, no doubt, covers the site of an ancient town or fortress. It must be noticed, however, that the Septuagint version of both these Scripture passages, and the Latin (Vulgate) of the latter one, appear to regard Halah as the name of a river. They say, "Halah and Habor, rivers of Gozan." Now in the east part of Gauzanitis, or rather in Mygdonia, is a river, anciently called Mygdonius, but now *Nahr al Huali*, which runs into the Khabour. Thus Halah, like Habor, may be the name both of a river and a place, which may be said with certainty to be in the upper part of Mesopotamia, but whether on the eastern or western side of it is not quite certain. (Ptol. v. 18, 4, and 12; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 312; *Dict. of Geog.*, "Nisibis.")

HARAN.—The name of the place to which Abram removed with his father and family when he left Ur of the Chaldees, where Terah died, and where his brother Nahor remained after Abram's second removal into the land of Canaan. It is said to have been in the land of Padan-aram, in Mesopotamia, *i.e.*, in the "cultivated district of Aram, between the two rivers." (Gen. xi. 31, 32; xxiv. 10; xxviii. 2, 5; xxix. 4; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 129; Pusey, *On Amos*, i. 5.) In the Septuagint version, and in the Acts of the Apostles, it is called "Charran," which agrees with the orthography of the original word (*Charan*) better than our rendering, *Haran*. The mention of a place of this name in connection with Gozan, lately described, as having been overrun by the Assyrians, and also its name, which is said to mean "road," *i.e.*, a highway of intercourse, seem to place it in that neighbourhood; and a very early and uniform tradition has connected the city of Nahor with a town now much decayed, called *Harrán*, on the river *Belilk*, the ancient *Bilichus*, which falls into the Euphrates near *Rakka*. It is situated in long. 39°, lat. 36° 39′, and answers, no doubt, to the town of *Carrhæ*, near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, B.C. 53. Benjamin of Tudela describes it as "the ancient place of Haran," containing twenty Jewish inhabitants, and a synagogue built by Ezra. "Nobody," he says, "is allowed to construct any building on the spot where the house of our father Abraham was situated; even the Mohammedans pay respect to the place, and resort thither to pray." Niebuhr and other travellers have also described the place, and the former mentions particularly the wells, which connect the local features of the neighbouring district, if not of the place itself, with the history of Jacob's sojourn therein. (Gen. xxix. 2—4; 2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12; Dio Cass. xl. 25, 27; Strabo, xvi. 747; Ptol. v. 18, 12; Plin. v. 86; *Early Trav.*, p. 93; Nieb. ii. 333; Ainsworth, *Res.*, p. 153.)

But within the last few years a suggestion has been made that the true site of Haran is to be found at a village about sixteen miles south-east of Damascus, called *Harrán el-Awâmid*, so called from three Ionic columns standing there, of whose history nothing whatever is known. This view is recommended chiefly by the following considerations:—(1) That Abraham in his first removal is said to have come out of the land of the Chaldeans to dwell in Charran (Gen. xi. 31; Acts vii. 4), implying, it would seem, a more entire departure from Chaldean territory than migration to the Mesopotamian Haran; (2) Haran, to which Jacob went in his exile, was in the land of the "sons of the East," whose haunts were chiefly, not on the eastern, but on the western side of the Euphrates (Gen. xxix. 1; Judg. vii. 12; viii. 10); (3) the journey of Jacob from Haran, or its neighbourhood, to Mount Gilead, where he was overtaken by Laban, over a distance of more than three hundred miles, could not have been effected by him in a space of time so short as ten days, encumbered as he was by many cattle of various kinds, and scarcely even by Laban in seven days (Gen. xxxi. 21—23; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 13); (4) the position of the Syrian *Harrán* agrees well with the hitherto unex-

plained connection of Abraham with Damascus, noticed briefly in Scripture, and more definitely, though not on very solid authority, by Josephus (Gen. xv. 2; Joseph., *Ant.* i. 7, § 2).

On the other hand, in order to support this theory, (1) it is necessary to assume that the terms *Aram-Naharaim*, "Aram, highland of (the) two rivers," and also *Padan-Aram*, "arable ground of Aram," are not only applicable in theory, but have been, in fact, historically applied to the district watered by the two rivers of Damascus, the Abana and Pharpar, a statement to which history lends no support, however possible, and even probable, it might be in theory. (2.) Josephus says, that after leaving his original home, Abraham halted first at "Charran, in Mesopotamia." If this may be understood to mean *Harrân* of Damascus, we must suppose either that Josephus knew no more than we know about the meaning of *Aram-Naharaim* and *Padan-Aram*; or that in his view the Greek term Mesopotamia was equally applicable to the land on the east of the Euphrates, and to that on the west of it watered by the two streams of Damascus; and also that *Charran* of which he spoke might be within this latter region, a supposition which certainly cannot be gathered from his language (Joseph., *Ant.* i. 6, § 5). (3.) After leaving Laban, Jacob is said to have crossed "the river," a term usually understood of the Euphrates, but certainly not of either of the rivers of Damascus (Gen. xxxi. 21). (4.) If the distance between the Euphrates and Mount Gilead be too great for the time occupied by Jacob in his flight, that between *Harrân* of Damascus and this latter place seems too small. It can scarcely be more than seventy miles, a distance which Jacob would hardly have required so much as ten days, still less Laban, in his haste, so much as seven, to traverse. In whatever way, therefore, the difficulty as to the numbers and the distance is to be explained, it can hardly at present outweigh the consistent tradition, supported as it is by collateral evidence, in favour of the original site of Haran on the eastern side of the Euphrates. (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 251, 376; Stanley, *Hist. of Jews*, i., p. 481; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 68.)

Ivah.—Probably the same as Ava, and also Ahava (2 Kings xvii. 24; xviii. 34; xix. 13). (See Ava.)

Kir.—Mentioned as the place from which the Syrians originally came (Amos ix. 7), and to which they were carried captive from Damascus by the Assyrian conqueror (Amos i. 5; 2 Kings xvi. 9). It is mentioned in connection with Elam (Isa. xxii. 6), so that its situation may have been in the region called Elymais, described above; but it has also been thought to be represented by Kurdistan, and again to have been in the neighbourhood of the river *Kur* (Cyrus). (Gesenius, 107; Pusey, *Com. on Amos*, i. 5.)

Koa.—A name mentioned in connection with the Assyrians (Ezek. xxiii. 23), but whether denoting a place is uncertain.

Magog.—A name understood to denote the Scythian races, mentioned in connection with Meshech and Tubal, whose dwelling-place was in early times between the Caspian and Euxine Seas (Ezek. xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 6). A trace of their possession, and of the name Gog, seems to be found in the name *Gogarene*, a district of Armenia, west of the Caspian. (Strabo, xi. 528.)

Merathaim (Jer. l. 21).—Probably a name for Babylon. (See Ezek. xxiii. 23.)

Mesech, or Meshech.—The name of a son of Japheth (Gen. x. 2), associated as the name of a race with Gog and Tubal (Ezek. xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1), and mentioned as dealing in slaves with Tyre (xxvii. 13). The people are generally identified with the Moschi, a race inhabiting part of the country between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and who were subdued by Tiglath-pileser I. They were neighbours to Tubal, a race dealing in iron, a branch of trade for which the south-east coast of the Euxine was early famous. The name Muscovy is thought with fair probability to be derived from Meshech. (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* ii. 65.)

Mesha.—The western limit of the Joktanites (Gen. x. 30), probably on the south-eastern coast of Arabia, but of uncertain situation. (See Ophir.)

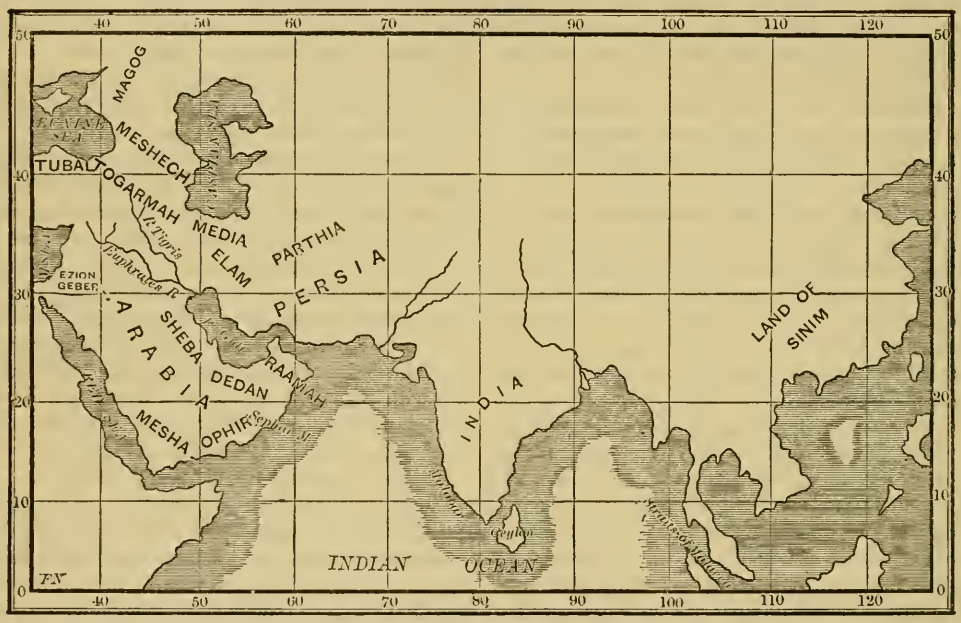
Midian.—This name appears first as that of a son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), but in after times as the name of a tribe of large numbers and unsettled abode, ranging from the Peninsula of Sinai to the desert, and the banks of the Euphrates; "children of the East," whose hand was at one time against Moab (Gen. xxxvi. 35), at another on the side of Moab against Israel (Numb. xxii., xxv., xxxi.), and at last, in combination with the Amalekites, invading and overrunning Northern Palestine with that vast host which was defeated with so great loss by the "three hundred men that lapped," which formed the army of Gideon (Judg. vii.).

Minni.—See Bible Educator, I. 233.

Ophir.—We hear first of Ophir as the name of a son of Joktan, a descendant of Shem, whose dwelling was between Mesha and "Sephar, a mount of the East" (Gen. x. 29, 30). It occurs next and ever afterwards as that of the famous gold region, also known by the name of *Uphaz*, the El Dorado of Biblical geography, so well known to fame, so imperfectly ascertained in fact. Its position has been variously assigned to the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, the north-western coast of India, the island of Ceylon, Malacca in the Malay Peninsula, and the eastern coast of Africa, but, except for one circumstance, the description given above seems sufficient to identify its position. We find that Ptolemy, in his description of Arabia Felix, mentions at the south of the mountain range called *Climax* a tribe called the *Masonitæ*, another called *Sapharitæ*, and a town, though without special definition of locality, called *Sapphara* (called by Pliny *Saphar*). Of the town Sapphara, or Saphar, the modern representative is usually considered to be *Dofar*, or *Zofar*, now a poor village, situated beneath a lofty mountain near the sea-coast, in a well-cultivated country, in long. 54° 40′, lat. 16° 59′. If this be true, the position of Ophir would be, speaking generally, the sea-coast in the neighbourhood of Dofar, while *Mesha*, perhaps denoted by the *Masonitæ* of Ptolemy, but hardly so far west as

Muza on the Red Sea, to which it has been thought to correspond, would be the western boundary of the district. (Ptol. vi. 7, 25, 41; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arab.*, p. 251; Plin. vi. 104; Ibn Batuta, p. 58; Wellsted, *Trav.*, ii. 453.)

In support of this view we find (*a*) that the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram brought from Ophir gold, silver, precious stones, and algum-tree wood; and also (though Ophir is not named as the place from which they came originally) ivory, apes, and peacocks (1 Kings ix. 28; x. 11, 22); (*b*) that Solomon received gold from Arabia, and that Tyrian merchants traded in gold, as well as in spices and precious stones, with Sheba (1 Kings x. 15; 2 Chron. ix. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 22). (*c*) We learn from Diodorus, whose description is very precise, that Arabia formerly abounded in gold, though the supply appears now to be exhausted; from Pliny that the Sabæans were very rich in sweet-smelling woods, and in gold; and from modern travellers that silver is still found there (Diod. ii. 50; iii. 45; Plin. vi. 161; Wellsted, i. 315). Assuming that Sheba answers to the south-eastern part of the great Arabian Peninsula, it is clear thus far that we need not go beyond Arabia for the site of Ophir. But what shall be said of the algum-trees, and the ivory, apes, and peacocks? Algum-wood appears to answer, both in its Sanskrit name and in its use, to the red sandal-wood so familiar to us in Indian woodwork, which is now found almost exclusively on the Malabar coast. Pliny, however, tells us that Sheba formerly abounded in odoriferous trees. If these may be thought to have included the almug-trees, which are now extinct there, perhaps the almug-wood might have been not only an article of commerce, but an indigenous production. Of the remaining objects brought by the fleets, the apes and peacocks came, no doubt, from India and Ceylon, for the Hebrew word for peacock answers to the Tamil for the same, while the ivory may have come either from the same quarter, or possibly from the coast of Africa. On the whole, while the gold, and even, perhaps, the almug-wood, may have been found in Arabia, as well as passed on therefrom in the way of commerce, the fact that the other objects mentioned were carried by the ships of Hiram and Solomon to Palestine does nothing to destroy the probability that the site of Ophir is to be placed on the sea-coast of that country, as they may have been brought there by sea, and embarked on board the ships, of which the chief freight consisted in its natural productions; nor does the statement that the "navy of Tarshish came once in three years" require us to believe that the voyage from Ezion-geber, Solomon's port on the Red Sea, to India occupied all that time (1 Kings ix. 26; x. 22). Herodotus, indeed, tells us that the fleet of discovery sent by Necho from the Red Sea occupied two years in sailing round Africa, but that the crews tarried on their voyage long enough in each year to sow the land and reap the crop. It is not likely that the trading voyage of Solomon's fleet, starting from nearly the same point, and bound to India, even if conducted on the most dilatory principle, could have occupied a whole year longer than the much longer one of Necho's scientific expedition. We may therefore receive the statement of the Book of Kings in its simply natural sense, viz., that, without inquiring into the length of each voyage, the fleets made their voyage to Ophir once in three years; probably they sailed farther than to Ophir, perhaps even as far as India or Ceylon; but the voyage derived its title from the place which was its principal station, Ophir, on the south-eastern coast of the Arabian



GENERAL OUTLINE MAP OF EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

Peninsula. (Herod. iv. 42; Volney, *Trav.*, ii. 292; Max Müller, *Lect. on Language*, i. 202; Chesney, *Exp.* ii. 107; BIBLE EDUCATOR, II. 199; Clark, *Bible Atlas*, pp. 35, 40.)

PADAN-ARAM.—Literally, the "ploughed or cultivated land of Aram," *i.e.*, probably the lower ground at the foot of the high lands of the Upper Euphrates, in which Haran was situated. (See HARAN.)

PEKOD.—Either the name of a place in Chaldæa, or, which seems more likely, that of a Chaldæan tribe (Jer. l. 21; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 157; Ezek. xxiii. 23).

PETHOR.—The name of the abode of Balaam, said to be, in Numb. xxii. 5, "by the river of the land of the children of his people;" and in Deut. xxiii. 4 as of Mesopotamia, *i.e.*, Aram-Naharaim. It has been supposed to be represented by Balis, on the Euphrates, where, as Benjamin of Tudela tells us, may be found remains of "the tower of Balaam, son of Beor (may the name of the wicked rot!), which he built in accordance with the hours of the day." But we have as yet no trustworthy evidence on the point. (*Early Trav.*, p. 92; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii. 80.)

RAAMAH.—Mentioned as the son of Cush, and father of Sheba and Dedan (Gen. x. 7), and in connection with Sheba as a place carrying on trade with Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 22). A town called *Regma*, by which name the word is rendered in the Septuagint version, is mentioned by Ptolemy on the shore of the Persian Gulf, which may, perhaps, be taken as fixing the general position of the district on its western side (Ptol. vi. 7, 14).

REHOBOTH-IR.—See BIBLE EDUCATOR, II. 332.

REHOBOTH BY THE RIVER.—Mentioned as the original home of Saul, a prince who ruled in Edom, but probably not of Edomite origin. Its name is represented by *Rahabáh*, a name belonging to two places on the Euphrates, not far distant from each other, one about three miles from the western bank, about twenty-eight miles below the junction of the Khabour; the other lower down, on the eastern side. The former is, perhaps, the true site. (Gen. xxxvi. 37; Ainsworth, *Res.*, pp. 74, 100; Chesney, *Exp.*, i. 52.)

RESEN.—See BIBLE EDUCATOR, II. 332.

REZEPH.—A place mentioned with Gozan and Haran as overrun by the Assyrians (2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12). The inscriptions mention a place called Razappa, but without giving any clue as to its site, which may, perhaps, be assumed to be near the places above-named. (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i. 205.)

SEPHARAD.—Mentioned once only in Scripture, as an abode of Jewish captives (Obad. 20). It has been thought to answer to *Sippara*, but to this another more likely equivalent is found in Sepharvaim. The only other suggested is Sardis, which lies beyond our limits.

SEPHARVAIM.—The Sepharvites are mentioned among those heathen people who were sent as settlers to Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 24, 29, 31), and again their city is named as one of those overrun by Assyrian conquerors (xviii. 34; Isa. xxxvii. 13). Its name shows it to be represented by Sipphara, about twenty miles above Babylon, and the dual form of the Hebrew word shows that there were two cities of the same name, or two portions of the same city, one on each side of the Euphrates. (Ptol., v. 18, 7; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i. 15, 21; ii. 77.)

SHEBA.—A name mentioned (1) as that of a son of Raamah, son of Cush (Gen. x. 7); (2) a son of Joktan, son of Shem (ver. 28); (3) a son of Jokshan, son of Abraham by Keturah (xxv. 3). The abode of the Cushite Sheba may be placed on the western shore of the Persian Gulf, on one of whose islands are the remains of an ancient city called *Seba*. The people of this Sheba, as mentioned above, carried on a trade with Tyre in spices, precious stones, and gold (Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23), and may, perhaps, have been associated in this with the tribe of the same name, descended from Abraham, who dwelt more to the north-west, and are sometimes called Sabeans (Job i. 15; Ezek. xxiii. 42).

The Joktanite tribe and kingdom occupied the greater part of the region called Arabia Felix, *i.e.*, the whole western and southern sea-coast of the peninsula. They, too, carried on a trade with Palestine, and it is difficult always to distinguish them in this respect from the Cushite tribe (see Isa. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20). It seems likely that it was of this country that the "queen of Sheba" was the sovereign, and from which she brought as a present to Solomon "spices, gold, and precious stones," the produce or the imported luxuries of her own country (1 Kings x. 1—10).

SHOA (Ezek. xxiii. 23).—Whether the name of a place or a title is uncertain.

SINIM (Isa. xlix. 12).—There seems no reason why the people thus named should not be identified with the Chinese, the position of whose territory is vaguely, but not incorrectly, described by Ptolemy under the name of *Sinæ*, and who had commercial dealings with the west at a very early period. (Ptol. vii. 3; Lardner, *Maritime Discovery*, vol. i., p. 120.)

TADMOR.—The name of a city built, or perhaps fortified, "in the wilderness" by Solomon, no doubt as a station for the caravans carrying merchandise from Arabia, Chaldæa, and the East (1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4). Its name, which appears to be derived from a word signifying "palm," connects it with the city of Palmyra, so famous in later history, and whose situation agrees so well with the description given above, and with that of Pliny. It is placed at the foot of a range of limestone hills, in long. 38° 30′, lat. 33° 58′, 120 miles north-east of Damascus, and sixty from the Euphrates. Josephus mentions it as bearing both names; St. Jerome calls it simply Palmyra; and lastly, the name Tadmor has been found in inscriptions at Palmyra itself (Joseph., *Ant.* viii. 6, §1; Hieron., *Com.* on 2 Chron.; Plin. v. 88, 89). We hear nothing more of Tadmor in Scripture than its name, and that of its builder; but the history of Palmyra became famous in the later Roman history for the extensive dominion obtained (A.D. 260) by Odenathus, in which, after his assassination, he was succeeded by his wife Zenobia. She was subdued by the Roman Emperor Aurelian, and led in triumph through the streets of Rome by the conqueror, who built a temple with the spoils of the city, A.D. 274. (Aug. Hist., ii., pp. 183—221, 489; Eutrop. ix.

13; Zosimus, i. 54, 59, 61.) Palmyra was repaired by Justinian in the sixth century A.D., but though mentioned under the name of Tadmor by Benjamin of Tudela, and said by him to contain 2,000 Jews, it appears to have fallen into oblivion till the latter part of the seventeenth century, when it was visited by some English merchants from Aleppo in 1691, and again in 1751 by Messrs. Wood and Dawkins, who published very complete views of the magnificent remains of the buildings, which are entirely of the Roman period, and recall no trace of the work of Solomon, unless this be found in the noble aqueducts, whose construction popular tradition ascribes to the work of genii, under the sway of that mighty magician. However this may be, the situation of the city, and the existence of these inestimable water-courses bear witness to the discernment of the great founder of Tadmor, and still afford a resting-place and refreshment to travellers between Baghdad and Damascus. (*Early Trav.*, p. 91; Wood, *Palmyra*, pp. 13, 17; Volney, *Trav.*, ii. 238, 297; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 149, 248.)

TEL-ABIB.—A place of abode for Jewish captives, near the river Chebar (Ezek. iii. 15). The word *tel*, "mound, or hill," is used by the Arabs to describe any mound covering ruins, and the word *Tel-abib* may be rendered as the Latin Vulgate renders it, "hill of new shoots," *i.e.*, of sprouting plants; but the reason of the name, as well as the exact position of the place, is at present unknown. (See CHEBAR.)

TELASSAR, or THELASAR.—See EDEN.

TIPHSAH.—A place on the Euphrates, mentioned twice in Scripture. (*a*) as the eastern limit of Solomon's dominion (1 Kings iv. 24); (*b*) as the limit of Menahem's predatory expedition (2 Kings xv. 16). The name is probably connected with the Hebrew verb signifying to "pass over," which is represented in Greek and Latin by *Thapsacus*, a town situated at one of the most frequented passages of the Euphrates, which river the army of Cyrus the Younger crossed by fording in B.C. 401, as the bridge of boats, by which the passage was usually made, had been destroyed by the enemy. The city was large and flourishing, being a great emporium of trade between Assyria and the West, and in a direct line from Tadmor. Its modern name is *Hammám*, 181 miles, by the river, higher up than *Deir*, which was formerly thought to be its true position, but where the river is not fordable. (Xen., *Exp.*, i. 4; ii. 17; Strabo, xvi. 747.)

TOGARMAH.—See BIBLE EDUCATOR, I. 235.

TUBAL.—The name of a son of Japheth, generally thought to denote the race called by Greek writers *Tibareni*, neighbours of the *Moschi*, who dwelt at the south-east of the Euxine Sea, with whom also they are associated in Assyrian inscriptions. Some of both these nations served in the army of Xerxes. (Gen. x. 2; Isa. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1; Herod. iii. 92; vii. 78; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, ii., iii.) (See MESHECH.)

ZOBAH.—The country of a powerful nation dwelling between the north-east of Palestine and the Euphrates, whose kings were frequently at war with Israel, (1) in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 47); (2) in the reign of David, who defeated Hadadezer, as well as the Syrians who came to his assistance, with great loss (2 Sam. viii. 3—8, 12; 1 Chron. xviii. 3—8; Ps. lx. title); (3) again in David's time, when they joined the Ammonites, but were defeated by Joab, as were also the "Syrians beyond the river," who came to their assistance (2 Sam. x. 6, 16; 1 Chron. xix. 6). The nation, though severely punished, was not annihilated, for we read of a king of Zobah in the reign of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 23), and Solomon himself appears to have taken a town of Zobah, called Hamath (2 Chron. viii. 3). Other towns of Zobah are mentioned, *Betah*, *Berothai*, and perhaps *Helam*, but their situation is not certainly known (2 Sam. viii. 8; x. 16).

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

BY THE REV. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., HEAD MASTER OF KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL.

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN HYRCANUS.

JOHANAN, or John, surnamed Hyrcanus, escaped the sword of the murderer of Simon, and proved a worthy successor to his father, both in military capacity and resolute patriotism. Having secured both the city and the Temple,[1] and assumed the government, B.C. 135, he at first found himself in a position of much difficulty, and saw his kingdom overrun by the forces of Antiochus Sidetes, who laid siege to Jerusalem, and reduced him to the greatest extremities.

For a long time the steadfastness of the besieged resisted all the efforts of the Syrian troops, who had invested the city closely with a double line of intrenchments, and erected a hundred siege-towers on the north side.[2] At length the Festival of Tabernacles drew near, and Hyrcanus requested a respite of a week for the celebration of the feast. Antiochus, the best and bravest of the later Syrian monarchs, not only with rare generosity granted his request, but undertook to supply victims for the sacrifices, and gold and silver vases for the Temple services. Such kindness induced Hyrcanus to offer terms of peace, and his adversary agreed to a suspension of hostilities, on condition that

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 4.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 2.

the fortifications of Jerusalem were dismantled, and he himself received a sum of money as tribute for the fortresses held out of Judæa.[1]

Relieved from pressing danger by this unexpected forbearance on the part of his adversary, Hyrcanus at first accompanied the Syrian king, as his vassal, in an expedition against the Parthians. Fortunately for himself he returned to Jerusalem before its disastrous defeat, and he now resolved to throw off the Syrian yoke altogether. He had already surrounded himself with a body of foreign mercenaries, and with their assistance he proceeded to extend the frontiers of his own kingdom. After reducing, therefore, various fortresses on the further side of the Jordan, he invaded the province of Samaria, captured Sychem, and destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim, long a standing eyesore to his subjects.

Then, B.C. 129, he turned his arms against the Idumæans,[2] who had made themselves masters of the southern portion of Judæa. Vanquishing them in battle, and reducing their fortresses, he offered them the choice of leaving the country or submitting to circumcision. Unable to withstand the forces of the valiant. Asmonean, the wild and warlike descendants of Esau chose the latter alternative, and henceforth became completely identified with their conquerors, and submitted to the government of Jewish prefects.[3]

Before long, as we shall see, an Idumean family avenged on the Asmonean dynasty this conversion of his countrymen by the sword. But for the present Hyrcanus was supreme, and during the next twenty years maintained his authority, availing himself of the disputes and wars of the Seleucidæ to attain still greater independence, while at the same time by a solemn embassy to Rome he secured the recognition of his conquests.[4] The only people that would not silently admit his superiority were the Samaritans, who often made alliances in secret with the Syrian kings, and in other ways displayed their bitter hostility to the Jews. Upon this Hyrcanus resolved to inflict the severest punishment on these implacable foes. Too old himself to conduct a tedious siege, he entrusted the command to his two sons Aristobulus and Antigonus, who surrounded Samaria with a trench and double wall, and reduced the inhabitants to the greatest straits.[5] Twice they applied for aid to Antiochus Cyzicenus, prince of Damascus, but the sons of Hyrcanus defeated him, as also the commander of the forces sent by Ptolemy Lathyrus to relieve the city. At length after a siege of a year Samaria fell,[6] and with Scythopolis and other towns passed into the hands of the Asmonean priest-king. The power and dignity now enjoyed by the Jews were greater than any to which they had attained since the return from the Captivity; and though he was much troubled by two great religious and political factions, the Pharisees[7] and Sadducees, which now for the first time appear prominently in Jewish history, Hyrcanus escaped the fate of all the older members of his family, and descended to the tomb in peace, B.C. 109.

CHAPTER X.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS.

At his death Hyrcanus had bequeathed his kingdom to his wife,[8] foreseeing the unfitness of his five sons for the supreme power. But only a man could be high priest. His eldest son, therefore, whose real name was Judas, but who had taken the Greek name of Aristobulus,[9] assumed the high-priesthood, and ere long the title of king. He was hardly seated on the throne before he flung his mother into prison, and starved her to death. He also imprisoned his three youngest brothers, allowing only Antigonus, the next in age to himself, and his old companion in arms, to remain at liberty. He then led his forces against the unruly Itureans,[10] an Arab tribe who inhabited the district south of Anti-Libanus, and so completely vanquished them that they were forced to adopt circumcision.[11]

But his career of conquest was destined to be very brief. Forced to return to Jerusalem during the campaign against the Itureans, owing to a dangerous illness, he left the subjugation of the country to his brother Antigonus. The Feast of Tabernacles was approaching, when Antigonus came back victorious from the war, and hastened with his body-guard to the Temple to pray for his brother's recovery. This act was represented to Aristobulus by his queen Salome and some of his courtiers, as covering a seditious design against his life. Resolved to make trial of his fidelity, the priest-king desired his brother to attend him unarmed in the Baris, a tower on the north side of

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[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 3. The money for this subsidy was obtained by Hyrcanus from the sepulchre of David, the ante-chamber of which he opened, and took thence 3,000 talents of the treasure buried there (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 5).

[2] After the conquest of Judæa by the Babylonians, the Edomites, probably in reward for their services, had been allowed to settle in Southern Palestine, and occupied the whole plateau between it and Egypt; but about the same time they were driven from Edom proper by the Nabatheans, an Arabian tribe descended from Nebaioth, the eldest son of Ishmael, and brother-in-law of Esau (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chron. i. 29). This powerful people took Petra, and formed the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, which covered nearly the same area as the ancient Edom. (See Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*, Art. "Edom, Edomites;" Ewald's *History of Israel*, v. 350, 351.)

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6; xiii. 9, § 1; 1 Macc. v. 65, 68.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 2; comp. Justin, xxxvi. 1.

[5] Jos. *B. J.* i. 2, § 7.

[6] Hyrcanus is said to have sapped the foundation of the city, and to have flooded the whole site and made it a pool of water.

[7] As a Maccabee, Hyrcanus at first belonged to the Pharisees, but towards the end of his reign he deserted them and joined their rivals. (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 5; see Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 33.)

[8] In those days, both in Egypt and Syria, queens often governed better than kings. (Ewald, v. 385.)

[9] Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10, § 1. The adoption of Greek names by the Maccabæan family, originally the great opponents of everything Greek, shows how much the Jews were departing from their ancient standards.

[10] Descendants of Jetur, a son of Ishmael. (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. v. 19—22.)

[11] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, § 3. While, however, some submitted, many fled to their own rocky fastnesses and the defiles of Hermon, where they became skilful archers and daring plunderers (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 24; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 448).

the Temple. A dark underground passage[1] led from the Temple to the tower. Misled by his enemies, Antigonus appeared clad in armour, and was instantly assassinated by a company of soldiers placed there with the queen's connivance. What had occurred was at once reported to Aristobulus, and brought on a sudden paroxysm of his malady, followed by excessive hæmorrhage, and the thought that he had been the murderer of his mother and his brother produced such fearful anguish that he died, after occupying the throne little more than a year.[2]

Salome, his queen, left childless, married Jonathan, the eldest of the three surviving brothers, and transferred to him the sovereignty. Jonathan, who was more generally known by the shortened form of his name, Jannâi, or Jannæus,[3] preferred the Greek appellation of Alexander. Taking advantage of the disordered condition of the Syrian kingdom, he conceived the idea of conquering the outlying fragments of the ancient kingdom of David, and attacked the fortresses of Dora, the tower of Stato, Ptolemais, and Gaza. The sole quarter whence the inhabitants could look for aid was the island of Cyprus, where Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had been driven out of Egypt, had taken up his abode. The Egyptian prince marched into Judæa, and having defeated Alexander with great loss, laid waste the country towards the south and practised great cruelties. The kingdom of the Asmonean would have been totally lost, had it not been for the intervention of an Egyptian army led by two Judæan generals, who drove Lathyrus into Cœlesyria, and restored to Alexander the sovereignty of the country.[4]

Released from this imminent peril, Jannæus embarked on fresh expeditions, attacked and reduced Gadara, a rising and wealthy city south-east of the Lake of Galilee, and shortly afterwards Raphia, on the borders of Egypt, Anthedon, and Gaza. These campaigns, carried on with varied fortune, occupied nine years of the reign of Jannæus. He succeeded, indeed, in extending the frontier of his kingdom, but his most dangerous enemies were at home. The discords between the Pharisees and Sadducees, which had distracted the reign of Hyrcanus, broke out with tenfold violence in that of Jannæus. Detesting the turbulence and pride of the Pharisees, the Asmonean priest-king had espoused the Sadducaic party, and brought down upon his head the concentrated hatred of their rivals. But the Pharisees had the populace at their command, and at their instigation, on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles, the mob pelted him with citrons,[5] and denied his right to the priesthood. In revenge for this insult he ordered his troops to fall upon the unarmed multitude, and slew upwards of six thousand. Moreover, to prevent a recurrence of such insults, he raised a wooden partition between the court of the priests and that of the people, and surrounded himself with Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries.

At the head of these forces he again invaded the country east of the Jordan, but after various successes sustained a serious defeat. This was the signal for a general rebellion of his subjects, and a civil war broke out, which was marked by shocking barbarities on both sides. For six years the priest-king and his people carried on the unnatural strife. At length he was victorious, and returning in triumph to Jerusalem, crucified eight hundred of his enemies in one day, and seated at a banquet with his concubines, glutted his vengeance with the spectacle of their dying agonies.[6]

This brutal conduct won for him the name of "the Thracian," and is of itself a proof how terribly the dynasty of the Asmoneans had degenerated. Under his iron sway the whole country maintained the tranquillity of awed submission. Externally it was prosperous. The priest-king had extended the boundaries of his realm from Rhinocolura on the confines of Egypt to Carmel, and had included in it Idumea, Samaria, and much territory to the east of Jordan. Thus he well-nigh re-established the whole of the ancient kingdom of David. But before long he was attacked with a quartan fever. For three years, in spite of an enfeebled frame, he still carried on hostilities in remote districts beyond the Jordan, and was besieging Ragaba, in the region of Gerasa, when he felt death was approaching.[7] His last advice to his queen Alexandra was to espouse the cause of the Pharisaic faction, who were at once numerous and turbulent, and had the people entirely under their direction. Then, at the age of forty-nine, after a troubled reign of twenty-seven years, he died, B.C. 79.[8]

[1] See Trail's *Josephus*, p. 96.
[2] Jos. *B. J.* i. 3, §§ 4—6.
[3] Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 386.
[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12, § 2.
[5] Which they carried at the feast (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5).
[6] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2.
[7] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 5.
[8] Ewald well remarks that Jannæus might have achieved as a conqueror a grander position than Herod the Great, had he been equally cunning, and had not the first outburst of fury between the two schools of the Pharisees and Sadducees taken place in his days (*History of Israel*, v. 392).

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE position which this book occupies in the canon of the Old Testament brings it before us as a refreshing contrast to the dark picture of crime and cruelty which shocks and saddens us in the later chapters of the Book of Judges. We are reminded that each village and each household has a history of its own, which, though affected by the drift and current of events that have a national importance, is yet also in part independent of those events, and may present very different characteristics. While lust and ferocity were doing their work for evil, there was this episode of real life, which, if it had belonged to the literature of fiction, would have taken a high place, in the vividness of its pictures and the tenderness of its pathos, as an idyllic romance, bringing vividly before our eyes the simple sorrows, the quaint forms of legal procedure, the devout customs of the tillers of the soil, in a region which had passed beyond the wildness of nomadic life, and had not as yet become tainted with the vices of the life of cities.

The history of the book presents some curious features, as indicating a difference in the view taken of it at different periods by those who took upon themselves the task of classifying the writings of the Old Testament. In the present arrangement of the Hebrew divisions, it forms one of a sub-division of the Chethubim or Hagiographa (*Sacred Writings*), known as the "five Megilloth" or rolls, from their being written on separate rolls of parchment for use in synagogue worship; the other four being Lamentations, the Song of Solomon, Esther, and Ecclesiastes. It is obvious that these books have no points of affinity to justify this grouping, and the only inference that can be drawn from it is that the later Jewish critics did not see their way to any other combination than that of treating each one of the five as standing in a position of isolation, and therefore so far on the same footing. The fact that the Septuagint translation (circ. B.C. 270) places it in the same position as that which it occupies in our English Bibles, shows that this was an innovation, more or less arbitrary, on an older arrangement; and Jerome, who adopts the same order in the Latin translation known as the Vulgate, distinctly states that it was so. It is obvious, as far as the contents go, that this is its natural and fitting place. It belongs to the period of the Judges. It prepares the way for the history of the house of David. It shows under what inherited influences of devotion and purity the youth of the shepherd-king was likely to have been passed.

Of the authorship of the book we have comparatively few materials for conjecture. Like almost all the historical books of the Old Testament, it comes before us as absolutely anonymous. Unlike the Books of Kings and Chronicles, however, it contains no reference to other writings as the sources from which it was derived, but appears, as the nature of the narrative would lead us to infer, as standing by itself, based only upon the traditions of Bethlehem and the family records of that section of the tribe of Judah which boasted of its descent from the house of Pharez (iv. 12, 18), and felt that its glory had received a new lustre in the person of the son of Jesse. We can, however, within certain limits, define the approximate date of the book. It was written at a time when men had begun to contrast "the days when the judges ruled," as a period long past, with the different form of government that had succeeded (i. 1); when the fact that Obed was "the father of Jesse, the father of David," gave a special interest to the narrative of his birth; when the old custom in Israel "concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, for to confirm all things," was regarded as "the manner in former time"—as an institution, *i.e.*, all but obsolete, and needing an explanation (iv. 7). A closer examination shows a remarkable coincidence in certain peculiar phrases with the Books of Samuel and Kings, which may lead to the conclusion that it was written at the same period, if not by the same compiler, as either or both of those sets of books—in the case of the latter, at all events, after the close of the monarchy of Judah. Thus we have "such a one," where the writer desires to conceal a name which yet he knows (Ruth iv. 1; 1 Sam. xxi. 2; 2 Kings vi. 8); the solemn adjuration, "The Lord do so to me, and more also" (Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. xiv. 44; xx. 13; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35; 1 Kings ii. 23; 2 Kings vi. 31); the "beginning of barley harvest," as a note of time (Ruth i. 22; 2 Sam. xxi. 9); "they lifted up their voice and wept" (Ruth i. 9, 14; 1 Sam. xxiv. 16; xxx. 4); and "Blessed be he of the Lord" (Ruth ii. 20; 2 Sam. ii. 5). The presence of a certain number of Chaldee forms in the speeches of the actors of the narrative, though not in the language of the narrator, does not decide the question either way, as they may be explained either on the hypothesis of the later Chaldee influence acting on the language towards the close of the monarchy, or during the Captivity, or of the earlier as still lingering in the villages of Judah in the time of Boaz, though they became archaic under the wider culture of Solomon and his successors. It may be noticed, over and above the special interest of the narrative, that it explains some remarkable features in the history of David by a coincidence manifestly undesigned. When the fierce relentless hate of Saul endangered not only his own life, but the lives of those dearest to him, we read in 1 Sam. xxii. 3 that David went to the king of Moab, and placed his father and mother under his protection till he should know what

God would do for him, and that the king accepted the trust and kept them all the time that David was in the hold of the cave Adullam (1 Sam. xxii. 4). The language and the act both imply established relations of alliance and friendship. And of this the fact that the grandfather of David had been the son of a Moabitess is at once the most natural and an amply sufficient explanation. The fact, not mentioned in the Old Testament, but preserved in the traditional genealogies of the house of David, that Boaz was himself the son of Rahab, of one who by the law suffered under a twofold taint as an alien and a harlot (Matt. i. 5), may in like manner explain the absence of any reluctance on his part to contract marriage with one who, though a proselyte in faith (Ruth i. 16), was yet an alien in blood, belonging to the races which, though not formally prohibited by the Law of Moses, were considered by the stricter Judaism of later times to be among those between whom and Israel there was to be neither giving nor taking in marriage. If we believe the book to have been written at a time when that aversion was gaining strength, we may even assume that the writer wrote with a conscious purpose as desiring to teach what at all events he taught unconsciously, that the favour of God flows out beyond the visible limits within which it is more conspicuously manifested. Even then, in the midst of so much that seemed and actually was narrow and exclusive, there was a witness borne that "God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him."

It would be profitless to reproduce here in modernised paraphrase the tale which is told in the Book of Ruth with such a tender and beautiful simplicity. But there are some passages which both receive light and impart it on comparison with other portions of Scripture, and to these coincidences I proceed to call attention.

(1.) The whole story turns, as we see at a glance, on what is known as the Levirate law, the obligation laid upon the brother of one who died married but childless, to take the widow of the deceased and to raise up seed unto his brother. Failing a brother, the duty passed on to the next of kin. It might involve a burdensome addition to the kinsman's household. It might bring, as a compensation, the right of purchasing, or, in the technical language of the Law, "redeeming," the inheritance which the widow might otherwise be compelled to sell for what she could get to a stranger. From the Hebrew verb which expressed the latter act, the kinsman so acting was called the *goel*, or "redeemer," and the term came by a natural association to be used for the kinsman upon whom the duty and the right devolved. To him, too, belonged the office of the avenger of blood in cases of manslaughter or murder. Such was the "Redeemer," the Friend closer than a brother, in whom Job believed (Job xix. 25) as "living" though not yet manifested, who should one day appear to avenge his cause and vindicate his righteousness. The law of property (i. 9) recognised in the narrative is that of the Books of Leviticus (xxv. 25) and Deuteronomy (xxv. 7). There is, however, a difference. As the law stood, the wife whom the *goel* or next of kin refused to take was to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, as a mark of scorn. What we find in the history of Ruth is a milder form of the same usage, the sharper edge having been worn off, as it were, by the feeling of a more settled civilisation. So far, therefore, we have a presumptive evidence that the law was known in the period of the Judges, and had had time to be thus modified; and, therefore, that the book which contains the law was of a higher antiquity than the period in question.

(2.) The other usages described in the Book of Ruth are in the manner such as we should expect to find in a people living under a law like that which we find in the books ascribed to Moses. *The Lord*, Jehovah, is the name by which men speak of God as their Protector (i. 9; ii. 12). The traditions of the tribe of Judah include even the darker, less prominent histories of the Book of Genesis, such as that of Tamar and Pharez (iv. 12; Gen. xxxviii.). The law which allowed the right of the gleaner in the time of harvest is assumed and acted on (Deut. xxiv. 19; Lev. xix. 9, 10). The state of society depicted is one in which labourers and landowners are not yet divided as they were, judging by the complaint of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 10), at a later date, but lived in friendly intimacy, greeting one another with devout benedictions (ii. 4). It is not the least value of the book that it brings before us the ideal of village life contemplated by the law as at least approximately attained.

(3.) The character of Ruth presents itself as the pattern of true womanly excellence, and this as found not in Israel, but among a people who, though speaking the same language (as is shown by the inscription of the Moabite stone), and descended from the same ancestors, had fallen away from the purity of the patriarchal faith. The memory of the husband she has lost; her reverence for her husband's mother; the recognition, connected with each feeling, of a higher faith as committed to the keeping of Israel—all this shows itself with a touching and beautiful simplicity, in the words in which she declares her purpose to cast in her lot with the widowed Naomi. "Orpah kissed her mother-in-law" with the kiss of a parting salutation, and went back to her people and her gods; "but Ruth clave unto her" for life and death. "Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." No words are lavished by the writer in her praise; her character is not described, but it is painted. She moves in her meekness and purity, and gains the respect and reverence of all who see her. She has come unto a people which she knew not heretofore (ii. 10—13), and wins the love of rich and poor, and utters her modest gratitude in words of striking humility, and as one who has "found favour" and been "comforted" beyond all that she had looked for. The manner in which, at Naomi's prompting, she presents herself to Boaz as one whom, as the *goel* or next of kin, he ought to

take as a wife, is of course very different from the conventional standard by which, in other countries or times, such an arrangement is brought about—very different even, it must be allowed, from the ordinary customs of the East, where the betrothal or the marriage was that of a virgin bride. But the conditions of the case were exceptional. Naomi knew the character and temperament of her kinsman, and Ruth acted in the spirit of simple unhesitating obedience to what her mother-in-law suggested. And some such action was rendered at once necessary and safe by what had already passed. Boaz had looked on the young widow who had come from Moab with the kindly, fatherly glance of one who watches over the welfare of one much younger than himself; had protected her from wrong, bade her company with his own maidens, addressed her always as "my daughter." Left to himself, the thought of marriage would not have entered his mind, or would have been rejected as unsuitable. How could he trust that an old man's fondness would be met by the true devotion of a wife? And so the ice had to be broken, as we say, on the other side. Ruth was to avow that she loved, and trusted where she loved, with the most entire confidence. She claimed the right to be his handmaid and to watch over him; she reminded him that she had the claim of a childless widow on the next of kin. What might have seemed at variance with a customary standard of self-reverence was transformed by that claim, by the sanction which the law gave to it, into the truest modesty, conscious of its own freedom from baseness, and trusting that he who was thus beloved was also free from it. As we close the book we may well feel that here there was one who was "virtuous" (iii. 11) in that old sense both of the Hebrew and of the English word, in which virtue implied not only innocence, but strength (comp. Prov. xii. 4; xxxi. 10), the power to order and govern a household. Well might Naomi feel, when the goal was reached, and the husband and the children whom she had lost had at last a living heir to represent them, that Ruth had been the "restorer of her life and the nourisher of her old age," and "had been better unto her than seven sons" (iv. 15).

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED PLACES (*continued*).

HAVING considered the articles of furniture contained in that part of the Tabernacle known as the Holy Place, we have now to enter for the same purpose the innermost sanctuary, or the Holy of Holies. The first object that meets us here is the Ark of the Covenant, which we must consider apart from the plate of solid gold laid upon the top of it, and known as the *capporeth*, or mercy-seat. This *capporeth* was not, strictly speaking, a part of the Ark, and is to be carefully distinguished from it, however close the connection between them may have been.

I. The Ark was the first part of the furniture of the Tabernacle directed to be made. "And they shall make an ark," it is said, "of shittim wood; two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four corners thereof (or rather, thou shalt put them in the four feet thereof); and two rings shall be in the one side of it, and two rings in the other side of it. And thou shalt make staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold. And thou shalt put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, that the ark may be borne with them. The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it. And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee" (Exod. xxv. 10—16). It appears from this description that the Ark was simply a box of acacia wood about four feet in length by two in breadth and depth, that both within and without it was overlaid with gold, and that it was surrounded with a crown or wreath of gold towards the top. It stood on four feet, and was borne, when moved from place to place, by staves pushed through rings fastened in such a way to the feet that, as is generally inferred from 1 Kings viii. 8, the staves stretched along the shorter and not the longer sides.

From these rings the staves were never to be withdrawn, a prohibition, no doubt, connected with the peculiar sacredness of the Ark, and that it might be more easily kept from being touched by the hand of man. It may at first sight strike us with surprise that the rings spoken of should be fastened to the feet, but the explanation is probably to be sought in this, that the Ark was the leading standard of Israel; that, borne up by the Levites who were entrusted with the duty, it marched at all times in front of the host (Numb. x. 33); and that it thus received an elevation above the heads of the people corresponding to this important purpose.[1] When thus carried about, it was covered with the great curtain constituting the Tabernacle, over which the covering of badgers' skins was thrown, and finally "a cloth wholly of blue" (Numb. iv. 7). This use of the Ark as the standard of the host lends additional interest to the pathetic lamentation of Eli's daughter-in-

[1] Comp. *The Tabernacle*, by William Brown, p. 88.

law when the sad news reached her of its capture by the Philistines, and of the death of her husband and his father, "The glory is departed from Israel; for the ark of God is taken" (1 Sam. iv. 22). In connection with the employment of the Ark now mentioned, it may be added that it was by the going up from it of the pillar of cloud or of fire that the signal was given to Israel at any time to resume, by the settling of the pillar upon it, to close, its journeys. "And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate Thee flee before Thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel" (Numb. x. 35, 36).

The main purpose of the Ark was to preserve within it the two tables of stone on which the Almighty had Himself written the ten commandments of the Law, and from this purpose it received both its names and its significance. It was styled "the ark of the testimony" (Exod. xxv. 22, &c.), and "the ark of the covenant" (Numb. x. 33), not from anything in itself, but because it contained the tables known as "the testimony," "the words of the covenant," "the tables of the covenant," "the covenant" (Exod. xxv. 21; xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9; 1 Kings viii. 21). In addition to these tables of the Law, it would seem, however, that a pot of manna and Aaron's rod which budded were also preserved within the Ark. The words of the Law, indeed, do not expressly enjoin that it should be so, for of the one it is only said that it was to be "laid up before the Lord" (Exod. xvi. 33), and of the other that it was to be brought again "before the testimony" (Numb. xvii. 10); but we know from Jewish traditions that these expressions were understood to mean within the Ark, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews distinctly says of it, "wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant" (ix. 4). It is no good objection to the accuracy of this statement that, in the time of Solomon, we are informed that "there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel" (1 Kings viii. 9). The probability is, that before the erection of the Temple these objects had disappeared. Even, however, while they were there, it cannot be said that the Ark derived any significance from them. Its purpose and meaning are to be learned only from its relation to the two tables of stone.

These tables, then, were "the testimony," "the covenant" of God with Israel. They were "the germ and quintessence of all revelation, the most precious treasure of the holy people, the representative of the entire Law, the basis of Israel's whole existence."[1]

They expressed the character of that God with whom Israel had to do, the nature, though in a negative form, of that morality or righteousness which Israel was to display, and the conditions on which, if observed in the willing spirit exhibited at their first promulgation—"And all the people answered together and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do" (Exod. xix. 8)—Israel would be secured in the continued care and blessing of Him who had betrothed His people to Himself in a perpetual covenant. Thus it was that they were a "testimony," not so much against Israel as to Israel, of what God was; and thus also they might fittingly be named "the covenant," because they embodied a statement of what God required, if Israel was to have all the promises of the covenant fulfilled to it. It was not in anger, but in mercy, that they were given. When Moses went up into Mount Sinai, and the Almighty "called unto him out of the mountain," it was with the words, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine; and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation" (Exod. xix. 3—6); and the very preface to the commandments themselves bears witness to the same great truth, "I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Exod. xx. 2). God was then dealing with Israel not as an enemy but as a child, as a child indeed not come to years, yet the object of its father's love in infancy as well as in manhood, and only needing at the former stage more external wisdom to direct and authority to command it than at the latter. Love, therefore, was at the bottom of the Law, and it was enjoined by the Almighty in the character of a Redeemer quite as much as in that of a Governor and Judge. The spiritually-minded in Israel always felt it to be so. The Old Testament, especially in the Psalms, is full of expressions of admiration for the Law, of delight in it, and of gratitude for it; and Moses, after having delivered all those statutes and judgments which are so often, but so falsely, associated only with the idea of tyrannical restraint, did no more than give utterance to the feelings of the pious Jew at the contemplation of them, when he exclaimed, "Happy art thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency!" (Deut. xxxiii. 29.)

It may seem, indeed, at first sight, as if what has now been said were inconsistent with such statements of the New Testament as those in which the Apostle tells us that "the law worketh wrath," or that "it was added because of transgressions" (Rom. iv. 15; Gal. iii. 19). But the two things are in reality perfectly harmonious. We have only to remember the character of the people and the stage of spiritual development at which they and the world stood, in order to see that, stern and commanding as the "testimony" was, it was yet at the same time "the words" or "tables of the covenant" of love. The spiritual heart might at any time break through the sternness, might at any time substitute the spirit for the letter, while the primary object of all was

[1] Kalisch on Exodus, p. 378.

to prepare for the coming of that "seed" who should make the spirit general, and the dominion of the letter not a step from which to rise to higher, but a wilful declension to lower things.

Such, then, was the Ark to Israel; and containing as it did this expression of the nature of a covenant-keeping God, and of what was needful to preserve His people within that covenant with which all their happiness and glory, whether as individuals or as a nation, were connected, we can the less wonder that its sacredness was so great that death was the threatened, at Beth-shemesh the inflicted, penalty for touching it (Numb. iv. 15; 1 Sam. vi. 19).

If now we ask, What is the fulfilment to us of this part of the furniture of the Holy of Holies? we can only answer as before, that it is fulfilled in the Lord Jesus Christ and in His Church.

In the Lord Jesus Christ; for in Him there is not only peace but righteousness. Nay, righteousness is the very foundation of what He is and does. Why is He King of kings, higher than all the kings of the earth? Let the sacred writer answer, "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows" (Heb. i. 9). When the prophet Isaiah describes the rod that was to arise out of the stem of Jesse, he exclaims that "righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins" (Isa. xi. 5); and when the psalmist invokes a blessing on the theocratic king whose universal dominion he anticipates with so much enthusiasm, he begins his invocation with the words, "Give the king thy judgments, O Lord, and thy righteousness unto the king's son" (Ps. lxxii. 1). It was not otherwise when Christ appeared. He did not destroy the Law. "I am not come," He said, "to destroy, but to fulfil" (Matt. v. 17). What was the great result He laboured to achieve but a perfect righteousness, a righteousness exceeding that of the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. v. 20)? He was not only a Saviour, but also a Judge. What are His discourses in the Gospel of St. John to those who were putting themselves beyond the pale of mercy but so many sentences of eternal judgment, and what is the cursing of the barren fig-tree but a typical representation of the fate with which He will punish all who with the leaves of profession have not the fruits of godliness? Does not St. John speak of "the wrath of the Lamb?" and what is the whole Book of Revelation but the war-cry of battle, and the shout of victory over the fall of the enemies of the Church? "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid. Yea, we establish the law."

Thus fulfilled in Christ, the idea of "the Ark of the testimony" is also to be fulfilled in Christians. If they are to uphold grace, they are not less to uphold law, in its majesty, its strictness, its uncompromising opposition to wrong-doing of every kind; and unless they do the latter they cannot do the former. Without the one the other has neither existence nor meaning. Without sternness to the sin there can be no love to the sinner, just as it may be said that without love to the sinner there can be no real sternness to the sin. Christians also judge. They must judge; and they ought to judge far more than they do, not in the spirit of that censorious judgment condemned in the Sermon on the Mount, but in that spirit of enlightened, impartial, lofty judgment demanded by the Apostle in the sixth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Why should they who are to judge angels not judge men? Is there no difference between wisdom and folly, between right and wrong? They ought to know the difference, and to let their voice be heard upon it always and everywhere. How also, if they do not judge now, shall they be prepared for the fulfilment of the promise, "And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers; even as I received of my Father" (Rev. ii. 26, 27)? The elements of law and judgment, then, are both in Christ and in His people, and the Ark which carries them within it is the standard with which they march to the battle against all determined enemies of truth.

II. From the Ark we turn to what seems at first sight to be its covering, what we shall speak of not by its Hebrew term, the *capporeth*, but as it is rendered in our English translation, "the mercy-seat." Directions for its construction are given along with those for the construction of the Ark, "And thou shalt make a mercy-seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof; and thou shalt put the mercy-seat above upon the ark" (Exod. xxv. 17, 21). This mercy-seat was laid upon the top of the Ark, but was not, strictly speaking, its lid. The Ark had a lid or cover of its own. The mercy-seat, though it rested upon the Ark, was an independent article of furniture. It will be observed that it was made of pure gold, not, like the Ark, of acacia wood overlaid with gold, a circumstance at once revealing to us its great importance. In what did that importance lie?

The mercy-seat was the very throne of God, as He condescended to take up His abode with man. He dwelt in the Tabernacle, but He was enthroned upon the mercy-seat. From it He had promised to make His communications to such as were permitted to draw near Him: "There I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony" (Exod. xxv. 22). There, too, they were actually made: "And when Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak with Him, then he heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy-seat that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubims; and He spake unto him" (Numb. vii. 89). A spot so sacred as this, and undoubtedly referred to in the New Testament, it is evidently of moment, if possible, to understand.

The name by which it is designated is derived from a verb signifying to cover, and the almost invariable use

of this verb in the Old Testament distinctly connects it with the idea of covering sin: "And therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged (shall not be covered) with sacrifice nor offering for ever;" "But He, being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not" (or rather, "covereth iniquity, and destroyeth not"); "Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of Thy name; and deliver us, and purge away (and cover) our sins, for Thy name's sake" (1 Sam. iii. 14; Ps. lxxviii. 38; lxxix. 9). The mercy-seat is thus the place where sin is covered or forgiven, the place on which atonement is made for it, so that it shall be no longer remembered against the sinner. In conformity with this, accordingly, it was, on the great Day of Atonement, that day which concentrated in itself all the atonements of the year in their highest potency, the mercy-seat, though the very throne of God, was sprinkled with the blood of the sin-offering then presented on behalf of the whole nation, both priests and people. It especially reminded Israel, therefore, that the God with whom it had to do was One who pardoned iniquity, who had no pleasure in the death of the sinner, who so abounded in mercy that it was the distinguishing attribute of His character, the essential characteristic of His throne. But in doing this, the mercy-seat rested on the Ark containing the two tables of the Law. It did not cover these, in the sense of concealing them, as has been often most erroneously supposed. It did not silence or hush them, either as they commanded or condemned. These tables were still the most precious possession of the people, and were preserved in the Ark with the sacred care to which they were entitled. They were the centre of the theocracy. They could not be silenced; and to have put them out of view in any respect whatever would have been to destroy the reverence with which they were regarded—would have been to take from Israel the very foundation of its existence and the very pledge of its covenant. Nor will it do to say that, while the commanding aspect of the Law was left, its condemning aspect alone was covered. The two aspects cannot be separated from one another. It is because the Law commands that, in the case of the sinner, it condemns; and if the sinner's conscience does not tell him that it condemns with an equally living and powerful authority, he will soon cease to feel that it commands. So far, therefore, from hushing the voice of the Law, the mercy-seat rested upon the Law. The holiness embodied in the Law, and that both in its demands and in its threatenings, was the very foundation upon which it was raised. What it did was to utter an independent voice; to proclaim that, notwithstanding the Law's accusing and condemning power, there was mercy with God that He might be feared, and plenteous redemption; that, holy Himself and requiring holiness of those who would be in covenant with Him, He yet was both able and willing to redeem Israel from all his iniquities. The Ark and the mercy-seat, in short, were an utterance of the Psalmist's words, "Justice and judgment are the habitation (rather, the foundation) of Thy throne; mercy and truth go before Thy face" (Ps. lxxxix. 14).

Such being the meaning of the mercy-seat to Israel, we ought to have little difficulty in determining its fulfilment for ourselves. But we have the distinct statement of the New Testament to appeal to. The word by which the Hebrew term is translated in the Greek version of the Old Testament occurs twice in the New (Heb. ix. 5; Rom. iii. 25). In the first of these two passages, there can be no doubt that it is correctly rendered "mercy-seat" in our English version, and that it is the object itself that is referred to. In the latter, the rendering may be considered more doubtful, and able commentators are found to defend that given by our translators, "Whom God hath set forth to be *a propitiation* through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God."[1] Yet the translation "mercy-seat," or propitiatory, seems to have much more to commend it to our regard. For, in the first place, we thus retain the usual signification of the word, which has that of "propitiation" or "propitiatory sacrifice" in no passage either of the Old Testament or of the New. It is doubtless true that, looked at only in itself, it might mean that which propitiates, and hence also propitiatory sacrifice; but when we find it constantly employed in one definite sense, when that sense is a technical one, and when, the readers being perfectly familiar with it, it could hardly fail to suggest itself to their minds, it seems contrary to all rules of sound interpretation to depart from it, unless we are compelled to do so. Again, there is reason to think that throughout all this passage the Apostle has the Holy of Holies in his eye. This appears particularly in the language of verse 23, "for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," by which we are not to understand coming short either, on the one hand, of promoting, or on the other hand, of receiving, His praise, but coming short of that partaking of, that sharing in, His glory which is at once the goal and the reward of Christian faithfulness. It is the glory for which we wait, partly indeed bestowed upon us even now, but then only to be enjoyed in fulness when the prayer of the Redeemer is fulfilled, "Father, I will that they also, whom Thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory which Thou hast given me" (John xvii. 24).[2] But this is the very glory which was exhibited typically in the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle, above the mercy-seat. When, therefore, we have two references in the same passage which find their best explanation in the objects contained in that place, and when we know that it was one so familiar to the Jewish mind, it seems a just conclusion that these references throw light upon one another, and that the Apostle had the place itself and its objects in his mind. If so, the words before us ought to run, not "whom

[1] Meyer, *in loc.*; Schmid, *Bibl. Theologie*, ii., p. 311.

[2] See this meaning of the words fully brought out and defended, in his valuable commentary on the Romans, by Professor Forbes, p. 170.

God hath set forth to be a propitiation," but "whom God set forth to be a mercy-seat," whom God hath revealed to us as the person in whom, as the place in which, He effects our reconciliation with Himself, and bestows upon us redemption, even the forgiveness of sins.

It appears, then, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the real fulfilment of the mercy-seat. In Him God reconciles the world unto Himself, not imputing unto men their trespasses. His blood sprinkled there—for just as He is at once high priest and victim, He is at once mercy-seat and victim—procures the free and full pardon of all sin; in His offering made once for all we are complete; the throne of judgment becomes a throne of grace; and no longer kept at a distance from Him who occupies it, we are admitted to a divine communion with Him, and He speaks with us "as a man speaketh unto his friend" (Exod. xxxiii. 11). All this, too, takes place while the Law is neither concealed nor modified. It is, on the contrary, magnified and made honourable. But for the imperative nature of its demands, no mercy-seat would have been necessary; and that mercy-seat, not covering the Law, but resting upon it, tells us with a voice not less powerful than its own that no jot or tittle of it shall pass away until all be fulfilled.

Thus fulfilled in Christ, may we not add in conclusion that there is a sense in which the mercy-seat is fulfilled in Christians? When speaking of the Ark and the testimony within it, we had to describe Christians as judging the world, as making known to it God's law and judgments. But their great commission is to reveal God's love, and to do this not by proclaiming it in words only, but by suffering in the spirit of it for the world's sake. That Apostle who "went everywhere preaching the Gospel," said also of himself in writing to the Colossians, "Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up what is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church" (i. 24). There is deeper truth in that saying of St. Paul than our churches have yet been able to fathom. In the meantime it may be enough to say, that the self-denials and sacrifices of the followers of Jesus, and the deaths which they endure in His service—for they "die daily" when their service is a true one—are not the least powerful influence which they exercise in telling men that there is goodness, and, with goodness, loveliness in the world, and in thus lifting them up in hope and confidence to Him who is goodness without a trace of selfishness, and loveliness without a flaw.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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THE next stage of our history is widely different from that which preceded it. Our interest has been concentrated on Tyndale, and hence it is rather the Continent than England which has occupied our thoughts. We have followed from labour to labour the zealous translator who, almost alone, with little help or encouragement, strove unremittingly to fulfil his appointed task until martyrdom stayed his unfinished work. The scene now changes to English ground: the chief actor is one who afterwards became a bishop of the English Church.

Of the early life of Miles Coverdale very little is known, nor indeed have we more than scanty information respecting many of his later years. It has been supposed that Coverdale's name points to his birthplace, and that, like Wycliffe, he was a native of North Yorkshire. The year of his birth was 1488.

The first notice which we possess connects him with the monastery of the Augustine Friars at Cambridge, at the head of which was Dr. Robert Barnes, well known in the early records of the Reformation. In 1526, when Barnes was required on pain of death to abjure the errors laid to his charge, Coverdale stood by his side. His earliest extant writing is a letter which (probably in 1527) he writes to Thomas Cromwell, then one of Wolsey's dependents, afterwards his successor as Lord High Chancellor. In this letter Coverdale refers to the "godly communication" which Cromwell had had with him in the house of "Master Moore" (Sir Thomas More), and earnestly solicits assistance in the prosecution of sacred studies. "Now," he says, "I begin to taste of holy scriptures; now, honour be to God! I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire but books, as concerning my learning; they once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me which He of His most plentiful favour and grace hath begun."[1]

If we pass over some incidental notices of his preaching, very interesting as showing the distinct opposition which he offered to the errors of the Romish Church, the next reference to Coverdale is presented in Foxe's statement (quoted above, Vol. II., p. 124), that in 1529 he assisted Tyndale in translating the Pentateuch. It is impossible to say what reliance is to be placed on the details of this isolated statement; but the passage has the look of truth, and some of the minor particulars have recently been proved accurate.[2] We cannot indeed regard Tyndale and Coverdale as co-translators, working on common principles: as will be shown hereafter, the work of each differs essentially from that of the other. Still Tyndale would certainly

[1] Coverdale's *Remains*, p. 490. (Parker Society.)

[2] Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 229. The death of Mr. Demaus, at a comparatively early age, will be deplored by all who are interested in the history of the Reformation in England.

welcome, and would receive valuable assistance from, such a companion as Coverdale, whose zeal in the good work was only equalled by his retiring modesty. After this Coverdale passes away from view until the appearance of the first English Bible, in 1535.

How eventful were the intervening years in England is known to every reader. In 1529 Wolsey is dismissed from office; the great seal is committed to More; Cranmer receives his first public employment. In 1531 Henry is declared supreme head of the Church of England. In 1533 the King marries Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding the threats of the Pope; and shortly after the papal authority in England is formally annulled. Fisher and More pay the penalty of their lives for their denial of the king's supremacy (1535). The rapid changes which the scantiest historical summary reveals could not but be attended with alternations in the fortunes of the English Bible. In 1526 Tyndale's New Testament was formally proscribed by Tunstall, Bishop of London, and Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Three years later the king issued a proclamation against heretical books, and amongst these Tyndale's writings (including his New Testament) were expressly specified. In 1530 the condemnation of these books by an assembly of learned men (after a conference of twelve days) was succeeded by another royal proclamation "against great errors and pestilent heresies, with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors." In a "Bill in English to be published by the preachers," we read :—

"Finally it appeared that having of the whole Scripture is not necessary to Christian men; and like as the having of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue and in the common people's hands hath been by the holy Fathers of the Church in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought not expedient to be communicate amongst them. Wherein, forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this time in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, should rather be to the farther confusion and destruction than the edification of their souls. And it was thought there in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the King's Highness and the Prelates in so doing, not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate to the people in the English tongue at this time, doth well. 'And I also think' (was the preacher to say) 'and judge the same; exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his Highness did there openly say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.'"[1]

[1] Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., pp. 257, 258.

In a noble letter written to the king in December, 1530, Hugh Latimer boldly reminded Henry of his promise; and as the faithful monitor was soon afterwards made a royal chaplain, we can hardly doubt that this promise faithfully expressed the intentions of the king.[2]

In 1533 Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Convocation over which he presided in 1534 made petition to the king that "his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered to the people according to their learning."[3] In this year Coverdale committed his Bible to the press, and the printing was finished on the 4th of October, 1535. The place of publication is still a matter of dispute, but the probability is that the volume was printed by Froschover, of Zurich. Though issued under the patronage of Cromwell, and dedicated to Henry VIII., the book appeared without express licence. In 1536 Convocation petitioned the king "that he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose."[4]

The following year a second and a third edition of Coverdale's Bible were published by Nycolson, of Southwark; and here at last we read at the foot of the title-page, "Sett forth with the Kynges most gracious license."

We next find Coverdale in Paris, engaged, under Cromwell's direction and patronage, on Biblical work, the nature of which will presently appear. In the same year were published three editions of a Latin-English Testament, containing the ordinary Latin text of the New Testament (the Vulgate), with an English rendering by Coverdale. All these labours on the translation of Scripture will presently be noticed in detail. As long as Cromwell lived, Coverdale seems to have retained his close connection with his patron. His last letters to Cromwell are dated from Newbury, where he is employed in proceedings against Romish usages and books. In July, 1540, Cromwell died on the scaffold. Coverdale appears to have left England for Germany in the same year, for in a letter to John Calvin, written from Frankfort in 1548, he speaks of his approaching return to England, "after an exile of eight years." During this exile he was occupied with the instruction of pupils, and with the care of a church at Bergzabern, not far from Strasburg. On the accession of Edward VI. he was made one of the king's chaplains. His appointment on the commission against Anabaptists (1550) is another proof of the high estimation in which he now was held. In 1551 he was promoted to the bishopric of Exeter, a preferment which he retained for two years only, being deprived of his see on the accession of Queen Mary. For some months

[2] Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, p. 103.
[3] Anderson, *Annals*, vol. i., p. 414.
[4] Anderson, vol. i., p. 562.

MILES COVERDALE.

Coverdale remained in a position of considerable peril; many a less active opponent of the party now in power atoned for his zeal by the sacrifice of his life. Coverdale owed his release to the intercession of the King of Denmark. After a second exile of about three years, towards the close of which period we find him at Geneva, he returned to England in 1558. In 1564 he was appointed to the living of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge; but either through the pressure of age and infirmity, or in consequence of his adhesion to the views of the Puritan party in the matter of vestments, &c., he retained his benefice only two years. He died in February, 1569. His character is faithfully reflected in his writings, especially in the work which will immediately come under review. The brief sketch which we have given is sufficient to show how zealous, consistent, and devoted was the life of the second labourer in the field which we are here surveying.

The Biblical labours of Coverdale may be divided into two classes, distinguished by a very simple criterion. Some translations bear his name; his connection with others is only matter of inference. We are now concerned with the former class, in which are included the Bible of 1535 (1537, 1550, 1553) and the Latin-English Testaments of 1538. It is somewhat surprising that the character of Coverdale's Bible should have been greatly misunderstood. Had the translator left his work to make its own impression, the misunderstanding might have been natural; but nothing can be clearer than the language which he uses in his Prologue "unto the Christian Reader." "Considering how excellent knowledge and learning an interpreter of Scripture ought to have in the tongues, and pondering also mine own insufficiency therein, and how weak I am to perform the office of a translator, I was the more loath to meddle with this work. Notwithstanding, when I considered how great pity it was that we should want it so long, and called to my remembrance the adversity of them which were not only of ripe knowledge, but would also with all

their hearts have performed that they began, if they had not had impediment; considering, I say, that by reason of their adversity it could not so soon have been brought to an end as our most prosperous nation would fain have had it; these and other reasonable causes considered, I was the more bold to take it in hand. And to help me herein, I have had sundry translations,[1] not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch interpreters, whom (because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible) I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required. But, to say the truth before God, it was neither my labour nor desire to have this work put in my hand; nevertheless it grieved me that other nations should be more plenteously provided for with the Scripture in their mother tongue than we; therefore, when I was instantly required, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will. Whereas some men think now that many translations make division in the faith and in the people of God, that is not so; for it was never better with the congregation of God than when every Church almost had the Bible of a sundry translation. . . . . Now whereas the most famous interpreters of all give sundry judgments of the text (so far as it is done by the spirit of knowledge in the Holy Ghost), methink no man should be offended thereat, for they refer their doings in meekness to the spirit of truth in the congregation of God; and sure I am that there cometh more knowledge and understanding of the Scripture by their sundry translations, than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors. For that one interpreteth something obscurely in one place, the same translateth another (or else he himself) more manifestly by a more plain vocable of the same meaning in another place. Be not thou offended therefore, good reader, though one call a *scribe* that another calleth a *lawyer;* or *elders* that another calleth *father and mother;* or *repentance* that another calleth *penance* or *amendment.* For if thou be not deceived by men's traditions, thou shalt find no more diversity between these terms than between fourpence and a groat. And this manner have I used in my translation, calling it in some place *penance,* that in another I call *repentance;* and that not only because the interpreters have done so before me, but that the adversaries of the truth may see how that we abhor not this word *penance,* as they untruly report of us, no more than the interpreters of Latin abhor *pœnitere,* when they read *resipiscere.*"

Three things are clear from this quotation. First, Coverdale did not seek the work of translation. Though full of zeal in sacred study, he was not the man who would aspire to speak with the authoritative voice of a translator. The commission was pressed on him by others, who urged the claims of duty and prevailed. Secondly, as a translator Coverdale instinctively adopted a policy of mediation. Tyndale would discard words which had been misunderstood, though his strictness might isolate him from all ecclesiastical writings. Coverdale now accepts the current term, now adopts the explanation, that he may show the equivalence of the two, if rightly understood. But the most important point is this. Coverdale expressly disclaims the honour of *direct* translation. Not the original tongues, but sundry interpreters, German and Latin, are the sources of his work. Before entering on the various questions which have been raised in connection with this subject, we will give some specimens of the translation itself. The passages selected are those which have already been given in Tyndale's version (Vol. II., pp. 302, 306, 262), viz., Numb. xxiv. 15—19; Isa. xii.; Col. i. 9—17.

NUMBERS XXIV. 15—24.

And he toke vp his parable, and sayde: Thus sayeth Balaam the sonne of Beor: Thus sayeth the man whose eyes are opened: Thus sayeth he which heareth the wordes of God, & that hath the knowlege of the hyest, euen he that sawe the vision of the Allmightie, & fell downe, and his eyes were opened: I shal se him, but not now: I shal beholde him, but not nie at hande. There shal a starre come out of Jacob, & a cepter shall come vp out of Israel, and shal smyte the rulers of the Moabites, and ouercome all the children of Seth.

Edom shalbe his possession, and Seir shalbe his enemies possession, but Israel shal do manfully. Out of Jacob shal come he that hath dominion, and shall destroye the remnaunt of the cities.

And whan he sawe the Amalechites, he toke vp his parable, & sayde: Amalec the first amonge the Heithen, but at the last thou shalt perishe vtterly. And whan he sawe the Kenites, he toke vp his parable, & sayde: Stronge is thy dwellinge, and on a rocke hast thou put thy nest, neuertheles thou shalt be a burninge vnto Kain, tyll Assur take the presoner.

And he toke vp his parable agayne, & sayde: Alas, who shal lyue, whan God doth this? And shippes out of Citim shall subdue Assur and Eber. He himself also shal perishe vtterly.

ISAIAH XII.

So that then thou shalt saye: O Lorde, I thanke the, for thou wast displeased at me, but thou hast refrayned thy wrath, and hast mercy upon me. Beholde, God is my health, in whom I trust, and am not afrayde. For the Lorde God is my strength, and my prayse, he also shalbe my refuge. Therefore with ioye shal ye drawe water out of the welles of the Sauioure, and then shal ye saye: Let us geue thankes unto the Lorde, and call vpon his name, and declare his councels amonge the people, and kepe them in remembraunce, for his name is excellent. O synge praises vnto the Lorde, for he doth greate things, as it is knowne in all the worlde. Crie out, and be glad, thou that dwellest in Sion, for greate is thy prince: the holy one of Israel.

COLOSSIANS I. 9—17.

For this cause we also, sence the daye that we herde of it, ceasse not to praye for you, & desyre that ye mighte be fulfylled with the knowlege of his will, in all wyszdome and spirituall vnderstondinge, that ye mighte walke worthy off the Lorde, to please him in all thinges, and to be frutefull in all good workes, and growe in the knowlege of God: & to be strengthed with all power acordinge to the mighte of his glory, to all pacience and longsufferynge with ioyfulnes, and geue thankes vnto the father, which hath made vs mete for the enheritaunce of sayntes in lighte.

Which hath delyuered vs from the power of darknesse, & translated vs in to the kyngdome of his deare sonne (in whom we haue redempcion thorow his bloude, namely, the forgeuenes of synnes). Which is the ymage of the inuisyble God, first begotten before all creatures. For by him were all thinges created, that are in heauen and earth, thinges vysible and thinges inuysible, whether they be maiesties or lordshippes, ether rules or powers: All thinges are created by him and in him, and he is before all thinges, and in him all thinges haue their beynge.

[1] In his dedication to the king, Coverdale speaks of himself as having "with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated out of *five* sundry interpreters."

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

ACTS II. 44, 45; IV. 32—35.

THE earliest picture we possess of the Church of Christ at Jerusalem represents at first sight a little community knit together by one great memory, inspired by one glorious hope. Prompted, perhaps, by deep loving reverence for the great memory, still more by an expectation of an almost immediate realisation of the glorious hope, the several members of the community sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all as every man had need, and being "of one heart and of one soul, did not say any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common." What conclusions now are we to draw from this primitive state of things? Is a society in which a community of goods exists, placed before Christ's followers as the pattern to be aimed at as the model for all Christian society? This question can best be answered by shortly considering—

1. To what extent this community of goods existed in the Church of Jerusalem.

2. How did this practice arise, and for what length of time did it probably continue?

3. Do we possess any direct or indirect inspired teaching on the subject of the various relations of society?

(1.) Notwithstanding the apparent comprehensive statement of Acts ii. 44, 45, and Acts iv. 32—35, this community of goods could not have been *general*, even in the little Jerusalem congregation, for (*a*) the story of the death of Ananias and Sapphira—an episode in the early Church which must have happened very soon after the Pentecost miracle—shows most clearly that this giving up of possessions into a common stock was no necessary condition of Christian membership: no rule of this nature existed in the early Church; no such apostolic injunction was ever hinted at. "Whilst thy possession remained," said St. Peter to Ananias, "was it not thine own, and after it was sold was it not in thine own power?" Ananias might have retained any part of it he wished, and still have remained a member of the Jerusalem congregation. His sin, for which he was so terribly punished, consisted in his *pretending* to give more than he really had done. (*b*) Some fourteen years later (Acts xii. 12) we find Mary, the mother of John Mark, evidently a person of consideration and authority in the Church, *possessing a house of her own in the city.*

(2.) It was no attempt to engraft on the new society any rigid ascetic rule of life, such as was practised by the Essene sect among the Jews. It was simply a loving, longing wish to continue with as little difference as possible the simple, self-denying, unworldly life which Jesus led with his disciples while on earth. It was an earnest striving to carry out to the letter such commands as we find in St. Luke xii. 33, of which commands the inspired wisdom of the apostles soon saw the necessity of teaching an enlarged interpretation. The community of goods among the early Christians, exclusively confined to Jerusalem, was not *universal* even there, and with the fall and destruction of the city, A.D. 70, if not before, ceased to be a practice of any portion of the Christian Church.

(3.) The teaching of the apostles on the subject of the relations of society allows no possible doubt to be entertained respecting their view of the question; Paul, the leader of the wide-spread Gentile churches—James, the guide and teacher of the Christian Jews of Palestine and the scattered congregations of Israel who held "the faith" in foreign lands—speak here with one voice; while solemnly urging everywhere, on all orders and degrees of men, on Gentile as well as Jew, the severe high view of life instead of the low and self-indulgent one; yet they everywhere acknowledge and accept these orders and these degrees among men as the wise arrangements of Almighty God. Paul even declines to interfere with the relation of master and slave (Ep. to Philemon), preferring to leave the correction of this terrible exaggeration of class privilege to the inevitable action of the religion of Jesus on the hearts of men.

Whether Paul addresses one particular church (1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. ix. 5—7), or a group of churches (Gal. ii. 10), or a prominent disciple (1 Tim. vi. 17; Philemon), his teaching ever proceeds from the assumption that rich and poor, high-born and low-born, in their several positions, were reckoned among the congregations who believed in Jesus. Even the austere and ascetic James, who certainly witnessed and most probably shared in the primitive community of goods in the Jerusalem Church, repeatedly rebukes the rich and powerful, not for *possessing*, but for *misusing* wealth and position (St. James ii. 1—9; iv. 13—17; v. 1—5).

It is no baseless theory which sees as the result of this community of goods, which existed so generally in the Jerusalem Church, the extreme distress which, as early as the year A.D. 43, prevailed among the Jerusalem Christians. In spite of the most generous exertions of "the brethren" in Rome, in Greece, in Asia Minor, in Syria, this deep poverty seems to have continued to the last (that is, till A.D. 70, when the city was destroyed) in the Mother Church of Christendom. Constant reference to it occurs in the busy life of St. Paul (see Acts xi. 29; xxiv. 17; Gal. ii. 10; Rom. xv. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 4, 14; ix. 1, 12). Nor is it improbable that the first great missionary leaders—men like Paul, and Barnabas, and Luke, guided as they were by the Holy

Ghost—were deterred by the spectacle of helpless poverty presented by the Church of Jerusalem from sanctioning in other cities an enthusiasm which led men, through a desire of carrying out to the letter the self-denying commands of their Master, to throw up those grave and weighty responsibilities which accompany wealth and position, and thus to reduce themselves to a state of helpless dependence; for they saw in such a community all manly self-reliance, all generous effort would, on the part of the individual, gradually cease to exist. A deadly torpor, such as seems to have crept over and paralysed[1] the Jerusalem Christians, would by degrees have destroyed the energy of every Church whose members, by voluntarily renouncing home and wealth, sought literally to fulfil their Lord's commands by having all things common.

Each age has witnessed an attempt to revive the Jerusalem dream of a life where should exist no distinctions of "order" and class, and where literally all things should be possessed in common; but every such attempt has failed; sometimes ending in wild disorder, sometimes producing a society whose life and aims seemed utterly at variance with the teaching and the mind of Christ. The estimate of Paul and his brother Apostles was the true one: they judged rightly when they declined to interfere with the established order of things among civilised peoples, or to recognise in any way a state of society which, however beautiful in theory, in practice would effectually bar all progress, and which would only result in confusion and in misery.

[1] In the early records of Christianity from the year 30 to the year 70 we hear little or nothing of the Church of Jerusalem. It occupied its own peculiar place in the minds and hearts of believers as being the scene of so many of the Master's works and sufferings. Owing to its memories, during the first years it remained the metropolis of Christendom, but it exercised no influence on the policy of the rapidly-growing Church. It was in centres such as Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome that missionary enterprise was organised and Christianity developed, and in the Churches which grew up in these great cities *community of goods* among the brethren was a thing unheard of. (See on this subject generally Dean Church's *University Sermons*; Meyer and Alford, and Dr. Gloag's *Commentaries on the Acts*; and Renan, *Les Apôtres*.)

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

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I. PRELIMINARY.

THE Epistles of St. Paul contained in the New Testament Canon were all written during the last fifteen or sixteen years of his life. No literary records remain, excepting in the narrative of St. Luke, of the former part of his apostolic career, extending also to about fifteen years. Paul had reached the age of fifty, had completed his first great missionary journey, and, in the course of his second, had reached the continent of Europe, when he wrote his earliest extant letters—those to the Church in Thessalonica.

1. Chronologically, these are probably the first writings of the New Testament. The very biographies of our Lord, in their present form, belong to a later day. No doubt there were "memoirs" of Jesus Christ already current in the churches; yet it is not a little significant that the earliest inspired books of the new dispensation should have been written by one who received the truth from the *ascended* Saviour, and whose first fellowship with Christ was undisturbed by the associations of the earthly life. So completely, within twenty years of the Ascension, had the theology of the Church passed beyond the knowing Christ "after the flesh."[1]

2. The question has been often asked, whether in the thirteen or fourteen extant Epistles of St. Paul we have the whole of his writings. Some have contended that no inspired work could possibly be lost; but why not inspired writing as well as inspired speech? A thousand discourses, in which Apostles spoke by the Spirit of God, have passed from memory; why not apostolic Epistles also? Is it unsupposable that a letter written by inspiration might be intended to answer a temporary purpose, which being accomplished, the document needed no longer to be preserved? The "care of all the churches" laid upon St. Paul would, even in those days, naturally involve a large correspondence. Written communication would often be desirable where personal visits were impossible. True, there is little direct evidence for the existence of such letters, the utmost research having failed to discover in the early writers of the Church any epistolary fragments stamped with the Pauline mark. Yet in the Apostle's own writings there are scattered hints and allusions pointing in this direction; none of them, perhaps, conclusive taken singly, but concurrently of no small weight. Thus, in the second of his extant letters, he writes:[2] "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle"—a phrase which it seems more natural to understand of a habit already established, than simply of a precaution announced for the future. Again, in his fourth Epistle,[3] his detractors are represented as saying: "His letters are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak," suggesting that by this time his Epistles had become recognised and familiar. In two or three instances, he speaks of communications which would naturally be made by letter; once to letters as accrediting messengers from him-

[1] 2 Cor. v. 16.

[2] 2 Thess. iii. 17.

[3] 2 Cor. x. 10.

self.[1] Once, if not twice, he apparently refers to letters now lost.[2] On the whole, we have reason to conclude that the canonical Epistles are a selection from a wider correspondence, guided, no doubt, by the Divine Spirit, so that all which was needful might be reserved for the permanent service of the Churches of Christ.

3. The authenticity of the Pauline Epistles will be considered, where necessary, in the several Introductions. It will be sufficient here to say that until modern times the *consensus* of the churches on the subject has been universal,[3] excepting with regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the authorship of which has been variously assigned. The thirteen Epistles are contained in the most ancient catalogues,[4] are translated in all the early versions, and are quoted continually by the Fathers of the Church. It has been reserved for critics of later generations to attack the credit of these writings, chiefly on subjective grounds. But even these assailants have exempted certain of the Epistles from their destructive criticism. Thus Baur, perhaps the ablest and the boldest, says of the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans, that "there has never been the slightest suspicion of authenticity cast upon these four Epistles; on the contrary, they bear in themselves so incontestably the character of Pauline originality, that it is not possible for critical doubt to be exercised upon them with any show of reason."[5] The remainder he doubts, excepting the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, which he rejects. In like manner, M. Renan classifies the Epistles in five divisions: "(1) Epistles of unquestioned and unquestionable authenticity: Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans. (2) Epistles certainly authentic, though questioned by some: 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians. (3) Epistles probably authentic, though strong objections have been advanced against them: Colossians, Philemon. (4) Doubtful: Ephesians. (5) Spurious: 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus."[6] Dr. Davidson, in his later Introduction,[7] maintains substantially the same view, though he decides against the Epistle to the Ephesians. The objections to the several Epistles are best met in detail: we, therefore, reserve all examination of them; only avowing that the grounds either of doubt or of rejection appear to us entirely futile, and that we unhesitatingly maintain the authenticity of the whole of the thirteen Epistles; believing also that the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to the Pauline cycle, although it probably bears also the impress of another mind and hand. For the clear and masterly exhibition of the internal evidence which the history in the "Acts" and the Epistles afford to each other, turning difficulties and apparent discrepancies into confirmations of the truthfulness of both, nothing has superseded or is likely to supersede Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.

4. The order of the Epistles in the Received Text, which our own version follows, appears to have been determined partly by their length and supposed importance, partly by the importance of the places to which they were addressed. The notes of place appended in our version to each Epistle are of no authority, being no part of the original text, although in several instances they are correct. They were affixed by Euthalius, Deacon of Alexandria, A.D. 458. The uncritical grounds on which they rest may be illustrated by his specifying Athens as the place whence the Epistles to the Thessalonians were written, evidently through a misunderstanding of 1 Thess. iii. 1.

The following table presents the best-supported conclusions as to the order, place, and time of the several Epistles, with references to their position in the history of the Acts. It will be seen that they fall into four groups, separated respectively by intervals of three or four years. The two former groups connect themselves with the main activities of the Apostle's career; the two latter, with his Roman imprisonments and the intervening journey.

	Group I.—Second Missionary Journey.			
1.	1 Thessalonians	Corinth	A.D. 52—3.	Acts xviii. 11.
2.	2 Thessalonians	Corinth	,, 53—4.	,, ,,
	Group II.—Third Missionary Journey.			
3.	1 Corinthians	Ephesus	A.D. 57.	Acts xix. 10.
4.	2 Corinthians	Macedonia	,, 57.	xx. 2.
5.	Galatians	Macedonia.	,, 57.	,,
6.	Romans	Corinth	,, 58.	xx. 3.
	Group III.—First Roman Imprisonment.			
7.	Colossians	Rome	A.D. 62—3.	Acts xxviii. 30.
8.	Philemon	Rome	,, 62—3.	
9.	Ephesians	Rome	,, 62—3.	
10.	Philippians	Rome	,, 63.	
	Group IV.—Last Journey[8] and Final Imprisonment.			
11.	1 Timothy	Macedonia	A.D. 66—7.	
12.	Titus	Macedonia	,, 66—7.	
13.	2 Timothy	Rome	,, 68.	
14.	*Hebrews*	*Doubtful*	(See Special Introduction.)	

5. The method of the Epistles presents some striking features in common. The salutation at the beginning and the benediction at the close are invariable. It is worth noting also that the former is generally two-fold —"Grace and peace"—the Eastern and the Western form of salutation; "Grace" (χάρις) answering to the Greek χαῖρε, and "Peace" (εἰρήνη) the equivalent of the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם (*Shalôm*); thus addressing in their own familiar forms of greeting the Gentile and the Jew; while both words convey the higher significance which

[1] See Col. iv. 10; and especially 1 Cor. xvi. 3, where Dean Alford gives the right translation: "Whomsoever ye shall approve, them will I send with letters to carry your liberality unto Jerusalem."

[2] See 1 Cor. v. 9, and hereafter in our Introduction to this Epistle; also Col. iv. 16, and Introduction to the Epistle to the Ephesians.

[3] Certain early heretical sects rejected some or all of the Epistles, partly on dogmatic grounds, because the Epistles contradicted their opinions.

[4] The "Canon of Muratori" (middle of the second century); Caius the Presbyter (end of second century); Origen (A.D. 230); Eusebius (A.D. 315); Council of Laodicea (A.D. 363). These are but specimens. For further details see treatises on the Genuineness and Authenticity of Scripture (Lardner's *Works*, vol. iv. 100, 182; Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 171, seq.).

[5] *Der Apostel Paulus*—"Paul the Apostle," vol. i., p. 256, Eng. Tr.

[6] *St. Paul*, Introduction, pp. v., vi.

[7] *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*. Longmans, 1868.

[8] For evidence of this journey see Introduction to 1 Timothy.

the Gospel of Christ has put into them, as the highest grace and the only peace.[1]

It evidently was the habit of the Apostle to employ an amanuensis for his letters; for what reason we cannot tell; although it has been conjectured with some show of probability that he laboured under an affection of the eyes that made writing painful to him. Thus, when he himself took the pen in hand, he made an allusion to the size and character of the writing, as though there were something unusual about it: "See in how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand."[2] Once, at least, the amanuensis himself is seen at work: "I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord."[3] Luke, Silas, Timotheus, were no doubt similarly employed by turns, and so are associated with Paul himself in greeting to the churches. But the Epistles were invariably signed by the Apostle as an authentication.[4] Occasionally, in addition to this signature followed by some tender benediction, he would throw in a stirring sentence, condensing into one fervent utterance the whole energy of his soul. "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand. If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be Anathema [adding then in Hebrew] THE LORD COMETH."[5] Or, passing down from this fervid exaltation to a note of deepest pathos, we have the appeal of Paul the prisoner: "The salutation by the hand of me Paul:—Remember my bonds." It may be added as another point of striking similarity between the Epistles to the churches, that with one exception,[6] they all begin with congratulation and praise. Thus, the faith of the Romans "is published throughout all the world;" the Corinthians "come not behind in any gift;" the Colossians and Ephesians are full of "faith in Christ Jesus and love to all the saints;" of the Thessalonians the "faith increaseth exceedingly, and the love of every one toward the other abounded."[7] This tone is so much the more remarkable, since in some cases, as in the Epistles to the Corinthians, it has immediately to be followed by that of remonstrance, even of sharp reproof. With the most refined courtesy the Apostle will single out, even in the erring, all commendable features of character, and will not blame until he has first dwelt on what is worthy to be praised.

6. In the interpretation of the apostolic writings, the great thing to be remembered is that they are *letters*—not essays, treatises, or discourses. They are prompted by the circumstances of the hour, answer special questions, are adapted to particular needs; while a personal element, both in regard to the writer and the readers, is most winningly intermingled. On the one hand, this no doubt increases the interpreter's difficulty, as a letter can be but imperfectly understood without a knowledge of the occasion that called it forth, and of the writer's design and mood. But, on the other hand, the same fact immeasurably increases the living power of the Epistles. Great principles are ever best set forth in individual illustrations; the unconscious autobiographical revelations made in the letters of a great and true man unveil, more than aught beside, the secrets of human motive and will, affection, weakness, and strength; no theological discussion concerning the principles of the Christian life could be half so effectual as the self-delineation of one who could say, "To me to live is Christ." The occasional obscurities, therefore, arising from the very conditions of epistolary writing, are far more than compensated by the vitality and interest of these unique compositions. It is true that they have to do for the most part with special cases, but these are in all instances referred to the highest and broadest principles; and there is, perhaps, no question in Christian casuistry on which some light may not be gained from the utterances of St. Paul. It is only necessary that the reader should strive, as far as possible, to place himself in the position of those who first received the letter. From what it said to *them*, we shall best learn what it has to say to *us*. The attempt will often be found by no means easy. It requires a strong mental effort to place ourselves in the position of a Pharisee, compelled by irresistible evidence to own the Messiahship of Jesus, yet assured by the same authority that the religious supremacy of Israel had for ever passed away; or of a learned Greek, taught that the secret of heavenly wisdom had been disclosed to the world through the despised Jewish race, and by One who had died the death of a slave. The Apostle has to speak to both classes in their own language, to employ allusions with which they were familiar, and to lead them from their own recognised principles of belief, up to the higher truth. It is among the greatest tasks of the expositor so to reproduce ancient forms of life and thought that the hearer or reader may become for the time, in listening to the Apostle's words, as a Hebrew sojourner in Rome, or an inquiring Gentile at Colossæ.

7. The style of the Apostle Paul is the reflex of his character. The intellectual and the emotional were combined in him to a degree perhaps unequalled among men. The intensest fervour and the most sober calculation went together, and were united in one aim and end. "The love of Christ *constraineth* us; because we thus *judge*."[8] He reasons, but his arguments are "wrought in fire."[9] He can be the most sententious of writers, condensing lessons of heavenly wisdom into aphorisms for all time; while, again, his affluent nature pours forth long rolling paragraphs, parenthesis within parenthesis, charged in every clause with power, so that, as a great Latin Father writes: "Whensoever I read Paul, methinks I hear not words but peals of thunder.

[1] To Timothy (1 and 2 Epp.) the salutation is "Grace, mercy, peace;" in the Epistle to the Hebrews the salutation is omitted. (See Special Introduction.)

[2] Gal. vi. 11. The precise meaning of the words will be hereafter discussed; the only point to be noted now is that Paul evidently refers to the *handwriting* (not as in the English version, "how large a letter").

[3] Rom. xvi. 22.

[4] 2 Thess. iii. 17.

[5] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

[6] Galatians.

[7] Rom. i. 8; 1 Cor. i. 7; Eph. i. 15; Col. i. 4; 2 Thess. i. 3, &c.

[8] 2 Cor. v. 14.

[9] "Argument may be worked in fire as well as in frost." (Foster, *Essay on Hall as a Preacher.*)

. . . Whithersoever you look they are thunderbolts."[1] By turns he is vehement, strong, and tender; he glows with manly indignation, launches sarcasms terrific in their sudden power, yet as suddenly melts into tears. He speaks often in bold and startling metaphor; the figure of the Christian life as a death and resurrection especially pervades his writings.[2] His very words are ofttimes instinct with the same vividness and energy. He abounds in characteristic phrases: "What shall we say then?" "I would not have you to be ignorant;" "Do you not know?" "God forbid!"[3] He is fond of antithesis, of climax, even of paronomasia. He continually argues *à fortiori*. "The frequently recurring '*not only so, but much more*' is like the swelling of successive waves."[4] Nor does he hesitate to coin new combinations of words, many of which are found only in his writings. Especially does he employ compounds of ὑπέρ—*over* or *above*. His phrase καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολήν,[5] "far more exceedingly," shows the intensity and elevation of his thought in the contemplation of eternal realities. He has enriched Christian terminology by many words either absolutely new, or with a new meaning enstamped upon them. The Pauline use of terms like *justification, adoption, reconciliation*, the *old* and *new* man; the contrast between *law* and *faith, law* and *grace, letter* and *spirit, flesh* and *spirit*, with many similar turns of phrase, expressively mark the great transition period from the old to the new, from the shadowy promises of the covenant made with Israel to the full revelation of a world-wide Gospel.

8. It has been well said that "Judaism was the cradle of Christianity, and Judaism very nearly became its grave. . . . From this peril one man saved Christianity, and this at a time when the words and acts of Christ had been recorded in no written Gospel. The career of no man has ever produced such lasting effects in the world's history as that of St. Paul."[6] It must, however, not be forgotten—for it is the key to much in the Apostle's character and writings—that he was, in intellectual habit, as well as in nationality and training, a true son of Israel. It was because he so profoundly understood the Law that he became chief teacher of the Gospel. His choicest lore was that of the Old Testament, which he quotes incessantly; his logic was acquired, not in the school of Aristotle, but in the school of Hillel; and the philosophers of Athens, when he stood among them, recognised in his manner of speech nothing kindred with their own.[7] Too much, perhaps, has been made of the Apostle's Hellenic training. His casual quotations from Greek poets[8] scarcely prove an extended acquaintance with Greek literature, of familiarity with which there are no other signs. His style, like his thought, is essentially Hebraic, with only the Hellenistic form and tone common to the Jews of "the Dispersion." His Bible seems to be by turns the Hebrew original and the Septuagint, as may best suit his argument or occur to his remembrance. The Gentile world had done for him little besides giving him a birthplace, with a heritage of political freedom that often assured him protection in his travels through the far-reaching Roman Empire. Even his noble universality was the result rather of deep insight into law and prophecy, than of sympathies awakened amid the early associations of his home at Tarsus. We are too apt to attribute to the Apostle the thoughts and emotions with which educated moderns might pass through classic scenes. It may indeed be too much to say, on the contrary, that "in the vicinity of Salamis and Marathon, he would probably read the past no more than a Brahmin would in travelling over Edge Hill or Marston Moor;"[9] but we may at least be sure that his prevailing mood, even amidst the proudest memorials of heathendom, would be the "stirring of spirit" with which he would behold the tokens of a foul idolatry. To him, the helmed virgin goddess of the Parthenon would be only the symbol of a "demon"[10] who had perverted the minds of men by false reasonings to a vain philosophy. The beauty and greatness of "the world" were nothing to him, in comparison with its deep moral degradation. To him there was no loveliness but in the Truth, no power but in the Cross of Christ.

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[1] Jerome, *Apologia*. "Quem quotiescunque lego, videor mihi non verba audire sed tonitrua. . . . . Quocunque respexeris fulmina sunt."

[2] See 2 Cor. v. 15 (not "they were all dead," but "they all died"—*i.e.*, in the death of Christ); Rom. vi. 2—4; Gal. ii. 20; Eph. ii. 1, 5; Col. iii. 1—3, &c.

[3] It would be hard to find a better equivalent for the Apostle's μὴ γένοιτο. "Assuredly not," "By no means," "Let it not be," "Never!" are all poor equivalents (Rom. iii. 4, 6; vi. 2, 15; vii. 7, 13; ix. 14; xi. 1, 11; 1 Cor. vi. 15; Gal. ii. 17; iii. 21).

[4] Tholuck, *Life and Character of St. Paul*. Eng. Trans. (*Biblical Cabinet*), p. 31.

[5] 2 Cor. iv. 17.

[6] *Paul of Tarsus*. By a Graduate. Macmillan, 1872.

[7] Acts xvii. 18, 19. The words express not only contempt, but absolute bewilderment.

[8] Acts xvii. 28, from Aratus, a native of Tarsus, B.C. 270 (or Cleanthes of Troas, B.C. 300); 1 Cor. xv. 33, from Menander, Athenian comic poet, B.C. 320; Titus i. 12, from Epimenides of Crete, B.C. 300.

[9] *National Review*, 1855, art. "St. Paul," p. 440.

[10] 1 Cor. x. 20.

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST ASMONEANS.—THE VICTORIES OF POMPEIUS.

THE widow of Jannæus, a woman of acuteness and determination, carried out his last instructions in all their integrity. Proceeding with his body from Ragaba to Jerusalem, she convened the most eminent of the Pharisees, and entrusted to them the entire management of affairs. Upon this their whole demeanour was changed. They decreed their late foe a magnificent burial, and pronounced on him an elaborate funeral panegyric. The queen Alexandra had two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The former, an indolent and weak-minded man, was made high priest,[1] the latter remained in private life.

Thus she reigned for nine years, B.C. 79—70, with considerable prosperity, maintaining the conquests won by Jannæus, and establishing friendly relations with neighbouring princes. But the turbulence of the Pharisaic faction caused her no little trouble and anxiety. Not only did they insist on recalling those of their partisans who had been banished during the last reign, but they carried on a systematic persecution of the adherents of Jannæus. These in their turn gathered round Aristobulus, a man of ardent and impetuous temper, who chafed at the private station in which he had been left, and was anxiously seeking an opportunity of usurping the kingdom.

He was not left long to lament his degradation. Importuned to relax the rigour of the persecution directed against them, the queen at length consented to allow the leaders of the Sadducaic party to occupy the frontier fortresses of the kingdom, and thus they commanded the castles of Hyrcania, Alexandrium, and Machærus, indeed all the chief forts except Jerusalem.

Aristobulus himself, returning from an expedition against Damascus, took up his abode in the capital. Hence, when his mother fell ill, he hurried to the fortress of Gabatha,[2] in Galilee, south of Nazareth, and having won over all the castles of the north, found himself at the queen's death in command of a large army ready to do his will. As soon as the queen expired, the Pharisees placed Hyrcanus II. on the throne. This was regarded by Aristobulus as the signal for active measures, and he marched towards Jerusalem at the head of his adherents, while his brother took refuge in the fortifications of the Temple. After a while provisions failed Hyrcanus, and he was compelled to yield to his more energetic and determined rival, and to retire into private life, after a brief reign of three months.[3]

But now appeared upon the scene a very different actor, who was fated to prove a far more formidable enemy to the Asmonean dynasty, and whose house for upwards of a century moulded the destinies of the Jewish kingdom. During the reign of Alexander Jannæus, an Idumean named Antipater had been appointed governor of that country. His son, who was called by the same name, had been brought up at the court of the Asmonean prince and of his wife Alexandra. A man of great courage, activity, and persuasiveness, he had acquired a complete mastery over the feeble Hyrcanus, and repeatedly urged him to attempt the recovery of his throne. At length he represented to him that his life was in danger, and induced him to flee by night from Jerusalem to the Arabian king Aretas, at Petra,[4] whom he induced to espouse his cause.

Aretas marched into Judæa at the head of fifty thousand men, and defeating Aristobulus in battle, forced him to take refuge in the Temple fortress at Jerusalem. The capital was now besieged by a mingled force of Arabs and Jews, and such was the fury of the rivals for supreme power that the besiegers would not allow the besieged to have the sacrificial victims for the Feast of the Passover, which even heathen generals had been wont to concede.

At this time, B.C. 65, the great Republic of the West was busily engaged in those wars which ultimately laid the old Asiatic monarchies prostrate at her feet. Pompeius was carrying on his campaign against Mithridates and Tigranes, and his general Scaurus occupied Damascus, which had just been taken by Lollius and Metellus.[5]

News of the presence of a Roman force in Damascus reached the contending brothers at Jerusalem, and emissaries from both soon appeared in the Syrian capital to gain the support of this victorious power. Scaurus decided to espouse the cause of Aristobulus, and forced Hyrcanus and Antipater to raise the siege. Thereupon the Arabian army reluctantly withdrew, and Aristobulus sallying forth attacked and defeated them with considerable loss.

But in the following year, B.C. 64, Pompeius himself arrived at Damascus, and both the brothers appeared before him in person to plead their cause. The Roman conqueror listened with attention to the arguments of each, and then declared his resolve to settle the matter at Jerusalem itself. Forecasting a decision adverse to his own interests, Aristobulus retired from Damascus and shut himself up in the fortress of Alexandrium, north-west of Jerusalem.[6] Pompeius advanced against him through Peræa and Scythopolis, forced him to surrender the fortress, and then pursued him through Jericho to Jerusalem.

[1] Jos. *B. J.* i. 5, § 1.
[2] See Ewald, v. 394.
[3] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 6, § 4; xx. 10, § 4.
[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, §§ 3, 4; *B. J.* i. 6, § 2.
[5] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 2, § 3; *B. J.* i. 6, § 3.
[6] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3, §§ 3, 4; *B. J.* i. 6, § 5.

Thus for the first time, B.C. 63, the capital of Judæa was confronted with the crushing power of Rome, and beheld the terrible Roman legions gathered before its gates. Despairing of offering any effectual resistance, owing to the divided state of the city, Aristobulus met Pompeius and offered him a large sum of money and the surrender of the capital. Thereupon Gabinius was sent forward to take possession, but he found the gates closed against him, and the walls manned. Angry at this seeming treachery, Pompeius threw the king into chains, and about midsummer marched towards Jerusalem.[1] Hyrcanus was in possession of the city, and received the invader with open arms. The party of Aristobulus, which included the priests, retired to the Temple fortress, cut off the bridges and causeways connecting it with the town on the west and north, and resolutely refused to surrender. On this Pompeius sent to Tyre for his military engines, and when the banks were sufficiently raised, threw stones over the wall into the crowded courts of the Temple. But the walls were thronged with slingers, and the progress of the Romans was seriously impeded. For three months the siege was protracted. At length the Romans observed that the besieged did nothing more than defend themselves on the Sabbath-day, and they availed themselves of this opportunity of drawing their engines nearer the wall, and filling up the trenches.[2] At the end of three months the largest of the towers was thrown down by one of the battering engines, and Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and the city was won.[3] During the assault the priests remained calm and unmoved at the altars, pouring out their drink-offerings and burning their incense, till they were themselves stricken down. The loss of life in consequence of the fury of the victors was very great, but "the conduct of the Roman general excited at once the horror and the admiration of the Jews."[4] He entered the Temple, and explored the total darkness of the Holy of Holies, finding to his utter amazement neither statues, nor symbols, nor any representation of any deity.[5] He surveyed with curiosity the sacred vessels of vast value, the golden altar of incense, the golden candlesticks, the store of precious frankincense, and the treasure of 2,000 talents. But he carried none of them away,[6] and ordered the sacred enclosure to be cleansed and purified from the bodies of the slain, and the daily worship to be renewed. He then designated Hyrcanus high priest and ethnarch or prince of the nation, but without the title of king; and having demolished the walls of the city, and confined the limits of his authority to the province of Judæa,[7] set out for Rome, taking with him the captive prince Aristobulus, his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters, to grace the triumph which he celebrated for his Asiatic victories, B.C. 61.

CHAPTER XII.

ANTIPATER THE IDUMÆAN.

By the disasters which thus befell the Asmonean house, one person was no inconsiderable gainer. This was the Idumæan Antipater, who managed to ingratiate himself still more with the Romans, during the campaign of Scaurus against Petra and its Arabian king Aretas, and laid the foundations of the future ascendancy of his family in Jewish affairs.

The active support of the conquerors of the West was sooner needed than perhaps he expected. On the way to Rome,[8] Alexander, the eldest son of the captive king, managed to escape, and returning to Judæa, rallied round him the partisans of his father, and seized the strongholds of Alexandreum, Hyrcania, and Machærus. Alarmed at the progress of the invader, Antipater and Hyrcanus called in the aid of the Romans; and Gabinius, who had been appointed prefect of Syria, B.C. 57, advanced against him with a large army, and having shut him up in the fortress of Alexandreum, forced him to surrender at discretion.

The pro-consul of Syria now proceeded to re-organise the government of the country on a different plan. His purely spiritual office as high priest was alone reserved to Hyrcanus, while the real power was placed in the hands of the aristocracy, and five independent Sanhedrim were established, at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus, and Sepphoris, while no one could carry his cause from either of the other four courts to the capital.[9]

Soon afterwards Aristobulus himself escaped from Rome, with his other son Antigonus.[10] But he was soon obliged to surrender to Gabinius, and was sent back in bonds to Rome. The prefect of Syria now proceeded with Marcus Antonius, his master of the horse, to Egypt, to place Ptolemy Auletes on the throne of that country.[11] Antipater did not fail to improve the opportunity, and by sending supplies of provisions to

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiv.; *B. J.* i. 7, § 2; Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 46; Ewald, v. 400.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 3.

[3] "Cn. Pompeius Judæos subegit; fanum eorum in Hierosolyma, inviolatum ad id tempus capit." (Livy, *Epit.* cii.)

[4] Milman, ii. 47.

[5] This is the one fact regarding the Temple which the historian thought worthy of preservation. "Nulla intus deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana" (Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9).

[6] This is commended by Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, xxviii., as an instance of extraordinary magnanimity.

[7] The Maccabæan conquests were thus lost at one blow. Many of the northern districts, especially Galilee, were placed under the Roman governor of Syria. Samaria became once more free, and began to recover from its recent disasters. (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 3; xv. 4; Ewald, v. 401.)

[8] Ewald notices that the brilliant triumph of Pompeius afforded the Romans for the first time a nearer view of the wealth of Judæa; while the Jewish captives, who, as at Nineveh in the Assyrian age, were led in the procession, and were afterwards obliged, even when set at liberty, to remain in Rome, formed the basis of that considerable Judæan community which was speedily destined to acquire so much significance, even for the Roman Empire itself. The Roman poets and orators, Horace and others, were soon full of Judæan topics, which were thus brought close within their notice. (*History of Israel*, v. 402.)

[9] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5, §§ 2—4; *B. J.* i. 8, § 5.

[10] "We may be tempted to suspect connivance on the part of the Roman government, which could afford to buy an excuse for armed interference as the price of a revolt in Palestine." (Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, iii. 375.)

[11] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 6, § 2; *B. J.* i. 8, § 7.

the Roman generals, and securing for them the aid of the Jews of Egypt, ingratiated himself still more with the representatives of the great Power of the West.

In the year B.C. 54, Gabinius was recalled to Rome, and Marcus Crassus succeeded to the prefecture of Syria. Bent on undertaking his disastrous expedition to Parthia, the new prefect visited Jerusalem on his way, and plundered it not only of the money which Pompeius had spared, but also of the vast treasure accumulated during a hundred years from well-nigh every quarter of the world, and amounting to 10,000 talents, or about £2,000,000 sterling. His rapacity was aggravated by the fact that he had first received a huge ingot of gold, weighing nearly a thousand pounds, which the priest in charge of the treasure had given him, on the express condition that everything else should be spared.[1]

It has been observed that misfortune seemed to follow in the footsteps of every Roman general that interfered in the affairs of Judæa. Gabinius on his recall from Syria was sent into ignominious exile. Crassus perished at the disastrous battle of Carrhæ, B.C. 53. The fatal issue of the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, drove Pompeius to the shores of Egypt, there to perish by the hand of an assassin.

A new actor now appeared upon the stage. Julius Cæsar, having triumphed at Pharsalia, pursued his rival to Egypt, and a few days after his death arrived at Alexandria. According to his practice of revoking the decrees of Pompeius in Asia, he had already released Aristobulus, and intended to send him with two legions to overcome Syria. But the partisans of Pompeius managed to poison him on the way, and Scipio, who held the command in Syria, publicly executed his son Alexander at Antioch.

Thus the supremacy in Judæa was left in the hands of Hyrcanus, or rather of his minister Antipater. This revolution of affairs might have been a death-blow to the wily Idumæan. But he was equal to the emergency. With prudent alacrity he at once changed his tactics, and did everything in his power for the cause of Cæsar. He hastened to his aid in the Egyptian war with a picked body of troops; induced the Jews in Egypt to side with the new ruler of the Republic; and received wounds in well-nigh every part of his body, while fighting in his behalf.[2]

Having concluded the Egyptian war, B.C. 47, Cæsar was not slow to declare his gratitude for such signal services. He bestowed upon him the privilege of Roman citizenship, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood. In vain Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, implored the conqueror of Pompeius to reverse his policy, and accused Antipater of cruelty and oppression. Cæsar dismissed his petition, and appointed his rival procurator of Judæa, with power to restore the ruined fortifications of Jerusalem.[3] Thus while the titular power belonged to Hyrcanus, the real supremacy was in the hands of the crafty Idumæan, and he availed himself of the friendship of the great Roman to obtain for the Jews many advantages. Successive decrees released the Holy Land from all military burdens; restored Galilee, Lydda, and other places to Judæa; obtained for the Jews throughout the whole Roman dominions permission to live according to their own special laws; exempted them from military service, and secured to them other similar privileges.[4]

By concessions such as these Antipater established the tranquillity of the country, and being in fact king, acted with hardly a pretence of regard towards his titular sovereign. He appointed his eldest son Phasael governor of Judæa, and conferred the tetrarchy of Galilee on his younger son Herod.[5]

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 1; *B. J.* i. 8, § 9.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8, § 1; *B. J.* i. 9, § 5.
[3] Jos. *B. J.* i. 10, §§ 2, 3.
[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §§ 1, 6, 8, 11—21.
[5] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 2; *B. J.* i. 10, § 4.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PROPHETS:—HOSEA.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

FROM very early times the writings of the twelve minor prophets have been arranged in one book. St. Augustine even tells us that this was the work of Nehemiah, by whose care the "Prophets," including both what we call the historical books of the Old Testament, and also the prophetic writings themselves, were formed into one volume as a companion to, and authoritative exposition of, the Pentateuch. For in the Jewish synagogues it was usual to read first a section of the Pentateuch, and then a section of the Prophets, both being divided into portions of a proper length for this purpose, and much care taken in making the passage from the latter explain and elucidate that taken from the Law. I need scarcely say that it was not left to the reader to choose the passage from the Prophets, but the arrangement was the authoritative work of the Great Synagogue.

Now it is well-nigh certain that this arrangement of the twelve prophets had reference simply to their length. In times when the parchment on which a book was written cost more than the copying itself, many expedients were used for lessening the expense. And thus, as the writings of the twelve combined do not form a volume so large as Isaiah's one book, they were all united together; and the Rabbins even speak of

the later prophets as four in number, meaning thereby Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, Daniel being arranged by them among the "Sacred Writings." Now this had no evil effects at the time. Each volume was a distinct and separate work, and the Bible was a library, *bibliotheca*, and not a single book. But now that it is all printed in one volume, the minor prophets are often treated as if by minor was meant that they were of less importance, whereas it really means that their writings are of smaller bulk.

We scarcely realise that five of these prophets were the predecessors of Isaiah, and that they lead up to him in a very remarkable way. We note, but perhaps only to wonder at, the fact that they are more frequently quoted by the Apostles in the Acts, when speaking to the Jews, than the greater prophets. The text of the first Christian sermon is taken by St. Peter from Joel (chap. ii. 17—21); St. Stephen gives emphasis to his argument by a quotation from Amos (chap. vii. 42, 43); and by a quotation from the same prophet St. James decides the question discussed at the first Christian council (chap. xv. 16, 17). So, too, if we look at the doctrines first revealed by their instrumentality, we shall find that they hold a very foremost place in our belief. It is Joel who teaches us the momentous facts of a future resurrection and a general judgment, and of that outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh, without which these doctrines would be a terror to us. It is Micah who reveals to men the place of our Lord's birth, Zechariah his crucifixion, Jonah his resurrection, though veiled beneath a sign. And as they were the earliest of the prophets who left written memorials of their work, so were they the last. The Old Testament closes with the trumpet-sounds of Malachi, telling us of the near approach of the Forerunner, of the separation of the Jewish nation into those who accepted Christ and those who rejected Him, and of the coming of days when, from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, no victim should bleed upon an altar, but the meat-offering, the type of Christian worship, be offered everywhere unto Jehovah's name.

At the head of this goodly twelve stands Hosea, not because he was foremost in order of time, but because his writings are the longest of those who lived in the Assyrian period. Really the twelve prophets are arranged in three series—those of the Assyrian period, Hosea to Nahum, first; those of the Chaldæan age, Habakkuk and Zephaniah, next; and those who lived after the exile last. The chronological order of the first series is probably Jonah, Obadiah, Joel, Hosea, Amos, Nahum. Of all these, however, it was Hosea who held the prophetic office for the longest time, and this may probably have also had its weight in causing him to be placed at the head, especially as the title runs parallel with that of Isaiah, the foremost of the greater prophets. As regards the rest, Delitzsch has shown with much beauty that they are arranged with a view to the grouping of the ideas which they present in common. "Because Hosea, at the end of his prophetic writings (chap. xiv.), foretold to penitent Israel, watered with the dew of Divine grace, a rich harvest of corn, and a fresh verdure and blossoming like the rose, the olive, and the vine; while Joel begins his prophetic writings (chap. i.) at a time when harvest and vintage had failed, and therefore calls the people to repentance—on this account the collector has joined the two prophets together. With fine taste, again, he has made Amos follow Joel, because Amos begins his predictions with the striking words found near the end of the writings of Joel (chap. iii. 16), 'The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem.' Upon Amos follow Obadiah, because his whole prophecy seems, as it were, an unfolding of the remarkable prediction of Amos (chap. ix. 12), 'that they may possess the remnant of Edom.' But why does Jonah come after Obadiah? Because Obadiah says, 'We have heard a rumour from Jehovah, and an ambassador is sent among the heathen' (Obad. 1), and such an ambassador Jonah seemed to be. Next in this group comes Nahum, not merely because he belongs to the Assyrian period, but because he has a common interest with Jonah and Micah in that celebrated utterance of the law (Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7), that God is merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth." (Comp. Jonah iv. 2; Micah vii. 18; Nahum i. 3; and Keil's *Introduction*, i. 865.)

Of the person of the prophet we know nothing more than that he was the son of Beeri, of the tribe of Ephraim. Thus, he is one of the two—Jonah being the other—who alone of all the prophets certainly belonged to the ten tribes. Yet these tribes had produced Elijah and Elisha, and under the latter the schools of the prophets had flourished to an unprecedented extent. With Jonah written prophecy had also its first commencement in the northern kingdom, but it was in Judah that it attained to its full majesty and strength.

Hosea could not have been long subsequent to Jonah, for both flourished in the palmy days of Jeroboam II., Israel's last great king, who reigned forty and one years, and by whose hand God saved the people, as Jonah had foretold in a prophecy no longer extant, but referred to in 2 Kings xiv. 25. Jehu's had been a warlike line, and Jehoash, Jeroboam's father, the conqueror of Jerusalem (2 Kings xiv. 13), had probably laid the foundation of Jeroboam's conquests, which extended from Hamath, on the northern border of Syria, to the Dead Sea. This period of empire, under the strong hand of a powerful sovereign, was Israel's final opportunity for a national repentance. And before it passed away God sent the people a prophet, powerful in deed and word, to press upon them this their last hope. They refused; and Hosea lived to see Samaria's fall. In the fourth year of Hezekiah, B.C. 721, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, took Samaria, and carried the ten tribes away captive, and placed them in scattered colonies throughout his vast realm.

It was probably, however, only towards the close of Jeroboam's reign that Hosea entered upon his office; for we read that he prophesied also during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of

Judah, the Scriptures not deigning to count by the reigns of Zechariah the degenerate son of Jeroboam, nor of the military adventurers who succeeded him. Now, as Uzziah lived twenty-six years after the death of Jeroboam, and Jotham and Ahaz reigned each sixteen years, we have already a total of fifty-eight years, to which if we add only four years of Hezekiah's reign, to bring the prophet's life down to the year of the capture of Samaria, there is a sum of sixty-two years as the duration of Hosea's ministry, without allowing anything for the time during which he prophesied under Jeroboam. But as prophets were called at a very early age to their office, there is no difficulty in this respect. For we may well suppose that Hosea was, as it were, in training during the prosperous years of Jeroboam, that so he might be ready to speak with authority and power during the evil days of men so worthless as Zachariah and his successors. So, during the days of Uzziah and Jotham Isaiah was in training for the grand outpourings of prophetic might in the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah.

We must not expect in the Book of Hosea a regular record of this long period of prophetic activity. We may conclude that he was as constant and earnest in his exhortations as Jeremiah during the corresponding period of Jerusalem's history; but the chief part of his exhortations would belong to that generation only, while what is written was for the edification of the faithful throughout all time. But it is remarkable that the book does cover the whole of the sixty-two years and more, which we have seen was the duration of Hosea's ministry. In chap. i. 4 he foretells the speedy ruin of Jehu's race. Now, of all the kings of Israel after Jeroboam, Jehu was the only one who had a right to the throne. All the rest were successful soldiers; but Jehu was called by God's prophet. Yet he almost immediately proved unworthy of the trust, and while he extirpated with unrelenting cruelty the family of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal as being certain enemies to his own dynasty, he regarded with indifference the worship of the golden calves. But this cruelty was looked upon by God with abhorrence, and Hosea predicts that "yet a little while, and Jehovah will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel." Now Jeroboam's death was followed by an anarchy of eleven years, and then his son Zachariah reigned for six months; at the end of which time he was murdered by Shallum. Hosea thus began to prophesy before the limited reward given to Jehu for partial services was completed; at the end of chap. xiii. Samaria's fall is close at hand. The Assyrian armies are closing upon her, and the horrible cruelties which those inhuman conquerors used to inflict upon the cities which fell into their hands are clearly set forth.

It is plain that this prediction of Samaria's fate was written in Hoshea's reign, because in an earlier chapter (x. 14) the prophet gives us some particulars of the first invasion of Shalmaneser, referred to in 2 Kings xvii. 3. We gather from the prophet's words that a battle was fought at Beth-arbel, a place apparently situated in the valley of Jezreel, that Hoshea was defeated, and that the hapless people had a foretaste of Assyrian cruelty; for "the mother was dashed to pieces upon her children." Probably, then, later in his reign, when the ill-advised king was conspiring with So, king of Egypt, for a combined resistance to the Assyrian supremacy, or even when the armies of Assyria were gathering round the doomed city, the prophet, convinced that Israel's sin must also be her ruin, wrote the words that told of Samaria's coming desolation, and that her citizens would suffer barbarities as great as had befallen the inhabitants of the fort of Beth-arbel. Short, then, as are the literary remains of Hosea, they begin with the dynasty of Jehu on the throne, and close with Hoshea, the fourth of the usurpers who seized upon Zachariah's sceptre, at a time when that sceptre was dropping from his hand.

What, then, is the exact nature of the Book of Hosea? Is it a collection of fragments, embodying the salient portions of his teaching during his long ministry, or is it an organic whole? We answer, the latter. It is a poem written at one time, and that near the close of Hosea's life, not formed of scraps of numerous discourses, but composed upon a settled plan, and arranged in clearly-defined and distinct strophes. It begins with the reign of Jeroboam II., because Israel's defection from Jehovah was then complete; and first it clearly sets forth the nation's sin, and then bewails the impending retribution.

It is divided, therefore, into two sections, of which the first, consisting of three chapters in prose, describes Israel as guilty of national apostacy. And this apostacy is represented as accomplished while the dynasty of Jehu was still sitting upon the throne. But this representation is made in a highly symbolical form. Hosea is looking back upon his youthful work from a distance of half a century, and he describes himself as commanded to marry a wife who had again and again been guilty of unchastity, and children who had inherited her shame. He takes Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, the first name signifying *completeness*, or *utterness*, the second a *double lump of figs*, an ordinary figure among the Jews for sweetness; the two thus hinting at the utterness of the ruin, it may be, or of the apostacy from God, caused by indulging in the sweetness of sin. And by her he has a son, to whom is given the name of Jezreel, *God's scattering*, because God would avenge on Jehu's line the ruthless cruelty by which he had secured to himself the crown.

And next a daughter is born, Lo-ruhamah, *unpitied* (comp. Rom. ix. 25; 1 Peter ii. 10); for while there was to be mercy for Judah, a far feebler power at that time than Israel under its warrior king, for Samaria there was to be none. And this is still more forcibly taught by the name of the third child Lo-ammi, *not-my-people*, because the covenant was broken, and Israel had ceased to be Jehovah's Church. And yet all this has another side. The casting off of God's ancient people is the riches of the Gentiles, and so a spiritual

Israel, numerous as the sands of the sea, takes the place of Lo-ammi, and bears the name of *Sons of the living God* (chap. i. 10); with Judah they form one Church, having Christ for their common head; and "great is the day of Jezreel," that is, of *God's sowing*, the word having a double meaning, *God's sowing* for good, *God's scattering* for evil. Great, then, is the day of Jezreel, the day when God goes forth in Christ to sow the seed of the Word of the Gospel.

And this Church, composed of the believing remnant (Rom. xi. 5), and of the Gentiles, and called Ammi, *My people*, and Ruhamah, *The pitied one*, is to plead with God's ancient people. Well does St. Jerome put this: "Ye who believe in Christ, and are of both Jews and Gentiles, say ye to the broken branches, and to the former people which is cast off, *My people*, for it is your brother; and *Beloved*, for it is your sister. For when the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in, then shall all Israel be saved." St. Paul, in the eleventh chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, does not sketch more clearly God's dealings with the Jews as cast off for a time, but finally to be again ingathered, than Hosea in this chapter. What has blinded men's eyes has been, that in spite of the headings in the Authorised Version, commentators have imagined that instead of a parable written in Hosea's old age, and symbolising God's dealings with Jew and Gentile throughout the whole period of their history past and yet to come, they had a literal record of facts, concerning which the most interesting point was, How far it was morally right for a prophet to marry a woman of bad character! The parable really shows God's intimate love and covenant, as of marriage, with a sinful world.

This teaching is completed by a second parable, in which Israel is no longer compared to a woman who had been from the first an adulteress. On the contrary, now it is one whose husband (literally *friend*, comp. Cant. v. 16, but actually translated "husband" in Jer. iii. 20) still loves her, remembering, in the beautiful words of Jeremiah, "the kindness of her youth, and the love of her espousals" (Jer. ii. 2). Yet she has fallen so low, that while a sum of thirty pieces of silver was the estimated value of a common slave (Exod. xxi. 32), she is redeemed with fifteen shekels, and has an allowance of forty-five bushels of barley, the commonest fare, made her, for her sustenance apparently for ten or twelve months, the allowance to a Roman slave being four bushels a month. During this long time she is not to *abide*, but to *sit* apart in the women's chambers, withdrawn from the public gaze, and without being restored to her conjugal rights, the word "another" in Hosea iii. 3 being an utterly unauthorised addition and corruption of the text. God does not take Israel back into covenant with him for a lengthened period, during which it must remain a separate people defiled no longer by idolatry, but not as yet restored to its former privileges.

And Israel is so sitting now in widowhood, sequestrated and apart, still eating its barley-meal, as the following words, to my mind one of the most extraordinary predictions of the whole of the Bible, declare: "For the children of Israel shall sit without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim: afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek Jehovah their God, and David their king, and shall fear Jehovah and his goodness in the latter days" (chap. iii. 4, 5).

Now up to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, they had a polity and governor, a *prince*, whatever might be his title. They have long had none. They offer no sacrifice. They worship no images—the word literally signifies a *statue*—being now of all people the most opposed to idolatry. They have no ephod—by which, I suppose, is meant no established priesthood—for the ephod was the holy garment worn by the high priest over the tunic and robe (Exod. xxix. 5). Neither have they teraphim—a sort of household gods, used especially for purposes of divination (comp. Ezek. xxi. 21, where it is translated "images;" and Zech. x. 2, where our version has "idols"). Now the appointed means for inquiring of God was by the Urim and Thummim (1 Sam. xxviii. 6), a sort of breastplate worn over the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 30), and thus the ephod itself is often used as equivalent to the Urim (1 Sam. xxiii. 9). It means, therefore, that though the Jews have lost the true means of approaching God to know His will, yet that they do not try to discover that will by any false and superstitious means. No more exact description could possibly be given of the present state of the Jews everywhere. And in this state they are to remain till they accept Christ. When Hosea wrote, he was living under the rule of the last probably of those military usurpers who so often had made the crown of Israel their prize; but the king whom the nation must acknowledge when they return to Jehovah is David—not personally, for he had long been gathered to his fathers, but David as the symbol of the Messiah, David's Son. And so the Targum (of Jonathan) explains it: "They shall obey Messiah, the Son of David, their King."

The rest of the prophecy (chaps. iv.—xiv.) is a sort of dirge, consisting of mingled wailings, entreaties, exhortations, threatenings, and promises, and summing up the whole of Hosea's long teaching after Jeroboam's days. It was written at the same time as, and is the necessary consequence of, the first three chapters: for they in two brief but telling allegories set plainly forth the sins, especially of idolatry, by which Israel had violated God's marriage-covenant, and been repudiated by Him, with mercy, nevertheless, for her in store, but only after long days of widowhood. Those allegories state his whole case; the poem that follows is his lamentation. In it he urges upon the people the consequences of their national sin, first showing them their guilt, both generally, and also class by class; next, in severe and gloomy terms, he sets before them their punishment; and then gradually, though irregularly, he advances to those better hopes and promises with which, too, his parables had ended. And most beautifully are

these hopes expressed. Jehovah promises to heal Israel's backslidings, and love them freely; to be unto them as the dew, to make them put forth blossoms as the lily, and strike their roots far and wide like the cedars of Lebanon. Young plants springing from their stock are to spread around them, and their beauty is to be as the olive-tree, and their fragrance like Lebanon.

It should be read then as a poem, written by one on whose sight the impending downfall of his nation was darkening, filling his heart with anguish too great to bear. How can he avert so terrible a fate? If he turn to the kings, they are mere upstarts, whom the sword has placed upon the throne (chap. viii. 4); and who in the hour of their success give themselves to drunken revelry (vii. 5). If he look to the priests, "as troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of the priests murder on the way to Shechem" (vi. 9), a city of refuge, tenanted by priests and Levites, but which was also upon the route from the north to Jerusalem; and it was probably men going up to the solemn feasts there, who near this city of priests were waylaid and slain. Gilead, that is, Ramoth-gilead, another city of refuge, had become, like the sanctuaries in the Middle Ages, a haunt of murderers (vi. 8). And, "like people like priest" (iv. 9), their religion was idolatry, and their conduct the grossest licentiousness (iv. 13).

Such was the people over whom Hosea mourned. With rapid transitions—for the outpouring of grief is never regular—at one time he accuses, upbraids, denounces them; at another he melts with tenderness, and speaks from a heart bleeding at their cruel fate. It was a tragedy in which he was taking part—the tragedy of a nation's fall—and the end of the tragedy was near. But the nation fell not without a poet to bewail its ruin, and to set before the remnant the certainty of a better life as citizens of a still nobler community. "I will ransom them, saith Jehovah, from the power of the grave: I will redeem them from death. O death, I will be thy plagues! O grave, I will be thy destruction!" (xiii. 14.)

No serious attempt has ever been made to throw doubt upon the genuineness and integrity of the Book of Hosea. It remains only to add that owing to the prophets of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel forming one closely-connected body, Hosea's writings were soon well known in Judah, and are often referred to by Jeremiah. We also gather from his many allusions to things prescribed by the Levitical law, and which were evidently still in use in Israel, coupled with similar incidental references in Amos, that Jeroboam I. had retained the main features of the Mosaical institutions, while engrafting upon them for political purposes a debased symbolism which degraded and corrupted the whole.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. LUKE.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

"I am come (rather, I came) to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" —LUKE xii. 49, 50.

THE Authorised English Version suggests the idea that the fire of which our Lord speaks had already been kindled by others. But the rendering, "What will I? Would that it were already kindled!" appears equally admissible with that adopted by King James's translators; and the general drift of the passage then becomes more obvious, and more in harmony with the prediction of John the Baptist, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

The object contemplated in our Lord's mission was an object of unmixed good to mankind. The fire which He came to kindle is that fire of holiness which, whilst it consumes sin, purifies the hearts and lives of those who are the subjects of its influence. Our Lord was intently bent upon the accomplishment of this, as the great end of His Incarnation, and as the hours of the day drew nearer to their close, we seem to meet with plainer and stronger indications, on the one hand, of the intensity of His desire to accomplish the work which it had been given Him to do,[1] and, on the other hand, of the natural shrinking of the flesh from that fiery ordeal through which alone it could be accomplished. Three distinct elements of thought appear to be closely interwoven in the remarkable words under consideration: (1) The end and object of our Lord's mission, viz., to diffuse upon earth that sacred fire by which, as the Great Refiner, He would at once consume the dross of sin, and purify the chosen vessels; (2) the bitter course of suffering through which He must Himself pass, in order to bring many sons unto glory; and (3) the many strifes and divisions which would be the inevitable result of that conflict between the powers of light and darkness which must everywhere attend the introduction of the Gospel. Having first enunciated,

[1] The meaning of the word συνέχομαι, which is well rendered in the Authorised Version "I am straitened," may be illustrated by a reference to Phil. i. 23, where St. Paul employs the same word to denote the struggle which was waging in his own soul between the conflicting desires, on the one hand, to continue in the flesh, that he might do Christ's work on earth, and, on the other hand, to depart out of this life, that he might be with Christ for ever. It is there rendered in the Authorised Version, "I am in a strait."

according to this view of His words, in verse 49, the object which was proposed in His advent, and, in verse 50, the means by which this object was to be accomplished, our Lord proceeds, in verses 52, 53, to declare, not the object, but some of the necessary results of the proclamation of the Gospel. Though He came "preaching peace;" though "peace" was His last and choicest legacy to His Church; yea, though He is Himself the "peace" of His believing people, nevertheless He foresaw that the proclamation of a religion which admitted no rival, and which accepted no compromise, must inevitably be productive of division.[1] The whole history of Christianity, and more especially the history of its reception by individual members of Jewish families, and in countries such as India, teems with illustrations of the literal fulfilment of our Lord's prediction.

The other view of these words which directly connects the fire with the division, and which regards the fire as being already kindled by others—*i.e.*, by the malice of Satan and of man—appears to be incongruous with the order of verses 49, 50; with the use of the same or similar figures in combination (as water and blood), in other places; and, also, with the general harmony and connection of the entire passage.

[1] The word used is διαμερισμός. It seems worthy of notice that the parable which led to St. Peter's inquiry, as recorded in verse 41, and, consequently, to the whole of the following discourse, was called forth by one who applied to our Lord on the subject of "dividing" (μερίσασθαι) an inheritance, and that our Lord in verse 14 disclaims the office of a "divider" (μεριστὴς). It deserves notice, further, that when the fulfilment of John the Baptist's prediction respecting the baptism with fire is recorded in Acts ii., the tongues which rested on the heads of the disciples are described as "divided" (διαμεριζόμεναι).

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

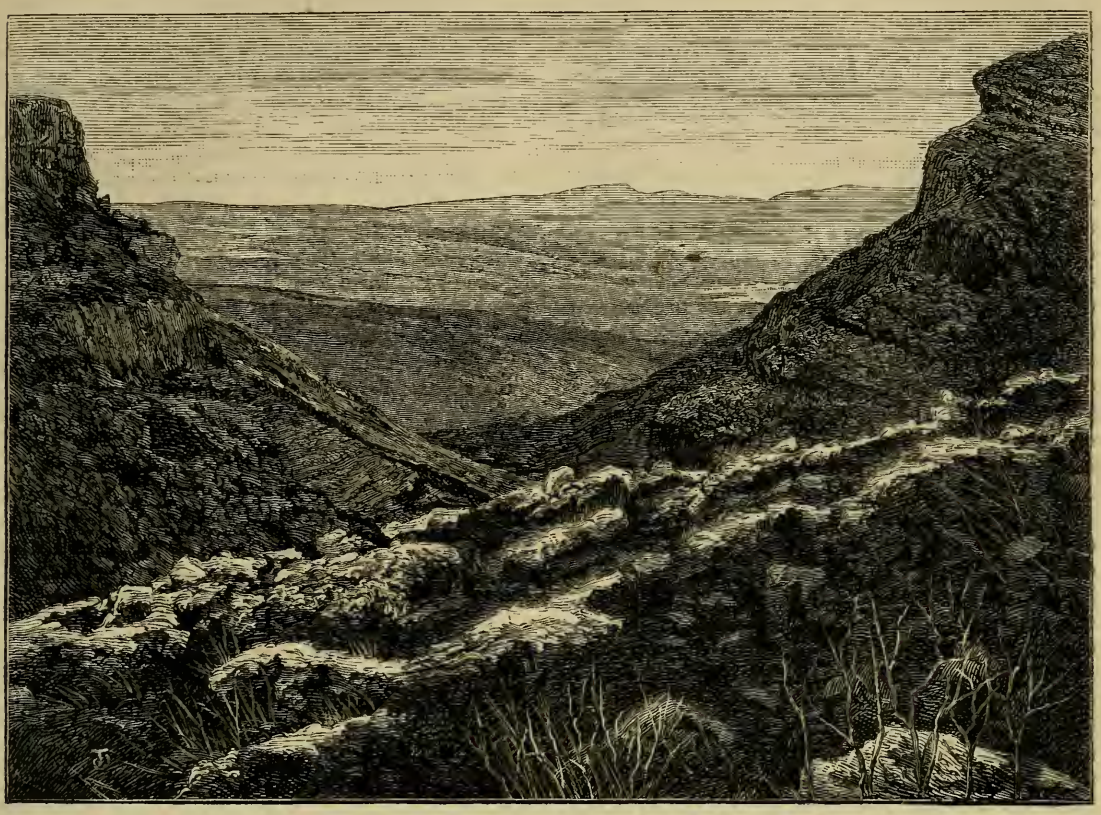
BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

II.—THE JORDAN DISTRICT (*continued*).

PROCEEDING westwards along the shore of the lake, we reach, a mile and a half from Tell Hum, the charming bay of Et Tabigah, with its mottled beach of black and white pebbles, behind which lies a small plain cultivated by the Bedawin. At the south-east corner of this plain a fine fountain, more than half as large as that of Banias, bursts through a mass of rubble masonry at the foot of an octagonal reservoir several feet above the level of the lake, and pours its waters into a small pool, whence they are carried off by an aqueduct to a mill, worked by an Arab. This mill, as well as five others, of which there are ruins, is said to have been built by the celebrated Dhaher el Omar, and some skill has been shown in their construction. The water was carried by aqueducts to the tops of small towers, each containing two circular shafts, through which the water fell, to turn the stones in a chamber below. Most of the water now runs to waste, giving birth to a luxuriant vegetation, which, considering the scanty nature of the soil, is perfectly surprising. The octagonal reservoir mentioned above is of ancient date, and was constructed for the purpose of raising the water of the fountain to a height of twenty feet, after which the whole body of water was carried off by a large aqueduct to the plain of Ghuweir, *Gennesareth*, on the west, for purposes of irrigation. The aqueduct can still be traced running round the plain of Tabigah, and at its western end, some fifty or sixty yards of the retaining wall, with the channel, 4 feet 2 inches wide, is in good preservation: a few yards beyond this a spur from the hills runs down to the lake, terminating in an abrupt cliff about forty feet high, and here, for some distance, a channel has been cut in the rock, with much labour, to convey the water into Gennesareth at such a level that it could be used for irrigating the greater portion of the plain, and especially the eastern section, where there is no natural supply of water. The whole work is a remarkable piece of engineering, and we may almost with certainty connect it with the fountain of Capharnaum, a most fertilising fountain, which, Josephus informs us, watered the whole plain of Gennesareth, and was considered by some to be a vein of the Nile, as a fish called *coracinus* was found in it, as well as in a lake at Alexandria. The position of the fountain of Capharnaum has been the subject of much dispute; many travellers have identified it with either Ain et Tin, or Ain Mudawarah, the "Round Fountain," in the Ghuweir, but neither of these fountains supplies a sufficient body of water for extensive irrigation, and the closest examination has failed to discover the remains of those aqueducts which would have been necessary to convey their water over the plain. They may in some degree have assisted in the general scheme for the irrigation of Gennesareth, but could never have been of much importance. The *coracinus* was found by Dr. Tristram in the Round Fountain, which he identifies with the fountain of Capharnaum; and he also obtained one specimen from the lake near Tiberias. It is quite certain that the fish lives in the lake, for Mr. Macgregor saw one darting out of the shallows of the warm sand at Et Tabigah, and the fishermen told him that in summer-time it ascended to Ain et Tin and the Round Fountain from the lake where it was always found, though in the colder months only beside the springs of Et Tabigah. There can, therefore, be no reason why the fish should not have lived in those springs also before the erection of the mills, &c., had cut off all communication with the lake, and we may feel pretty certain that they were the fountains of Capharnaum, whether the town was at Tell Hum or elsewhere.

GENNESARETH, FROM KHAN MINYEH.
(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

Immediately beyond the cliff noticed above is Ain et Tin, the "Fountain of the Fig-tree," and away to the south stretches the rich plain of Gennesareth. This plain is now covered with thick thorny brushwood, through which it is difficult to penetrate, and but a small portion is cultivated by the Bedawin, who depend entirely on the winter rains for raising their crops. Formerly the whole plain was perfectly irrigated, and from the great richness of the soil it must have been extremely productive, rivalling in fertility the well-known plain of Damascus. Josephus's description of the district when under cultivation is couched in glowing terms; he tells us that "its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there, for the temper of the air is so well mixed that it agrees very well with these several sorts, particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty. There are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees, also, and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of Nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruit beyond men's expectation, but preserves them a great while; it supplies man with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs continually during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year; for, besides the good temperature, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain." (Josephus, *B. J.* iii. 10, § 8.) Perhaps the most striking feature of the plain is its shore-line fringed with oleanders, and broken into bays of exquisite beauty, each a perfect picture in itself, with the placid water laving a beach of pearly whiteness, where myriads of minute shells are mingled with the fine sand and gravel. Here the water deepens more rapidly than towards the east, and it is pleasant to think that on the shore of one of these lovely bays the disciples, after their return to Galilee, may have seen Jesus standing in the early morning light, and the solemn events have occurred which are described in John xxi. 1—23. In this neighbourhood, one of the favourite resorts of the fish of the lake, the disciples may have let down their net into the sea on that occasion when it "enclosed a great multitude of fishes, and their net brake;" and here, too, our Lord on more than one occasion may have entered into a ship, and taught the people as they stood



WADY HAMAM AND CAVES OF ARBELA—GENNESARETH AND SEA OF GALILEE IN THE DISTANCE.
(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

on the shore. Our illustration (page 281) represents a portion of the plain as seen from a point near Ain et Tin. In the distance is Wady Hamam, the "Valley of Doves," about which we shall have something to say presently, and the curious flat-topped hill at its head is Kurn Hattin, the "Horns of Hattin," the traditional Mount of Beatitudes, on which the Sermon on the Mount is supposed to have been delivered, and the point at which the Crusaders made their last rally at the fatal battle of Hattin. Beneath the hills on the left, not far from the shore, lies Mejdel, the modern representative of Magdala, once the home of Mary Magdalene.

The fountain of Ain et Tin is but a small one, and at such a slight height above the level of the lake that the water of the latter sometimes rises into it. West of the spring are several mounds of rubbish, which Dr. Robinson, the learned American traveller, identifies with Capernaum; but they are not of any great extent, and contain the remains of no important building, such as a church or synagogue. North of Ain et Tin is Khan Minyeh, an old building, probably erected during the period of the Crusades for the convenience of travellers proceeding along the great highway from the coast to Damascus. A few Arabs live in the khan, and on its roof, as the sun goes down, the women may frequently be seen enjoying their favourite amusement, the native dance. The dance consists in swaying the body to and fro, with an occasional changement of place, to a pretty though monotonous air chanted by the spectators, and all the movements of the dancers are full of grace. Three valleys break through the hills that border the plain—Wadies Amud, Rubudiyeh, and Hamam—each bringing down in winter-time streams of water, which formerly, as the remains of ancient aqueducts attest, contributed to the irrigation of Gennesareth. Between the two latter is Ain Mudawarah, the "Round Fountain," a spring of sweet water, that Dr. Tristram, M. de Saulcy, and a few other travellers identify with the fountain of Capharnaum, and in its vicinity they place Capernaum. No ruins of any consequence have been discovered in its neighbourhood, and, as we have already mentioned, the fountain could not have irrigated much of the plain. At Mejdel, near the southern end of the plain, a few small heaps of rubbish are all that is left to mark the site of Magdala; and along the margin of the lake, between Ain et Tin and Mejdel, are several mounds, perhaps the remains of those towns and villages in which our Lord laboured during His earthly ministry. We may add that Josephus describes the land of Gennesareth as extend-

ing along the border of the lake for thirty furlongs, and this agrees well with the distance from Mejdel to Et Tabigah.

On the heights above Mejdel are the ruins of Irbid, the ancient Arbela, a place mentioned by Josephus in his account of the war in Galilee. Part of the old city wall is still standing, and within it, amongst the remains of private houses, may be seen two pools, and a number of cisterns for the collection of rain-water on which the inhabitants had to depend for their daily wants. The most interesting ruin, however, is that of a Jewish synagogue, which differs in many respects from other buildings of the same class, and has the distinction of being the only synagogue that was converted into a mosque after the Moslem conquest. Immediately north of the town is the gorge of Wady Hamam, with its grand cliffs rising almost perpendicularly to a height of one thousand feet above the little stream which flows down through it to Gennesareth. In the face of these cliffs are the caverns formerly inhabited by the robbers whose defeat and destruction added so much to the military reputation of Herod the Great, and a more perfect robbers' nest could hardly be found anywhere. There are four tiers of caverns, one over the other, each consisting of a large number of chambers, connected by passages cut in the face of the rock; the two lower tiers are reached from the valley below by a single flight of rude stone steps, the two upper by rock-hewn steps from the heights above. The robbers appear to have been the terror of the country round, and so numerous, that when Herod marched against them they boldly left their homes, and met him in the open field; but after a sharp action under the walls of Arbela they were defeated, and obliged to retire. The fight which now ensued is unique in military annals. Finding that the caverns could not be reached from above or below, Herod caused large boxes, bound with chains to give additional strength, to be constructed, and in these soldiers were lowered to the level of the caverns, armed with long hooks, to pull out such of the robbers as they could reach. Swinging thus in mid-air, the soldiers commenced their attack by a shower of darts, and afterwards landing at the mouths of the caves, set fire to the combustible matter within them. By the end of the second day the robber stronghold was completely subdued, but not before an extraordinary scene had occurred, which Josephus graphically describes in the following terms:—"Now there was one old man, who was caught within one of these caves, with seven children and a wife; these prayed him to give them leave to go out, and yield themselves up to the enemy: but he stood at the cave's mouth, and always slew that child of his who went out, till he had destroyed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipice, and himself after them, and so underwent death rather than slavery." The illustration (page 281) represents the cliffs in which these remarkable caverns are excavated, and in the distance are seen the plain of Gennesareth, and a portion of the Sea of Galilee.

Proceeding southwards along the lake from Mejdel, we soon come to Ain Barideh, three springs of sweet water within a few yards of the lake, behind which is a small plain, now covered with brushwood, but once, perhaps, the "level grassy spot" on which the five thousand were fed. Current tradition places the scene of this event on the heights between Hattin and Tiberias; but Arculf, towards the end of the seventh century, tells us that it was at Ain Barideh that the multitudes "drank after they had eaten their fill." This agrees with the Sinaitic version of John vi. 23—"When therefore the boats came from Tiberias, which was nigh unto where they did also eat bread," which necessitates a site near Tiberias; and as Arculf visited the country only fifty years after the Muhammedan invasion, when there was no reason for the transference of sacred sites from the eastern to the western shores of the lake, it is not improbable that the tradition attached at that time to a place of such interest was the correct one. The adoption of this view, as we have previously shown, obviates the necessity of two Bethsaidas; and the accounts given by the Evangelists of the return of the disciples after the miracle contain nothing that cannot be reconciled with the supposition that the boat in which they sailed started from Ain Barideh.

The next place of interest on the shore of the lake is Tiberias, the modern Tubariyeh (page 285). The town, as seen from a distance, is extremely picturesque, with its mediæval walls, its minaret, and its palm-trees; but a closer acquaintance discloses a state of filth which, even in the East, can scarcely be paralleled. Shut off from the cool breezes of the Mediterranean by the high cliffs on the west, the heat in summer is excessive, and at this time of year the town is barely habitable from the number and activity of the vermin, who are so rapacious that even the Arabs have a saying that "the king of fleas holds his court at Tiberias." The principal buildings in the town are a mosque, and the church erected, as it is said, on the site of St. Peter's house. In the walls of the houses may be seen a few sculptured stones from earlier buildings, and there are besides a slab of basalt, on which a hunting scene is rudely carved, and a fine basin of polished granite, 6 feet 4 inches in circumference, cut out of one block of stone, that must have been brought from the distant quarries in Upper Egypt. The old town wall, with its flanking towers, is now in a very ruinous state. No hand has touched it since it was shaken to its very foundations by the earthquake of 1837; great rents appear in the masonry, and the present entrance to the town is over a mass of ruin that encumbers a wide breach in the wall. On the side of the lake the ground appears at the same time to have sunk, for one of the towers has been thrown violently forward, and when the water is low the remains of a sea-wall can still be seen beneath the water. The ancient city extended far south of the modern walls; over a considerable area the ground is covered with ruins, amongst which are seen many broken shafts of columns and capitals, and there are not wanting traces of the foundations of more important edifices, perhaps

temples or churches. The town, called Tiberias in honour of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, was founded by Herod Antipas, who had passed much of his life in Italy, and brought with him to the East the Roman taste for magnificent buildings. A palace was erected, which, contrary to Jewish law, was adorned with the figures of living creatures, and round this were gathered an amphitheatre, bath-houses, temples, and costly works of art. These have long disappeared, but the remains of an aqueduct nine miles long, that brought a supply of clear spring water for the use of the inhabitants, still serve to remind the traveller of the former glories of Roman Tiberias. Josephus tells us that in clearing the ground for the town many graves had to be removed, and that, in consequence, no Jew could live in it without becoming unclean for seven days; Herod was therefore obliged to fill his city with Gentiles and Galileans, many of whom, persons of condition, were compelled by force to become residents, whilst others of the poorer class were induced to become settlers by being made freemen, as well as by grants of land and gifts of houses. Tiberias played a prominent part in the war between the Jews and the Romans, and was fortified by Josephus. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Sanhedrim settled in the town, and for several centuries it was one of the most celebrated seats of Jewish learning. There are no schools now, but it is still one of the four holy cities of Palestine, and a large proportion of the inhabitants are Jews of the poorer class, who live, in great measure, on alms sent by their wealthier co-religionists in the West. The existence of a large number of graves, which had to be cleared away by the workmen of Herod Antipas in building his new city, proves that there must have been before that time a place of some importance in their immediate vicinity. St. Jerome, and others following him, have identified this old town with Chinnereth; but the inference to be drawn from the Bible is rather to the effect that Chinnereth was more to the north, for it lay in the territory of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35, and also in 1 Kings xv. 20, where Chinnereth is classed with Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah, and all the land of Naphtali). The writers of the Talmud maintain that the old town was Hammath, and considering the proximity of the warm springs, this would appear to be a probable identification. The name Tiberias occurs but three times in the Bible, twice in connection with the lake; and it is worthy of notice that St. John, whose Gospel is supposed to have been written towards the close of the first century, after Tiberias had become the chief town of Galilee, is the only Evangelist who uses the name. This probably arose from its being more familiar to non-residents in Palestine than the older names—Sea of Galilee, Sea of Gennesareth, used by the other Evangelists who wrote before the Jewish war. The view of Tiberias (page 285) is taken from the foot of the hills, behind the town; beyond the lake are Gamala, to the right, and Khersa, Gergesa, to the left.

South of Tiberias are the well-known warm springs, perhaps mentioned in the Bible under the name Hammath. There are several springs, varying in temperature from 132° to 142°. The principal one, 137°, was covered in by Ibrahim Pacha, and here the water, after passing through a small orifice, is received into a circular basin paved with marble, and about three feet deep; the steam, rising up, fills the whole building, and converts it into a vapour bath, in which the gaunt naked figures of the lame, the halt, and the leprous can be dimly distinguished as they move over the marble floor; a strong sulphurous smell pervades the atmosphere, and it is altogether not a place to linger long in. The springs have a high reputation for their medicinal properties, and are generally crowded with invalids; but on Friday they are taken possession of by the Jews, who consider an hour or two in the bath a very necessary part of the preparation for the Sabbath.

Between five and six miles south of Tiberias we reach the point at which the Jordan leaves the lake; and here, on the right bank, are the ruins of Kerak, the ancient Taricheæ. Little now remains but a mass of rubbish, with fragments of masonry, covering the surface of a triangular mound, or bank, some thirty feet above the lake. The peculiar position of Taricheæ, commanding the main road up the western shore of the lake, and the passage of the Jordan by the three bridges and ford in its immediate vicinity, made it a point of the highest importance in military operations, and we consequently find that every endeavour was made to strengthen the place by artificial means, and that it played an important part in the Jewish war. The town was naturally protected on one side by the lake, and on the second by the Jordan, whilst on the third side a broad ditch was cut, connecting the lake with the river, and entirely isolating the mound on which the fortress was built. Communication with the country was kept up by a causeway across the ditch, which is still in fair repair. It was well provided with culverts, to allow the escape of flood-water, and apparently protected by a tower at its further end. The similarity between Taricheæ and the position at the entrance of the Jordan, which has been assigned above to Bethsaida Julias, is very striking, both as regards their natural and artificial protection by the lake and river, and the importance of their positions, one commanding the passages of the Jordan north of the lake, the other those at the south. Josephus informs us (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 1) that Taricheæ was taken by the Romans under Titus immediately after an important engagement in the vicinity, in which the Jews were defeated and driven back into the town with great loss. Many of the survivors embarked on board the ships and boats belonging to the place, and Vespasian, in order to attack them, caused a number of ships to be fitted up for the reception of his soldiers. A curious naval engagement followed, in which nearly all the Jews perished. Josephus gives the number as 6,500, and states that the air was tainted by the number of dead bodies on the shore of the lake.

Crossing the Jordan, and following the southern end of the lake, we soon reach the village of Semakh, a collection of mud huts, tenanted by a few wretched

families; and beyond this Tell Sumrah, which has generally been identified with Hippos, a town mentioned by Josephus. From the latter place there is a fine view northwards, over the lake, with Hermon and the snow-clad peaks of Anti-Lebanon in the distance; and southwards, down the Jordan valley, over a bright green carpet of turf, which extends to the foot of the hills, on either side.

On the eastern side of the lake, with one exception, which will be noticed below, there is a narrow tract of level or gently-sloping ground between the shore and the foot of the hills, which rise abruptly to the level of the Jaulan plateau, presenting to the eye of a spectator on the western side the appearance of a long even wall. The barrier is, however, broken by two valleys or gorges, the Wadies Fik and Semakh, which drain a large portion of the plateau, and in winter bring down no inconsiderable quantity of water to the lake. Near the mouth of Wady Fik, almost opposite Tiberias, is Kalat el Husn, the ancient fortress of Gamala, in which the Jews of Northern Palestine made their last stand against the Romans. The position of Gamala is one of great strength, the only approach being along a narrow neck of land, which connects it with the plateau behind. On all other sides the ground falls abruptly, almost precipitously, for several hundred feet, to the beds of the ravines below, and, to afford additional protection, the rock was cut away, or scarped, making the sides inaccessible. The place is not unlike in shape the camel's hump, to which Josephus compares it. The hump is higher than the neck, and was surrounded by a high wall, of which many fragments are left. The ruins are little more than a confused heap of rubbish, amongst which, however, the main street can be traced, running from the neck down the centre of the hump, to its western extremity, and the foundations of some important buildings—churches, temples, or synagogues: there are also numbers of columns and capitals, as well as several fine cisterns. The description of the siege and capture of Gamala given by Josephus, who was an eye-witness, is extremely interesting and graphic. The town was stoutly defended by the Jews, who fought with the courage of despair; and on one occasion the Romans were obliged to retreat with heavy loss, after having nearly gained possession of the town. The final assault was made by Titus himself at the head of his best troops, and the carnage which ensued was only equalled by that at Jerusalem three years afterwards. Of the entire population only two are said to have escaped, and numbers threw themselves from the walls rather than fall into the hands of the Romans.

Whilst at Gamala, the writer and his companions were caught in one of those sudden storms which so frequently visit the lake district. On leaving the lake early in the morning the sky was cloudless, and a hot sirocco wind was blowing from the east, but about half-past eleven a sudden clap of thunder drew our attention to the western hills, where heavy clouds were gathering. In a few moments the clouds began to spread, veiling Tabor and Hattin, and falling like a pall over Tiberias and the western shore. At this moment the easterly breeze died away, and there were a few minutes of perfect calm, during which the heat of the sun was most oppressive, and the surface of the lake was smooth, and glowing like a burnished mirror, Tiberias, the baths, Mejdel, and Semakh standing out in sharp relief from the gloom behind. They were soon obscured, as the thunder-gust swept past them, and, rapidly advancing across the lake, lifted its placid water into a bright sheet of foam; in another moment it reached the ruins, compelling us to take shelter in a large cistern, where for nearly an hour we were confined, listening to the peals of thunder and torrents of rain which followed. The effect of half the lake in perfect rest, whilst the other half was one wild sea of foam, was very grand. It would have fared badly for any light craft caught in mid-lake by such a storm; and we could not help thinking of that memorable occasion on which the storm is so graphically described as "coming down upon the lake" (Luke viii. 23); nor was it without interest to turn afterwards to the pages of Josephus, and read how, at the final assault of the stubborn fortress of Gamala, "there arose such a Divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction. This carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them; nor could the Jews indeed stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them." (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 10.)

Between Wady Fik and Wady Semakh the hills, which everywhere else on the eastern side of the lake are from a half to three-quarters of a mile distant from the shore, approach within forty yards of it. There is no cliff, and the hills do not terminate abruptly, but there is a steep, even slope, that is not improbably the "steep place" down which the herd of swine (Matt. viii. 32) ran violently, to perish in the waters of the lake. A mile to the north, at the mouth of Wady Semakh, are the ruins of an old town, enclosed by a wall, to which the Bedawin give the name of Khersa; and this may with some certainty be identified with Gergesa, a place mentioned in connection with the healing of the demoniacs. The cliff at Khan Minyeh is now pointed out as the scene of the miracle, but it is quite certain, from Matt. ix. 1 and Luke viii. 26, that it was on the eastern shore of the lake; and, in addition to this, the swine are described as running down a steep place into the sea, not as falling over a cliff. The steep place between Wadies Fik and Semakh is the only one on the eastern side of the lake, which is so near the shore as to make it certain that a herd of swine running violently down would be carried into the waters by the impetus acquired in their descent. This is also the opinion of Mr. Macgregor, who carefully examined this part of the coast in his canoe, and gives the following interesting account of it:—"Here, for a full half mile,

Wady Semakh, Gergesa. Wady Fik, Gamala.

TIBERIAS.

(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

the beach is of a form different from any other round the lake, and from any I have noticed in any lake or sea before; it is flat until close to the edge. There a hedge of oleanders fringes the end of the plain, and immediately below there is a gravel beach, inclined so steep, that when my boat was at the shore I could not see over the top, even by standing up; while the water alongside is so deep that it covered my paddle (seven feet long) when dipped in vertically, a few feet from the shore."[1] Some writers have placed the scene of the miracle at Gadara, the modern Um Keis, on the hills south-east of the lake, whence the swine would have had a hard gallop of two hours over a level plain before reaching the water. Not far from the shore at Wady Semakh, and almost concealed by the thick bush, are tracings of buildings which may possibly have been tombs of masonry similar to those at Tell Hum, and perhaps those in which the demoniacs resided. There are said to be rock-hewn tombs in the face of the hills above the lake, but they would be rather too far distant to meet the requirements of the Bible narrative. There has always been some difficulty in reconciling the different reading of the name in the account of the miracle given by the Evangelists. In Matt. viii. 28 our Lord is said to have come into the country of the Gergesenes, corrected in the Sinai MS. to "Gazarenes," and in the Vatican MS. to "Gadarenes." In Mark v. 1, "Gadarenes;" the Sinai and Vatican MSS. here read "Gerasenes," but in the former this is corrected to "Gergesenes;" and in Luke viii. 26 the reading is "Gadarenes," corrected in the Sinai MS. to "Gergesenes," and in the Vatican MS. to "Gerasenes." The Vulgate and Arabic texts read "Gergesenes in all the Evangelists, and Origen, who lived at Cæsarea, says that there was in his day a village called Gergesa on the shore of the lake. The similarity of the name Khersa to Gergesa is a strong reason for believing that the reading of Matthew is correct, and St. Matthew, being a native of the lake district, would probably be more accurate in his definition of the locality than Mark or Luke. It is not impossible that Gergesa was in the jurisdiction of Gadara, and that the two latter Evangelists made use of the name of the larger and better known town, to express generally the district in which the miracle took place; at any rate, we have in Khersa and the ground near it a place and topographical features which meet all the required conditions. It only remains for us to notice the plain

[1] *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, p. 424.

of Buteiha, at the north-west end of the lake, which extends from the eastern hills to the Jordan. This plain is somewhat larger than that of Gennesareth, and is well watered by streams coming down from the hills. It is, however, swampy and rocky, and must always have been so; but the soil, where there is any, is rich and productive. The coast-line is not so beautiful as that of the western plain; the bays are larger, and not so deep, and there is an absence of that pearly-white beach and fringe of oleanders which gives such a charm to the latter. There are several ruins of inconsiderable places on the margin of the lake, and on the plain itself, but the most important site is Et Tell, on the slope of the hills near the Jordan, and some distance from the lake, where there is a modern Bedawin village, and a number of rude remains. This place is identified by Dr. Robinson with Bethsaida Julias, but there is no trace of any important building, and, as we have previously noticed, the town built by Philip must have been in close proximity to the mouth of the Jordan.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

SOURCES OF BIBLICAL IMAGERY.—THE NATIONAL HISTORY.

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IT has been remarked in a former paper that the materials for poetry are inexhaustible. The imaginative faculty is lord of a boundless domain. There is nothing which comes within the range of human observation or experience which may not be made the subject of poetic treatment.

But in this wide field the artist is not altogether free. He is bounded in his choice by the conditions of time and place under which he lives. "The poet is the heart of his age, and his verse expresses his age." He is a creator, but he is also the creature of circumstances, which he can interpret but not control.

The Biblical writers must not be treated as exceptions to this principle. It is true, as has been more than once remarked, that they write like men conscious of a controlling authority above them. The poetic genius of Israel was undoubtedly subordinated to a moral purpose and a religious inspiration, and we should miss, not only the inner purport of its message, but also the proper music of the strains in which it flowed, if we forgot for a moment the shrine at which the gift was offered and consecrated. In this regard the spirit of Hebrew poetry, that which determines its character, constitutes its unity, and secures for it for ever its supreme place in literature, may be treated as independent of the place and time of its production. But this fixedness of moral purpose was perhaps a cause that the poetry of Israel was modified and coloured not less, but more, than that of other nations by outward influence. For recognising so consciously its office as handmaid to prophecy, existing to interpret the visions of the seers, it became a mirror in which the actions of men, and the passions which inspire action, were clearly and powerfully reflected. The prophet was never a recluse. He took a large and active share in public life. When he poured out, therefore, in song the feelings which burnt for utterance in his breast, his imagination moved among the objects that interested him most, and he filled his verse with illustrations drawn from the past history or the living present of his race. Hebrew poetry was indeed a garland placed on the altar of Jehovah, but it was a garland gathered in the fields and gardens of Palestine.

Before, therefore, proceeding to the common sources of Biblical imagery, we must pause a moment on the great theological truths which not only lent devotion and purity to the strong religious sense of the Jewish people, but so powerfully influenced their song. In this Hebrew poetry stands solemnly apart from that of other ancient nations. We meet in the poems of Homer, and in the great tragedians of Greece, expressions of simple piety, recognitions of providence, of the relation of man to God, of the eternal laws by which the world is governed, which are not surpassed for earnestness and simple faith in the Psalms of David or the lyrics of Isaiah. But this natural piety is separated by a wide interval from the mythologies which gave form to the religions of the old world. These are degraded by impurities and falsehoods, amid which we look in vain for the real beliefs of antiquity. It is otherwise with the creed of Israel. Though even in this there were, of course, elements of imperfection, and statements of truth suited to an early stage of a progressive religious belief, the conceptions on which the national existence was founded were true, and had a necessary and real place in the development of truth. The fuller revelation did not contradict the intuitions of ancient Israel. It only displaced in order to perfect and fulfil them. The polytheism of Greece, which left such an enduring mark on the poetic and artistic production of the nation, has taken its place amid the vain and false fancies of erring humanity. The monotheism of the Hebrews, expanded and interpreted by Christianity, is the religion of the present and the future. When it is confessed, as it is confessed by those who look with little favour on the doctrines of Christian churches, that the moral earnestness of Hebrew poetry makes it the invaluable possession of all time, a recognition is implied of the existence of one everlasting and invisible God, who has implanted in the human breast a sense of right and wrong, and keeps that consciousness alive by perpetual providence, since it is impossible in the Scriptures to separate the

love of righteousness from the love of its unseen and eternal Source.

Of the doctrines peculiar to the Jews, and inspiring their genius, we may select as most significant the unity of the Divine nature, the omnipresence of God, the conviction of an intimate relation of Israel to this Invisible Being as a chosen race, the perpetual redeeming and sustaining purpose towards it, and the untiring expectation of an anointed king who should fulfil all the ardent hopes of the race, and complete the unfulfilled purpose for which it had been called, and now existed. To these, as time went on and the vision of spiritual things became clearer, was added the dream of an immortal future, at first vague and uncertain, but gradually growing more distinct and real, until in the New Testament heaven becomes the very centre of light and beauty, round which all the poetic feeling gathers, and on which all the powers of the imagination are displayed.

The influence of these great truths on the form as well as the spirit of Biblical poetry was too great and sustained to need more than a passing allusion. They assert their own power and presence at every step. Whatever of beauty the Hebrew poet sees in nature, whatever of tragic power he feels in the memories of the past, whatever bright visions he paints of future happiness and peace, it is all reflected from a soul already filled with an abiding sense of an Omnipotent Presence, and with a consciousness of a living connection of man with God. So it happens that amid this people, chosen to give religion to the world, poesy is hallowed, its lays become psalms and its songs of Nature rise into hymns of praise.[1]

Passing on from these essential conditions under which the Hebrew poet worked, to the secondary influences which modified his poetry, we shall find that the fire of his genius was fed principally at three sources—the natural scenery of his country, the forms of his worship, and the memories of the past. To these, which are the most common resort for images and illustrations, must be added the manners, acts, and employments of common life, both domestic and public, which are introduced so familiarly and with such a homely effect in the sacred poetry.

Beginning with the facts of history, which are employed by the poets of Israel in a manner almost unique to supply illustrations of passing events, or to give intensity and reality to prophetic visions, we find the first of all recorded things introduced with great frequency, and always with wonderful power.

Told with such austere simplicity, but with such dramatic effect, in the first pages of the Bible, the story of Creation gave a grand impulse to the imagination of the Jews.[2] The author of Ps. civ. finds in it his subject and his inspiration, and follows exactly the order in which the successive stages of development are described in the first chapter of Genesis.

[1] Cf. *Psalms Chronologically Arranged*, p. 20.
[2] See Gilfillan's *Bards of the Bible*, p. 2.

Of other scenes of the primitive history the poets of Israel make abundant use; but there was one event especially which, both as a subject of national thankfulness, and as a source of poetic imagery, was inexhaustible. The history of Israel commenced with the deliverance from Egypt, and the influence of that important crisis on the national imagination is conspicuous in every page of the Bible. Long after the Babylonian captivity and the troubles which surrounded the attempt to restore the fortunes of the nation, poets consoled themselves and the people by chanting the history of the marvellous works of God when—

> "Israel came out of Egypt,
> And the house of Jacob from among a strange people."

Thus the Exodus, apart from the interest of the wonderful circumstances attending it, proved one chief source of the poetic inspiration of the Hebrews. It kindles the imagination even now to think of the sudden leap into freedom of a tribe of slaves. Poesy was ever dedicate to Freedom. Liberty has inspired the noblest strains, the music that will live and thrill human hearts in time to come.

But a further and most important influence on Hebrew poetry may be traced to the mode in which the great deliverance was effected, and the circumstances which attended and followed it. The general complexion of a poetry depends chiefly on the climate and scenery of the land which produces it. This is the case with Israelite poetry. Its sterner and its gentler features reflect the varied physical condition of Palestine. But the impressions of the Exodus, the midnight start of the host, the passage of the Red Sea, the granite peaks and wild valleys of Sinai, the thunderings and lightnings of the awful mount, were not likely to be erased from a literature which actually had its birth among them. We accordingly find that in its dark and wrathful moods, as well as in its sublimer flights, Hebrew song recalls the wild and terrible imagery of the deliverance from Egypt.

Even in the prose narrative of the Book of Exodus, we feel we have something more than the materials for future poetry. The story brings the scene so vividly before us, with such a dramatic sense of the situation, and such lifelike touches, that it becomes a poem in itself. The sudden order to turn towards the sea, the night encampment, the alarm and panic at daybreak, the cry to Jehovah, the calm courage of Moses, the wonderful way opened through the waters—all these we see as in a moving picture. And then the waters roll together over Pharaoh's chariots and horsemen, and the song bursts irresistibly forth, the song of emancipation, of freedom, of victory—

> "Sing unto Jehovah, for He hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea."

Let us inquire what features of the mighty event fastened with strongest hold on the national memory, and found place in poetry?

Here is a poet who in a dialogue with himself, a contention between "the two voices" of hope and despair,

urges in support of the better mind, the love and protection of Jehovah, as shown in the ancient deliverance. It was perhaps the tempest in his soul, seeking sympathy with troubled nature, which caused him to bring into such vivid prominence the hurricane and thunderstorm which, we learn first from this Psalm, accompanied the passage of the Red Sea:—

"The waters saw Thee, O God; the waters saw Thee, and were afraid;
The depths also were troubled;
The clouds poured out water, the air thundered,
And Thine arrows went abroad;
The voice of Thy thunders was heard in the whirlwind, lightnings shone upon the world;
The earth was moved and shook withal."

The advent of peace to the anxious breast—peace like the morrow's calm, when Israel stood safe on the further shore—is marked by a change in rhythm and feeling:—

"Thy way was in the sea,
And Thy paths in the great waters;
And Thy footsteps were not known;
Thou leddest Thy people like sheep
By the hand of Moses and Aaron."
(Ps. lxxvii. 16—20.)

The prophet whose strains inspired the captives in Babylon with new hope finds a constant but ever-fresh source of imagery in the same events:—

"Thus saith Jehovah:
Who made a way in the sea,
And a path in the mighty waters?
Who brought forth the rider and the horse, the army and the warrior?
Together they lay down, they rose no more;
They were extinguished, they were quenched like tow."

But suddenly, when he has recalled these olden memories and kindled a patriotic feeling from which hopefulness may spring, he gives an unexpected turn and a new vigour to his thought. "Forget," he says, "all these wonders." Leave the past and its memories. For Jehovah is not only alive who wrought them, but able and willing to perform greater, more wonderful things:—

"Remember not the former things,
And the things of ancient times regard not;
Behold, I make a new thing;
Even now shall it spring forth; will ye not regard it?
Yea, I will make in the wilderness a way,
In the desert streams of water." (Isa. xliii. 16—19.)

The passage in the 63rd chapter of the same prophet is one of the greatest lyric triumphs of Hebrew song:—

"But they rebelled, and vexed His holy Spirit;
Therefore He was turned to be their enemy,
And He fought against them.
Then He remembered the days of old, Moses and his people:
Where is He that brought them up out of the sea, with the shepherd of His flock?
Where is He that put His holy Spirit within him?
That led them by the right hand of Moses with His glorious arm,
Dividing the water before them,
To make Himself an everlasting name?
That led them through the deep, as a horse in the wilderness, that they should not stumble?
As a beast goeth down to the valley, the Spirit of Jehovah causeth him to rest:
So didst Thou lead Thy people,
To make Thyself a glorious name." (Isa. lxiii. 10—14.)

And here we are conscious that the poet strikes a deeper chord than that which vibrates only with hope of coming temporal prosperity. The poetic image has become a symbol of a spiritual truth. The passage of the Red Sea is the likeness of the moral deliverance of the human soul from sin and death. The words "redeemer," "redemption," took their prominent place in Biblical poetry in connection with the deliverance from Egypt, and that other deliverance which always recalled it—the Return from the Captivity. But they claimed a holier purpose and assumed a loftier meaning. The poets of the Old Testament were but guardians of these fair and powerful symbols till the time for their better use should come. In the Apocalypse we meet them in their new beauty and their fullest meaning, in the vision of those who stand redeemed and victorious on the shores of the glassy sea, mingled with fire,[1] and "sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."[2]

Even at the risk of repeating what has been urged before in these papers, it must be remarked that the delight with which Israel thus lingered over the stories of ancient days had its roots in a deep religious belief. Hebrew patriotism took the form of gratitude to Him who had made His people great. The indelible impression made by these early events is explained by the phrase, so common on the lips of prophets and poets, "The Lord liveth who hath brought us up out of the house of bondage." "Jehovah hath triumphed gloriously," was the song of victory on the Red Sea, and wherever else Israel was victorious, and it was the only song of victory. Acknowledging their direct dependence on the one supreme Judge and Ruler of the world, the people of Israel did not, like other nations, assume glory to themselves. "Greece and Rome could look back with triumph to the glorious days when they had repulsed their invaders, had risen on their tyrants, had driven out their kings. But the birthday of Israel—the birthday of the religion, of the liberty of the nation of Israel—was the passage of the Red Sea; the likeness in this as in so many other respects of the yet greater events in the beginning of the Christian Church, of which it has been long considered the anticipation and the emblem. It was the commemoration, not of what man has wrought for God, but of what God has wrought for man."[3] Nowhere is the enduring strength of this conviction more finely exhibited than in Ps. cxiv., which may be quoted here, moreover, as one of the most perfect examples of the singularly vivid imagination with which the later poets seized on the national annals, and in a few powerful lines concentrated all the most striking features of a whole history. The poem will derive an additional charm to those acquainted with Dante, from the beautiful picture in the *Purgatorio*, in which the spirits emancipated from earth and wafted over the dividing sea to the mountain of purification by the radiant wings of the pilot angel, chanted altogether with one voice, "*In exitu Israel de Egypto.*" The

[1] Cf. Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 157.
[2] Rev. xiv. 3.
[3] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 129.

artistic structure of the psalm also deserves attention. The name of the Supreme Being is purposely withheld till the end, that the feelings of wonder and awe may be excited to the utmost, and sustained while earth and sea are questioned as to the reason of their alarm. It is precisely an opposite effect to that produced by the severely simple announcement, "God spake, and it was done."

In keeping with these signs of artistic purpose is the regular parallelism and the arrangement in quatrains:—

"When Israel came out of Egypt,
And the house of Jacob from among the strange people,
Judah was His sanctuary,
And Israel His dominion.

The sea saw that and fled,
Jordan was driven back;
The mountains skipped like rams,
And the little hills like young sheep.

What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest,
And thou, Jordan, that thou wast driven back?
Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams,
And ye little hills like young sheep?

Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord,
At the presence of the God of Jacob,
Who turned the hard rock into a standing water,
And the flint stone into a springing well."
(Ps. cxiv. The arrangement is after Delitzsch and Perowne.)

It would take too much space to show how deeply Jewish poetry was affected by the desert wanderings. The influence of this period has extended far beyond Hebrew literature. The rocky paths trod by Israel, the dangers, the sufferings, the deliverance from their long wanderings have, as has been truly said, supplied "materials out of which the imagination of all ages has constructed its idea of the journey of life."[1]

The interest of this period culminates at Sinai. It is not easy, however, to connect the poetic imagery of the sacred volume with the scenes which constitute its interest. Those scenes were in themselves calculated not only to produce a religious awe too strong for time to wear away, but also to create for the national imagination an inexhaustible store of grand and terrible figures. The long and steep ascent, each turn in the rocky stair leading further from the haunts of men into deeper and more secluded solitude; the granite peaks, unclothed with verdure, rising in every wild fantastic shape into the deep blue Eastern sky, the desolation, the silence, the mystery—these alone were such as to produce ineffaceable impressions. And then the solemn dawn of the awful day when the event of these long preparations was to be seen—"And there were thunderings and lightnings, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud, so that all the people in the camp trembled." But on the mount itself there was a thick cloud. "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice" (Exod. xix. 18, 19).

Amid many plain instances of the enduring influence of the great event one deserves notice, since it is one of the passages where a New Testament writer, in an epistle which is indeed deeply coloured with poetry, rises into almost lyric fire. The contrast between the Old and New Covenant was drawn out in many ways in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in none with more distinctness and power than in chapter xiii., "For ye are not come unto (the mount[2]) that was touched,[3] and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words, which they who heard intreated that word might be spoken to them no more. . . . But ye are come unto mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, heavenly Jerusalem, and to myriads, the festal host of angels, and the assembly of the firstborn that are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, speaking more powerfully than Abel."

It falls in with a notice of the poetic use made of this part of the history of Israel, to refer to the influence which the peculiar religious economy had on the national imagination. It has been already seen that Jewish song is in fact the creation of the religion, and chiefly existed to minister to the beauty and solemnity of public worship. The form in which it expressed itself would, therefore, naturally be affected by the numerous religious rites to whose service it was dedicated. It would be long to trace this influence in detail. It is evident throughout the sacred poetry from the first chant which rose from the priests in the wilderness, as the encampment broke up and began the day's march,[4] to the sublime vision which the latest of Israel's seers saw, when the Holy City came down from heaven like a bride adorned for her husband, and a great voice proclaimed, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people." Two out of many instances alone will suffice, which we may choose not only for their intrinsic beauty, but because they have passed from Hebrew into Christian poetry.

There appears, several times repeated, in the sacred poetry a tender and exquisite image of God's protecting care, to which, it has been rightly said, "there is no parallel in heathen literature."[5] It is the figure with which every English child is familiar, of the outstretched brooding wings of God, and under them shelter and rest for man. No doubt the birds, so dear to all poets, in some cases suggested the image.[6] But

[1] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 136.

[2] This word is of doubtful authority.

[3] As contrasted with the spiritual mountains which could not be touched.

[4] Numb. x. 35. Cf. Ps. lxviii. 1.

[5] Perowne.

[6] Cf. Deut. xxxii. 11, 12, and Matt. xxiii. 37.

there is one verse in Ps. lxi. which by its parallelism directs us to another source for it:

> "O that I might dwell in Thy tabernacle for ever,
> And flee under the covert of Thy wings."

It was in the inmost recess of the Holy of Holies, and under the shadow of the cherub wings which met above the mercy-seat, that the poet prayed that he might find refuge. So another psalmist, in the dread hour of pestilence, when thousands were falling around, proclaims the security of those who trust in God under the same image, evidently, as the context shows, drawn from the same source:

> "He shall defend thee under His wings,
> And thou shalt be safe under His feathers."[1]

The other instance is worthy of notice because it marks the difference between true and false symbolism, between poetry, which casts a light and glory round a common act or object by revealing the spiritual truth which it conceals, and superstition, which invests the outward sign with magical power and mysterious virtue. Amid all the multitudinous symbolism of the Mosaic ritual there was none more calculated to impress the imagination and elevate the feelings of the worshipper than the incense cloud which rose into the "gloom and glory" of the Temple as the priests' hands were lifted up in prayer towards the holy place. But the danger of the frequent repetition of such expressive actions is evident. The poets of Israel helped to vindicate for this as for sacrifice its spiritual against a material use. Thus the Psalmist sings—

> "Jehovah, I call upon Thee, haste Thee unto me!
> Consider my voice when I cry unto Thee;
> *Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense,*
> *And the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice.*"

[1] Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 7; lvii. 1; lxiii. 8.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

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SACRED PLACES (*continued*).

WE have still to linger for a little in the Holy of Holies, or the most holy place of the Tabernacle; and, doing so, our attention must be turned to a third article of the furniture placed in it, the Cherubim.

III. Directions for the making of these figures are given in the following words—"And thou shalt make two cherubims of gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy-seat. And make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end; even of the mercy-seat [margin, of the *matter* of the mercy-seat] shall ye make the cherubims on the two ends thereof. And the cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, and their faces shall look one to another; toward the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubims be" (Exod. xxv. 18—20). The expression here used that they were to be made "of" or "from" the mercy-seat, does not necessarily imply that they were to be beaten out of the same piece of gold; for it is hardly possible to think, considering the size of that article of furniture, that any one block of gold could have been cast so large as to admit of both mercy-seat and cherubim being wrought from it; but it can hardly imply less than this, that these two objects were to be inseparably connected with each other, that like the altar and its horns (comp. Exod. xxvii. 2) they were to constitute one whole.[1]

The description thus given obviously leaves us in complete uncertainty with regard to various particulars respecting the cherubim, on which we would fain have fuller information than we possess; and it is difficult to say whether this silence may have arisen from the fact that their figures were familiar to the Israelites, or whether it constitutes a part of a designed indefiniteness. The former explanation is, to say the least of it, improbable. Very specific directions are given with regard to the construction of other objects with which the people must have been much more familiar than they were with these; and even supposing that they knew exactly what was meant by the cherubim of Gen. iii. 24, we cannot imagine that the size of those in the Tabernacle would be the same, however great may have been the correspondence in the outline of their forms. We must, therefore, adopt the latter of the two suppositions that have been mentioned. It was intended that a certain degree of indistinctness should hang over the shape and appearance of these mysterious forms, yet not so much for the purpose of increasing the mystery connected with them, as with the view of leaving greater scope for the expression of the ideas which they symbolised, when these ideas should have gained, with the progress of time, larger measures of purity and strength. Notwithstanding this indefiniteness, however, information is given us in the later books of Scripture upon what must have been considered essential points in the construction of the cherubim; and we are entitled, if not even called upon, to add it to what is said of them in the earlier books. It is not to be thought that, whatever subordinate alterations were made in the conception of them, their structure would be materially changed. We know, at least, that those beheld in the visions of the Apocalypse are in essential correspondence with those of Ezekiel. We may justly infer that those seen by Ezekiel were, like all the other parts of his vision of the Temple, taken from the Temple of Solomon:

[1] See Kalisch *in loc.*

"And I knew," says the prophet, "that they were the cherubims" (Ezek. x. 20). And, finally, we can hardly doubt that the cherubim of Solomon would be moulded after the fashion long consecrated in the Tabernacle. A line of similarity thus runs throughout the whole Bible with regard to them, and what is said in one place must be understood to throw light upon particulars not distinctly mentioned in another. Slight modifications in their structure were due simply to the fact that the idea intended to be expressed had become clearer as time ran on. We have seen something of this kind already in the reference made to the golden candlestick in the Apocalypse, for that candlestick which was single in the Tabernacle becomes "seven" to the view of the Apocalyptic seer (Rev. i. 12). No one will doubt, however, that the essential idea is preserved. It is the same in the case before us. Changes in the figures of the cherubim there might be, but we cannot imagine that these would be introduced to the extent of destroying or even obscuring their identity. Availing ourselves, then, of this principle, we turn in the first place to the cherubim of Solomon, in connection with which we learn the important particulars that they "stood upon their feet," and that their wings reached twenty cubits, each wing being five cubits, from the one wall of the Holy of Holies to the other (2 Chron. iii. 11—13). The wings, however, cannot have stretched across the "inner house" in a horizontal line, for the whole breadth of the house was only twenty cubits, and no space would then have been left for their bodies. They must have stretched upwards at an angle, a circumstance at once corresponding with, and throwing light upon, what is said of the cherubim of the Tabernacle, that "they shall stretch forth their wings on high" (Exod. xxv. 20). We are not, therefore, to think of them in the latter place as sending their wings directly upward from their bodies in a perpendicular line, but as giving them some degree of inclination to the walls, and thus reaching forth towards that complete possession of the sacred spot which they afterwards attained. The other circumstance mentioned in connection with the cherubim of Solomon is even more important. They "stood upon their feet"—that is, not only was their position an upright one, but it leads us to think of a human and not a bestial form.

This latter particular is confirmed when we turn to Ezekiel. The "living creatures" spoken of in the first and tenth chapters of that prophet are undoubtedly the cherubim, and we are expressly told of them, "This was their appearance, they had the likeness of a man" (i. 5); and again, "There appeared in the cherubims the form of a man's hand under their wings" (x. 8)—that is, the symbol of human agency and activity appeared under those very parts of their bodies by which they were enabled to fulfil the functions here ascribed to them as the swift messengers of the Almighty's wrath, and the sound of whose rapid movement was heard "even to the outer court, as the voice of the Almighty God when He speaketh" (ver. 5). It is the same when we turn to the Apocalypse; the composite faces of each of the cherubim in Ezekiel are there resolved into the separate elements of their composition. Of the four living creatures it is said that "the first living creature was like a lion, and the second living creature like a calf, and the third living creature had a face as a man, and the fourth living creature was like a flying eagle" (iv. 7)—a statement in which the change of expression employed in the case of the third living creature is justly regarded as implying that the human figure was characteristic of them all, but that it, in addition to the figure, had also the human face. Whatever else, therefore, may have been associated with them, this much is clear, that the human element was predominant in their form. The view now taken receives at least confirmation even from the statement of Gen. iii. 24, "And he made to dwell in the garden of Eden eastward cherubims . . . . to keep the way of the tree of life," where Bähr—whose whole dissertation upon the cherubim has formed, and will probably always form, the main source of information on the point—has demonstrated in the most conclusive manner that they were placed in Eden for the purpose of "keeping" what had been first entrusted to man to "keep" (ii. 15), and that they are not to be regarded as mere guardians of the tree of life, but as "keepers" of the garden in which it grew.[1] If so, however, we are again naturally guided to the thought, not of a bestial, but of a human form.

Although, however, the human form was thus predominant in the cherubim, they were also marked by characteristics taken from other spheres of creaturely existence. Thus alike in the Tabernacle, in the Temple, and in the visions of Ezekiel and St. John they had wings. In Ezekiel and St. John, again, mention is made of their having not only the face of a man, but the faces of a lion, an ox, and an eagle. The first-named prophet, indeed, speaks of each of them as in possession of all the four faces (Ezek. i. 6—10); the latter apportions one only of the four to each (Rev. iv. 7); while in the case of the cherubim both of the Temple and the Tabernacle, no indication is given in the text that they possessed more than one face, in all probability the human. If, however, this latter inference be correct—and we are unable, although not satisfied of its correctness, to establish anything to the contrary—it will be necessary to suppose that, in some way or another, the conception of these animal faces was latent in the cherubim of the Tabernacle, and capable of development. It is not an accidental but an essential feature of their structure, and it is hardly possible to think that, had no hint been given of it in their original condition, it would have been simply added either by Ezekiel or St. John. It is otherwise with the other characteristics mentioned by these two prophets, and not spoken of in the Law, such as their wheels and eyes, for the first of these seem simply to spring from the fact that they are represented, not in a stationary position as in the Tabernacle, but as moving everywhere with the swiftness of lightning to execute the Almighty's vengeance, while the latter is the

[1] Bähr, *Symbolik*, i., p. 351.

expression of their supernatural powers of vision for the same purpose.

An important question relative to the cherubim has reference to their position as regards the throne of God. Are they, properly speaking, the bearers of that throne, or are they simply near it? From various expressions of the Old Testament it has been often inferred that they were the former. Thus we read, "Thou that sittest above the cherubim, shine forth;" and again, "Jehovah is King, the people tremble; He sitteth throned upon the cherubim, the earth is moved" (Ps. lxxx. 1; xcix. 1). In the magnificent description of the eighteenth Psalm it is said of the Almighty, "He rode upon a cherub and did fly; yea, He did fly upon the wings of the wind" (ver. 10); and still more, when Ezekiel sees the glory of God going up from the midst of the city, he describes the movement in the words, "Then did the cherubims lift up their wings, and the wheels beside them; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above" (xi. 22). This idea, however, is inconsistent with what we find both in the books of Moses and in the Apocalypse. In the former it is the mercy-seat that is God's throne: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the vail before the mercy-seat which is upon the ark, that he die not, for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat." "And when Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak with Him, then he heard the voice of One speaking unto him from off the mercy-seat that was upon the ark of testimony, from between the two cherubims: and He spake unto him" (Lev. xvi. 2; Numb. vii. 89). In conformity with this, the original promise of God was that He would commune with the people "from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony" (Exod. xxv. 22); and He is again and again spoken of as the Lord of Hosts that dwelleth *between* the cherubims (1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2), where the word "between," though not exactly expressed in the Hebrew, gives a fair representation of the sense. What is thus set before us in the Old Testament finds confirmation in the New, for when St. John describes their position it is in the words, that they are "in the midst of the throne and round about the throne" (Rev. iv. 6). Let us look at these last words a little more particularly, for it seems to us that they have not been thoroughly appreciated by previous inquirers. A comparison of Rev. iv. 4—6 and vii. 11 will show that κύκλῳ expresses not a nearer but rather a more remote relation to the object spoken of than κυκλόθεν, and that we have to conceive of the throne and the adoring hosts around it as a series of concentric circles—in the centre the throne, the first circle and nearest to the centre the four-and-twenty elders, the second the four living creatures, the third the great company of angels. What then is the meaning of "in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne," two clauses apparently contradictory of each other, especially if we are right in affirming that "round about" here (κύκλῳ) indicates not so much a near as a somewhat distant proximity? We believe that these words are suggested by nothing else than the arrangements of the Most Holy Place, "in the midst of the throne" by the thought of the two cherubim standing upon the ark; "round about the throne" by the thought of the cherubim wrought into the texture of the covering which formed the roof and sides of the apartment. If so, any idea that the cherubim were the supporters or bearers up of God's throne must be at once dismissed. They are near it, they are round about it, He who sits upon the throne speaks from their midst; but He is not borne up by them, nor does He ride upon them as in a chariot.

It seems only necessary to add, upon this part of the subject, that the eyes of the cherubim in the Tabernacle are directed downwards towards the mercy-seat (Exod. xxv. 20), and that the curtain and vail which formed the sides of the Most Holy Place were all wrought with cherubim of cunning work (Exod. xxvi. 1).

From the structure and form of the cherubim we turn to their meaning for Israel, and, connected with this, to their fulfilment for ourselves. On the first of these two points very different opinions have been entertained, which our space does not permit us to examine. We can do little more than allude in passing to three of these which it is necessary to set aside. It is first of all evident that they do not represent attributes of the Almighty. The argument of the Rev. Principal Fairbairn, in his able article on the "Cherubim" in the *Imperial Dictionary of the Bible*, is, it appears to us, conclusive upon this point. They serve, they worship, they adore. "Creaturely position and ministerial character" obviously belong to them. They are certainly not emblems of the Divine. In the second place, they are not angelic existences. The human form is too predominant a characteristic of their structure to permit such an idea to be entertained, and in the Revelation of St. John they are clearly distinguished from angels. In the third place, they are not an independent order of creatures, possessing a distinct and separate existence. Apart from all other considerations leading to the rejection of such a view, it is enough to observe that the changes in the descriptions given in different parts of the Bible of their forms prevent the possibility of entertaining it. They are symbolical figures, ideal conceptions, and have no corresponding representatives among actual living things.

The important question then is, What do they represent? The human element in them is at once intelligible. It can be nothing but man. But what of the animal faces associated with it? Do these indicate an advance of humanity to higher powers than it at present possesses, to attributes "more strikingly represented in the inferior creation than in him who is its proper lord and its head;" or do they lead us to the thought of other departments of nature brought along with man near to the Almighty, and made partakers of man's privileges? Notwithstanding the weight of authority on the other side, we must adopt the latter idea. For,

in the first place, there is more than these animal faces to be accounted for and explained. The cherubim had wings, and these obviously not the wings of birds whose added powers, if we are to take such a view of the matter, are concentrated in the eagle's face, but the wings of God's messenger, the wind. This characteristic of the cherubim has been strangely neglected by inquirers into the symbolism before us, but it is not less entitled to consideration than the others. We shall return to it again. In the meantime it is enough to say that it demands explanation, and that upon the view we are controverting it does not obtain it. In the second place, when one or more parts of a composite and ideal figure have a distinct meaning of their own, it is natural to think that this will be the case with all the parts. The human face and the wings of the cherub have such a meaning. It is at least probable that the animal faces have an equally independent force. In the third place, the whole analogy of the Holy of Holies makes it necessary to suppose that, in so far as man is here referred to, it is as redeemed, and brought to the highest point of spiritual development. There is something incongruous in the idea of mixing up with this the thought of increased powers best represented in a part of creation so much beneath him. Lastly, we shall have to show immediately that the qualities of the lower animals thus fixed on, "royal majesty and fearful strength, patient and productive industry, soaring energy and angelic nimbleness of action," are not the qualities represented by the lion, the ox, and the eagle, and that what these animals do symbolise does not supply suitable material for the thought of powers added to man.

It is not, therefore, in this line of thought that we are to find the explanation of those parts of the cherubim which are additional to the human. We must adopt rather the second alternative spoken of, and see in them the symbols of other departments of nature now associated with man in the enjoyment of his completed privileges.

Thus the wings of the cherubim are the symbol of the wind, a part of the material creation generally. There does not appear to be a single passage of the Old Testament where wings are spoken of as if they belonged to angels. They belong to the wind (Ps. xviii. 10; civ. 3); and if we are asked why this part of creation should be selected rather than any other as the representative of the whole, the answer will be found in an aspect of the cherubim that we have yet to speak of, and leading directly to such a choice. In the meanwhile, it is enough to say that the wings of the cherubim are not the wings of angels, that they carry us to the thought of the wind, and through the wind to the thought of all inanimate creation. When we turn to the animal faces, there can be, of course, no doubt that we have in them the representatives of creation in its animated sphere—the lion the monarch of the forest, the "ox" associated with domestic life, the eagle better fitted than any other bird to symbolise the dominion of the air. Combining, therefore, these different considerations, we see in the composite and ideal figures of the cherubim first of all man predominant, and then both animate and inanimate nature connected with him in his admission to the Divine presence, and to the exalted privileges of the Tabernacle's most holy place.

The view now taken will receive confirmation if what we have yet to say of the meaning of these animal faces shall be acknowledged to be correct. That meaning, it seems to us, is to be sought in a direction entirely different from that in which it is generally, if not always, looked for—not in the nobler, but in the fiercer and more terrible qualities of the animals selected. It is probably the mention of the "ox" that has led to what we cannot help regarding as a complete misconception of the figure. The ox may indeed well be the emblem of patient industry, but is it in the least degree likely that the ox is the animal referred to? Could a mutilated animal have been used in such symbolism as we have now before us (comp. Lev. xxi. 16—24)? It is not the face of the ox but of the bull that is employed, just as in Rev. iv. 7 it is the face of a bull-calf; and the bull is the emblem not of patient industry, but of strong and fierce rage. "Because ye were glad, because ye rejoiced, O ye destroyers of mine heritage, because ye are grown fat as the heifer at grass, and bellow as bulls." "Be not far from me, for trouble is near; for there is none to help. Many bulls have compassed me; strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round." "Rebuke the company of spearmen, the multitude of the bulls; . . . scatter thou the people that delight in war" (Jer. l. 11; Ps. xxii. 11, 12; lxviii. 30). If this be the symbolism of the bull-face, there will be less difficulty in allowing that that of the lion is intended to denote not the majesty but the terror of royalty, and to bring before us the thought of an animal tearing his prey, rending it to pieces, while there is none to deliver, and roaring in such a manner as to alarm all who hear (Ps. vii. 2; xxii. 13; Hosea xi. 10). A similar remark applies to the face of the eagle, for the rapidity of the eagle's flight is spoken of in Scripture not so much as the emblem of speed alone, but to mark the swiftness with which judgments overtake the enemies of God. He is "the eagle that hasteth to the prey" (Job ix. 26). The destroyer of Jerusalem shall "come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind; his horses are swifter than eagles;" and in similar strains the destroyer of Edom is described—"Behold, he shall come up and fly as the eagle, and at that day shall the heart of the mighty men of Edom be as the heart of a woman in her pangs" (Jer. iv. 13; xlix. 22). Nor is it otherwise in the New Testament, for our Lord himself quotes the saying, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together" (Matt. xxiv. 28); and when St. John in the Apocalypse hears "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound," the words are from the voice of "an eagle flying through the midst of heaven" (Rev. viii. 13, *amended reading*). These then are the qualities that

are symbolised in the animal faces of the cherubim, not "majesty and peerless strength," "patient labour and productive energy," "angelic nimbleness of action,"[1] but rather qualities that strike terror into the hearts of men, and suggest the idea of a destructive force that nothing is able to withstand.

It will be at once observed how completely it is in harmony with the representation now given, that wings are attached to the cherubim as symbols of inanimate creation. These wings are "the wings of the wind," and it is upon them that the Almighty rides when He comes to judgment. "Then the earth shook and trembled; the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken, because He was wroth. There went up a smoke out of His nostrils, and fire out of His mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it. And He rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, He did fly upon the wings of the wind" (Ps. xviii. 7, 8, 10).

The aspect under which the Almighty is presented to us in Scripture when the cherubim are associated with Him leads us to the same conclusion. They are not then simply partakers of His favour. They are instruments in the execution of His wrath. That it is so in Ezekiel no one will dispute, and we may be spared the proof. It is not less so in the Apocalypse. The opening of each of the first four seals, the four which deal with judgments upon earth, is immediately followed by a voice, "as it were the noise of thunder," from one of the four living creatures, saying, "Come and see" (Rev. vi. 1, 3, 5, 7). It is one of them that gives to the seven angels "seven golden vials full of the wrath of God" (Rev. xv. 7); and after the destruction of Babylon, when her smoke is ascending up for ever and ever, and the voice of much people in heaven calls for praise to Him who hath avenged the blood of His servants at her hand, they fall down and worship "God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia" (Rev. xix. 1—4).

Thus, therefore, we reach the meaning and purport of the cherubim. They are an emblem of man associated on the one hand with the inanimate, on the other with animated creation, all brought into the immediate presence of God, all placed close around His throne, and either filling or stretching forth to fill the Holy of Holies with their presence. They are there, sharers in the Almighty's holiness, and of that holiness in its more awful forms, as a holiness that cannot look upon sin but with abhorrence. They are the vicegerents of His kingdom. They are assessors by His side. Their aspect is not that of the sweetness generally connected by us with the word cherub, but that of sternness, indignant power, and judgment. Thus also it is that they look downwards towards the mercy-seat. It is by what they see there that they are restrained from executing wrath upon the guilty. That mercy-seat, sprinkled with the blood of atonement, tells of pardon for the sinner; their sternness is softened, mercy rejoices over judgment, and the storm-wind sinks into a calm.

[1] Fairbairn, *Typology*, i., p. 263.

We have already occupied so much space with the subject before us that little is left for the consideration of our last point, the fulfilment of the cherubim. The key to that fulfilment is the thought of glorified humanity; for we have already seen that the human element is predominant in them, the others being only associated with and subordinate to it; while their place is in the Holy of Holies, immediately beside the throne of God; and their designation, in the language of the sacred writer, is "the cherubims of glory" (Heb. ix. 5). Glorified humanity, then, is what they primarily represent to us, and that in the first place in the Lord Jesus Christ himself. As man He has ascended to "His Father and our Father, to His God and our God;" "We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour;" and "the Lamb that was slain" is "in the midst of the throne." But, again, the fulfilment of the cherubim is not in Christ alone individually and personally. It is also in that Church of which He is Head, in all in which the redemption wrought out by Him takes effect, in all that through Him is brought into nearness to the High and Holy One who dwelleth in the high and holy place. Here indeed humanity is first. Not unto angels hath God "put in subjection the world to come," but unto man; and, though we do not yet see all things put under him, we see Jesus, his great Representative and Forerunner, already set down at the right hand of the throne of God; the "name given Him above every name;" "angels, authorities, and powers being made subject unto Him;" and we know that His Church shall in due time share His exaltation, and follow Him whithersoever He goeth. Man then first, but not man alone. Along with him, there is a sense in which Nature, in both her departments, animate and inanimate, shall also be partaker of redemption; for "the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God" (Rom. viii. 20, 21). This is the great result spoken of by the Apostle when he tells us that "it pleased the Father that in His dear Son should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself; by Him, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven" (Col. i. 19, 20). It is the "new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii. 13). It is the "every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them," heard by the Apocalyptic seer "saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever" (Rev. v. 13). These are all to be associated with man in his song of praise. In his elevation they shall all be elevated; nay, with him they are elevated now. The light that transfigures him upon the Holy Mount also transfigures them; and the more he is glorified by faith, the more does a glory shine to him through their apparent garb

of "vanity," and change, and death. God, in short, is in the midst of His people and of the earth, and man and nature alike lift up to Him their song of praise. "They rest not day or night," like the living creatures, the cherubim by which they are symbolised, "saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come" (Rev. iv. 8). Finally, if we are asked, Where is the element of judgment spoken of? we reply, All holiness in the very necessity of the case is judgment; but, further, it is in the promise that the saints shall judge the world when they are "set down with Christ upon His throne, even as He is set down with the Father upon His throne." And thus they shall continue to judge until all Christ's enemies are made His footstool. Then there will be no longer need for judgment, and it will only remain for them to keep their eyes fixed upon the mercy-seat, upon the Lamb "as it had been slain," and to sing "the new song" to Him who hath redeemed them to God by His blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hath made them unto their God kings and priests (Rev. v. 9).

THE MINERALS OF THE BIBLE.

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II. METALS, MINING, AND METALLURGY (*continued*).

IRON AND STEEL.

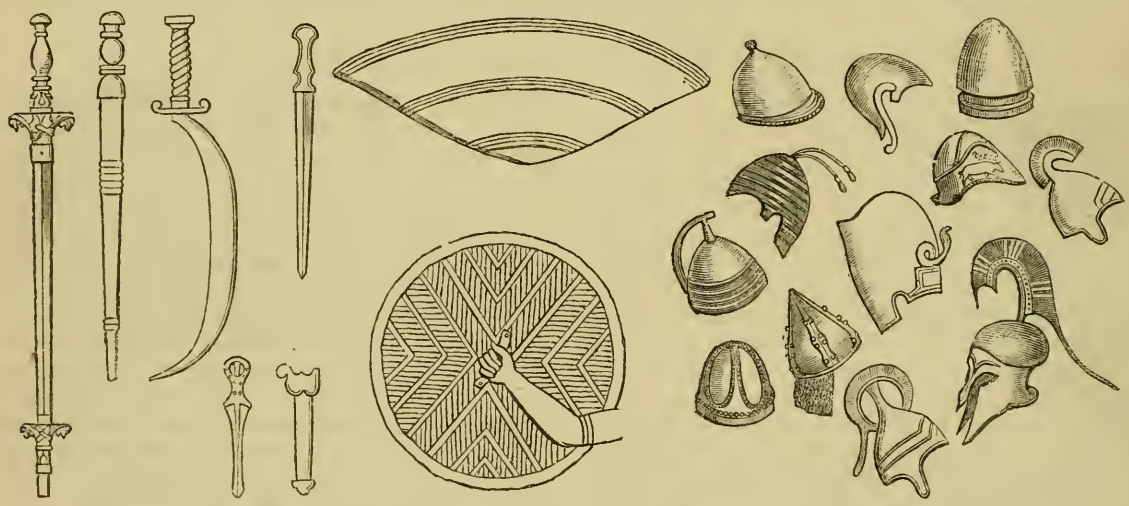
THE descendants of Cain are represented in the Book of Genesis (chap. iv.) as the great inventors and discoverers of remote antiquity. Lamech was the father of the first musician, and the first metal artificer; Jubal discovered the charms of music, and Tubal-cain invented the first processes of metallurgy. It has been suggested that the hard and dangerous life led by the exiled Cainites forced them, as a means of self-defence, to metal weapons, and, as a means of subsistence, to metal tools. The reader may be referred to the very beautiful poem of *Jubal*, by George Elliott, as giving an imaginative and yet highly probable account of the discovery of musical instruments, and the development of the art which thus sprang into existence. The suggestion as to the close union between the two uses of metal is worthy of notice, because now, as in ancient times, the path of human progress lies not amidst luxury and personal enjoyment, but often in hardness and severity of living; or, in the words of the trite and well-worn proverb, "Necessity is the mother of invention." Nor need hardness and severity of life be destitute of refinement and culture; for whilst one brother becomes the blackened and begrimed metal-worker, the other lends to his labour the charms of music and harmony. Tubal-cain worked in bronze and iron amidst the melodies of Jubal's lyre.

The mention of *iron* so early in traditional history has given rise to much discussion and speculation. All archæologists are agreed that in Europe, at all events, the use of bronze preceded that of iron; and there can be little doubt that this was the case generally. Iron does not obtrude itself upon notice like some other metals. Its workable ores, with some exceptions to be named below, are dull and earthy in appearance, and the metal is obtained from them with difficulty. In the earlier ages, though iron might be known, the difficulty of working it would restrict its use, and bronze would be much more extensively employed. This must necessarily be conceded. But when it is stated that iron *could not* have been known at so early an age, and that the references to it in the early books prove that they were produced subsequently, we must enter an emphatic protest. The historical proof is conclusive as to the early employment of iron; and where history fades into the dim tradition of the past, the probability is most strong that iron must have been known, even if not employed so extensively as bronze. The discoveries of Mr. Layard in Assyria show that iron abounded in that ancient empire, and that it was sent by the Assyrians as tribute to the Egyptians (*Second Discovery in Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 415). Concerning its use in Egypt, the absence of iron in the relics discovered was at first deemed conclusive that it was unknown. But Sir J. G. Wilkinson (iii. 247) shows the fallacy of this conclusion. He says: "In the sepulchres of Thebes I have had occasion to remark butchers represented sharpening their knives on a round bar of metal attached to their apron; and the blue colour of the blades, and the distinction maintained between the bronze and steel weapons in the tomb of Rameses III., one being painted red and the other blue, leave little doubt that the Egyptians of an early Pharaonic age were acquainted with the use of iron." The absence of iron relics from Egypt is due probably to their decomposition. Mr. Layard sent some to the British Museum from Nineveh; but, so far as we are aware, none have been brought from Egypt. As iron readily rusts, and a nitrous soil such as that of Egypt would promote the decomposition, it is easy to understand the disappearance of iron relics.

Turning now to the dawn of early tradition, apart from direct historical testimony or archæological proof, there is very strong probability that iron must have been known; though undoubtedly bronze, for reasons already stated, was in much more general use. The more common ores of iron, which, though so refractory in working, have aided so much the growth of civilisa-

tion, and added so much to the dignity and glory of our own country, are not likely to have attracted the attention of the early dwellers on the earth. But there are other ores of iron which must have been noticed. The most prominent, perhaps, is iron pyrites, with its brilliant lustre and golden aspect. This, however, could not have been used for the production of the metal; it is not so used even now. Next comes the magnetic oxide of iron, or natural lodestone, the starting-point of all the wonderful magnetic discoveries; and the anhydrous sesquioxide, called red hæmatite or specular iron, an ore of like composition to that now worked at Barrow-in-Furness. Pliny's account of these is somewhat interesting. Speaking of the former, he says: "It received its name, *magnes*, from the person who was the first to discover it, upon Ida. Magnes, it is said, made this discovery when, taking his herds to pasture, he found that the nails of his shoes and the iron ferrule of his staff adhered to the ground." He then describes different kinds of magnets and their localities, and proceeds: "The leading distinction in magnets is the sex, male and female, and the next great difference in them is the colour. . . . . The kind that is found in Troas is black, of the female sex, and consequently destitute of attractive power." This is interesting as referring probably to the opposite effects of north and south magnetic poles, and highly amusing in its reference to the magnetic attractive power of the female sex, especially when of a black colour. Then, after describing hæmatite as not possessing the property of attracting iron which the ordinary magnet has, Pliny proceeds thus: "The *Æthiopian* magnet is recognised by this peculiarity, that it has the property also of attracting other magnets to it." [*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi., c. 25 (16).] The magnetic iron ore is in this passage distinctly located in *Æthiopia*; and as Sir J. G. Wilkinson shows, at Hammámi, between the Nile and the Red Sea, a mine of specular ore or hæmatite was discovered by Mr. Burton. Further, the recent Ordnance Survey of the peninsula of Sinai (published in 1869) shows not only that the so-called Nubian Sandstone, which is of the Carboniferous age, contains the brown hydrated hæmatite, which has been extensively worked at Wady Nasb and other places, but also that the iron mountain Jebel Hadid, to the south of Jebel Musa, consists of specular iron ore, and that the same ore occurs in other localities. Now, remembering these historical references and proofs, we maintain that, going back to the dawn of early tradition, there is strong probability that these ores *must*, by their peculiar character and appearance, have early attracted notice, and in all probability have yielded, even to the crude methods then known, the reduced metal.

Another consideration will render the probability of the early discovery of iron still stronger. Whilst there is no proof of the existence of native metallic iron in the countries bordering on the traditional centre of our race, there is distinct historic proof of the fall of meteoric stones in ancient times. Plutarch relates circumstantially the fall of a meteorite at Ægos Potamos, 465 B.C. (*Life of Lysander*); and, moreover, he gives a very shrewd guess as to the origin of such stones, in words which may be rendered thus: "Some philosophers maintain an opinion more likely and credible than that of Anaxagoras. They hold that the stars which are seen to fall are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire, but that they really are some of those heavenly bodies which, from some lessening of the rapidity of their motion, or by some irregular concussion, get loosened and fall; not so much upon places that are inhabited as into the ocean, which is the reason why they are so seldom seen." Pliny (ii. 58) refers to this stone, and says that it was still to be seen in his time. The fall is also recorded in the chronicle of the Arundelian or Parian Marbles, and Diogenes of Apollonia speaks of "the stony star



ANCIENT KNIVES AND METAL ARMOUR. (ASSYRIAN.)

which fell burning at Ægos Potamos." Besides this, which is perhaps the most authentic account of any meteoric fall in ancient times, there are other allusions to such metallic stones, dating back as far as the fifteenth century B.C. (*e.g.* Herodotus, iv. 5 and 7, and others). And making all allowance for the superstitions of early times, there can be little doubt, in the light of modern scientific knowledge, that these records are substantially correct, and that meteoric masses have at various times fallen on the earth. During the present century such stones have been observed to fall, and have been analysed by competent chemists.

In the British Museum, and in the museums of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and other places, are numerous specimens of such meteorites from different parts of the world. Analysis shows that many of these masses consist of metallic iron in combination with very small quantities of nickel and cobalt. Wherever in ancient times such stones occurred, they must have attracted attention, and there can be little doubt that the metal was speedily utilised for weapons and tools. The Esquimaux now make knives from meteoric iron. The metal would necessarily be rare in the infancy of metallurgy, and the superior facilities of bronze would for a lengthened time overshadow it, until the metal-workers were able to obtain it from its more common ores. But, in view of the facts and testimonies above-mentioned, we see no reason whatever for doubting that very early in the history of our race iron was known; though for a considerable period the comparative rarity of its richest ores, and the difficulty of working them, kept it subordinate in general use to copper and bronze.

We must venture, at the risk of seeming tedious, to pursue this subject a little further. The facts stated are no mere fables. They are some of the "fairy tales of science;" and they throw a flood of light on the description of Palestine in Deut. viii. 9, as "a land whose stones are iron." Some distinguished modern geologists, notably Professor Ramsay, maintain that these iron meteorites are not of extra-terrestrial origin, but that they are masses of native iron brought to the surface of the earth from its interior by eruptive volcanic agencies. On November 8th, 1871, a letter from the British Embassy at Copenhagen, transmitted by Earl Granville, our then Foreign Minister, to the Geological Society of London, was read and discussed at its ordinary meeting. This letter concerned a number of masses of meteoric iron which had recently been found in Greenland, the largest of which weighed no less than twenty-five tons. Chemical analysis showed that the proportion of iron was very great indeed. On December 20th, in the same year, the subject was resumed in a paper by Professor Nordenskiöld of Stockholm, who gave reasons for the meteoric origin of these enormous masses. The discussion was continued in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences* (tomes lxxiv. and lxxv.) and other foreign publications. The Swedish metallurgists maintained the extra-terrestrial origin of these metallic stones, and this view was supported by M. Wöhler (*Nachr. Kön. Gesellch. Göttingen*, May 11th, 1872), whilst the opinion was freely expressed in England and France that they might be of eruptive origin. The distinguished French metallurgist, M. Daubrée, than whom no man perhaps is better able to give a competent opinion, after a most careful examination of specimens, and a most candid investigation of reasons *pro* and *con.*, came to the conclusion that, though in many respects these stones resemble those which can definitely be traced to meteoric falls which have taken place during the present century, yet they are most probably eruptive, and seem to elucidate the nature of the deeper-seated parts of our globe. (See *Quar. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, cix., pp. 1 and 44; cxii. Appendix, pp. 6, 7.)

ANCIENT CHARIOT. (ASSYRIAN.)

Now let us look at the statement of Deut. viii. 9, in

the light of these facts and discussions. Palestine was "a land whose stones are iron." Winer and others have understood this to mean basalt. Others, again, have explained it as a merely poetical figure. Russegger, Burckhardt, Seetsen, and Ritter have shown that strata containing iron occur in that district. The limestone of Palestine belongs to the Jurassic or Oolitic formation, which yields hydrous iron oxide in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire, in Northamptonshire, and in some parts of Europe. But the traces of iron operations of this kind in Palestine are exceedingly unimportant, and would by no means justify the expression "whose stones are iron."[1]

It is clear from Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19; iv. 3, 13, that at the time of the Israelite invasion Canaan abounded in iron. Whence came this iron? If in Greenland it can be shown that the basalts of that district include masses of metallic substance containing ninety per cent. of pure iron, it is not incredible that the basaltic rocks which abound in some parts of Palestine may likewise have contained, in early times, masses of metallic iron, which the ancient metal-workers used for their various purposes. Both east and west of the gorge of the Jordan, and the Dead Sea and Lake of Tiberias, are signs of very peculiar volcanic activity in past ages; and the basalts there may, as in Greenland, have been associated with metallic iron. The hypothesis of Professor Ramsay and M. Daubrée, if true, fully explains the references to iron in connection with the early history of Canaan. And this explanation, perhaps, is rendered the more probable from the fact that the territories of Og, king of Bashan, who had a huge bedstead of iron (Deut. iii. 11), consisted in very great part of basaltic rock. Even if the hypothesis in question should be exploded by further discovery and research, it is not by any means improbable that the iron of Canaan in remote times was derived from meteoric stones; and this would justify the expression that it was "a land whose stones were iron."

In later times (Ezek. xxvii. 19) the market of Tyre is represented as being supplied with *bright iron* by the merchants of Dan and Javan. This statement is most suggestive, because it indicates that the original source of supply in Palestine itself had failed. In the times of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, there is distinct evidence of abundance of iron, so much so that Moses describes the land as one whose stones are iron. If this iron were derived, as we have suggested, either from occasional and isolated masses of native iron in the basaltic rock of the volcanic districts, or from meteoric stones, the supply would necessarily be soon exhausted; and we should naturally expect to find centuries later that iron was imported from a distance. But if, on the other hand, the iron of Canaan in early times were obtained from the smelting of the iron ores of Lebanon, Moab, and other districts, we should find that the supply, instead of diminishing, would largely increase as the arts of metallurgy were improved; and that Palestine and Tyre would be much more likely to be exporters than importers of that metal. Add to this, that there are but very few and unimportant indications of either iron-mining or iron-smelting in Palestine, and it must be admitted that all the facts seem to point conclusively to the hypothesis above suggested.

Iron was used for tools of various kinds (Deut. xix. 5; xxvii. 5; 1 Kings vi. 7; 2 Kings vi. 5, 6; Isa. x. 34; 2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chron. xx. 3); for weapons and implements both for war and for hunting (Job xli. 7; xx. 24; 1 Sam. xvii. 7; 2 Sam. xxiii. 7); for war chariots (Josh. xvii. 16, 18; Judg. i. 19; iv. 3, 13); for nails and fastenings of the Temple (1 Chron. xxii. 3; Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 11, § 3); for bars and fetters (Ps. cv. 18; cvii. 16; Isa. xlv. 2); and for a variety of similar uses. King Og's gigantic bedstead has already been mentioned; and in the New Testament we find an iron gate (Acts xii. 10), a surgical implement (1 Tim. iv. 2), and iron breastplates (Rev. ix. 9). The word also occurs in a variety of metaphorical meanings, implying hard bondage (Deut. iv. 20; xxviii. 48; 1 Kings viii. 51); severity of government (Ps. ii. 9); fortitude and strength (Job xl. 18; Jer. i. 18; Dan. ii. 33); destructive power and cruel oppression (Dan. vii. 7; Amos i. 3); and many others.

The word *steel* occurs in our English version in four places (2 Sam. xxii. 35; Job xx. 24; Ps. xviii. 34; Jer. xv. 12) as the rendering of Hebrew words which in all other passages unquestionably mean "bronze" or "copper." It is very doubtful whether the ancient nations were acquainted either with cast-iron or with steel. These, as is well known, differ from wrought or malleable iron in having a proportion of carbon in combination, which renders them more fusible and harder. Cast-iron has the most carbon; but steel, from its peculiar qualities of hardness and elasticity, according to the tempering, is the most useful in matters of cutlery and so forth. The question as relating to cast-iron is purely speculative, and does not affect any passages of Scripture. But as regards steel there are two passages which must be noticed. Jeremiah xv. 12 reads, "Shall iron [*barzel*] break [or crush] iron from the north and copper [or bronze]?" Here manifestly "iron from the north" and bronze or copper are represented as having greater tenacity or hardness than ordinary iron. According to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv., c. 41), iron was hardened by being plunged red-hot into water; and he mentions different kinds of iron of varying excellence, according to the quality of the water in which it had been tempered. The excellence of the iron depended, of course, not upon the quality of the water, but upon the quality of the ore, and the method of manufacture. But there can be no doubt that some districts produced iron of a very superior quality to that of others. One of these favoured districts was near the southern shores of the Black Sea, where a people called the Chalybes dwelt (Canon Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 323).

[1] Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, § 2) mentions an iron mountain in Northern Gilead, and there are traces of ancient workings in this and other districts.

Beckmann (*Hist. Inv.* ii., p. 327; Bohn) shows that the method employed by these, as described by Aristotle, resulted in the manufacture of a steel similar to that prepared in modern times by the method of fusion. As this district lay to the north of Palestine, it is most probable that the "northern iron" of Jer. xv. 12 is this steel of the Chalybes. This and the neighbouring districts retained their celebrity for a lengthened period, and throughout the Middle Ages the steel of Damascus had a wide reputation.

In Nahum ii. 3 occurs a word (*paldâh*) which in both Arabic and Syriac means "steel," but in our English version is translated "torches." Michaelis, Ewald, Henderson, and others have suggested that the reference here is to the addition of sharp scythes to the wheels of war-chariots, so that as the wheels revolved the scythes would prove formidable weapons of destruction. Delitzsch, however, suggests that such chariots were first introduced by Cyrus, and were unknown to the Medes, the Syrians, the Arabians, and the Egyptians;[1] and he explains the term as referring to the steel covering of the Assyrian chariots, which are represented on the monuments as adorned with ornaments of metal. (See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii., p. 348.)

LEAD.

This metal, most widely used now-a-days, does not appear to have been extensively employed in olden times. It was found in the rocks of the Sinai desert, was known in Egypt, and common in Palestine. The first Biblical reference to it is in Exod. xv. 10, where it is said that the Egyptians "sank like lead" in the sea. It is named amongst the spoils of the Midianites (Numb. xxxi. 22), and amongst the merchandise of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 12). It was used for weights and plummets (Zech. v. 7; Amos vii. 7, 8; Acts xxvii. 28).

There is no evidence in ancient times of the use of lead for the multitude of household and architectural purposes which now render it so useful a metal. There are, however, indications of three uses to which it is still put. It was employed for purifying silver; and to this we shall return below in treating of metallurgy. Solder also appears to have been known and used. Pliny makes distinct reference to the use of lead for this purpose. He says: "Pieces of black lead [*i.e.*, our lead] cannot be soldered without the intervention of white lead [*i.e.*, our tin], nor can this be done without employing oil; nor can white lead, on the other hand, be united without the aid of black lead" (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 47). This passage renders it clear that, in Pliny's time as now, a mixture of lead and tin was employed for soldering. There is evidence also, from the earthenware of Nineveh and Egypt, that oxide of lead was employed for glazing, probably after a similar method to that of modern days.

In Job xix. 23, 24, a wish is expressed that words might be "graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever." Some have regarded this as implying the use of an iron style on a leaden tablet. Both Pliny and Pausanias refer to this method of engraving or writing (Paus., bk. ix., c. 31; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiii., c. 11). But it is more in accordance with the passage to suppose that the letters were cut in rock, and the cavities so cut were then filled up with molten lead. The English translator of "Rosenmüller's Mineralogy of the Bible" (*Bib. Cab.*, vol. xxvii., p. 64), paraphrases the passage thus: "May the pen be of iron, and the ink of lead, with which they are written on an everlasting rock."

MINING AND METALLURGY.

We have already noticed incidentally several matters connected with these subjects; but there are some things which, in consequence of their intrinsic importance or of special mention in the Bible, demand a few words more of separate treatment.

The first of these is the wonderfully graphic account given in Job xxviii. of ancient mining operations. The late Sir R. Murchison, referring to this passage, contrasts the facts that gold occurs generally in alluvial gravels, and that where it occurs in veins those veins are for the most part thicker at the surface than at greater depths, with the fact that silver, and especially silver-bearing lead ore, occur for the most part in veins which increase and expand as they go deeper. On this contrast he bases the observation that the yield of gold is not likely to increase more than that of silver; and, therefore, there is no fear that gold may be greatly depreciated in value relatively to silver. And he concludes, "as a geologist, that Providence seems to have adjusted the relative value of these two precious metals for the use of man; and that their relations, having remained the same for ages, will long survive all theories. Modern science, in short, instead of contradicting, only confirms the truth of the aphorism of the patriarch Job, which thus shadowed forth the downward persistence of the one and the superficial distribution of the other: 'Surely there is a vein for the silver, ... the earth hath dust of gold'" (*Siluria*, p. 475). These remarks of our distinguished geologist are interesting and ingenious, but they import into the Hebrew text a meaning which it does not naturally and grammatically contain. The facts concerning the distribution and relative quantities of silver and gold are doubtless as Sir Roderick puts them; but many would hesitate to adopt the form of teleological argument which he bases upon them. Moreover, the "aphorism of the patriarch Job" does not exist in the form in which it is given. The "gold which they fine" is clearly to be distinguished from alluvial gold, and is represented, equally with the silver, as being mined for. The Hebrew words grammatically must mean either that the sapphire has dust of gold (*i.e.*, golden dust, referring poetically to the crystalline particles of iron pyrites which, as we have seen, are interspersed throughout lapis lazuli, the ancient sapphire); or, more probably, that the place or matrix of the sapphire contained spangles, or nuggets, or dust

[1] Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, vi. 1, 27, 30) states that Cyrus introduced these scythe-chariots.

of gold, which had to be refined by crushing and separation from the rock in which it was enveloped.

Whilst we gladly welcome this testimony of a highly distinguished man of science to his belief in an overruling and far-seeing "Providence," we cannot help the feeling that Science renders Theology a questionable benefit when she bases a doubtful theory upon a forced exegesis, and impairs the power of a grand argument by presenting it in an incongruous form.

The passage in the Book of Job is a striking description of mining operations in olden times. "Surely there is a source for the silver, and a place for the gold which they fine. Iron is taken out of the earth, and he [*i.e.*, the miner or workman] poureth forth stone as copper. He hath made an end of darkness, and he searcheth to every extremity [*i.e.*, to great depths and with diligent care] for the stone of darkness and of the shadow of death. He breaketh through a shaft away from those who tarry above; there, forgotten of every foot, they hang and swing far from men. The earth—from it cometh forth bread, and beneath it is upturned like fire: its stones are the place of the sapphire, which also hath dust of gold. A way that no bird of prey knoweth, and the eye of the hawk hath not seen it; which the proud beasts of prey have not trodden, nor the lion passed along. He layeth his hand upon the stone, he turneth up mountains from the root. He cutteth channels in the rocks, and his eye seeth all rare things. He bindeth fast the rivers that they leak not, and that which is hidden he bringeth to light" (Job xxviii. 1—11).

There are, as we have already seen, traces of ancient mining in Egypt, in the desert of Sinai, in Palestine, and the adjoining lands; and this poetic description must be held as applying to some of these operations. The writer sketches the vast labour and dangerous enterprise which men will undertake in order to win from the earth its treasures; and then passes on to the question, "Where shall wisdom be found, and where is the place of understanding?" These shall baffle the skill of the miner, and are more difficult of attainment than the precious treasures of the earth. For "the fear of the Lord that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding" (verses 12, 28).

This passage, which is not exempt from serious difficulties of accurate translation, is nevertheless clearly a description of ancient mining. The treasures of the earth—gold, silver, iron, and copper—are sought by men in darkness and with labour. The miner's enterprise sinks the shaft, and they who dig hang suspended far from the dwellers on the surface. The corn-fields of the earth are overwhelmed, because the parts beneath are upturned as by fire. The miner's path is unseen by the hawk's keen eye, unknown to the beasts of prey. Man hews his way through every obstacle, dams back the streams that threaten to drown his labour, and brings triumphantly to the surface the precious treasures of the earth.

It may be well here briefly to summarise what is known concerning the mines of Biblical antiquity. Clearly gold, silver, and tin were brought to the lands of the Bible mainly by commerce; though there are traces or records of gold-working in Egypt, and of both gold and silver in Arabia and Edom. Copper and iron were both native products of Palestine, and were worked also in the island of Meroe, at the mouth of the Nile, and in the peninsula of Sinai. The island of Cyprus is also mentioned as a source of copper; and there is every probability that both iron and copper were worked in other districts likewise, though there is no distinct and explicit proof. The allusion of Jeremiah to the "northern iron" of the Chalybes has been explained above. There were lead mines in Egypt, near the coast of the Red Sea, and also near Sinai; and it is not improbable that these lead mines may have yielded small quantities of silver also.

Diodorus Siculus (iii. 11, &c.) gives a minute description of the method of mining and refining gold. Shafts were sunk into what Diodorus calls veins of marble of excessive whiteness (evidently quartz rock), from which day and night relays of convicts extracted the auriferous quartz. This was then broken up with picks and chisels, and further reduced by iron pestles in stone mortars to small fragments. Then it was ground to powder, spread upon a broad inclined table, and washed with water and fine sponges, until the gold became pure from earthy matter. Finally, it was put with a little lead, tin, salt, and bran, into earthen crucibles closed with clay, and subjected for five days and nights to the fire of a furnace. From this description (of which a full translation may be read in Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii., p. 231, *seq.*), it may be seen that gold mining in these ancient times did not radically differ from that of one hundred years ago.

Concerning the arts of *metallurgy* in ancient times, we are left in much ignorance. These arts must have existed in considerable excellence amongst the Egyptians and Assyrians; and the accounts given in the Bible of the buildings of David and Solomon show that the Israelites, and especially the Phœnicians, were accomplished metal-workers. Situated between the great ancient empires of the East and West, Palestine was alternately the prey of each; and the carrying away of metal-workers into captivity shows the esteem in which they were then held. (See 1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 15; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2.) The Book of Ecclesiasticus (chap. xxxviii. 27, 28), in the Apocrypha, gives an account of a smith's workshop which those who are used to the factories of Birmingham or Yorkshire will fully appreciate. "So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day: and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work: the smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace; the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly."

In the Bible are references to casting (Exod. xxv. 12; xxvi. 37; 2 Chron. iv. 17; Isa. xl. 19); soldering and welding (Isa. xli. 7); hammering into sheets (Numb. xvi. 38; Isa. xliv. 12; Jer. x. 4, 9); gilding and overlaying with metal (Exod. xxv. 11—24; xxvi. 37; 1 Kings vi. 20; 2 Chron. iii. 5; Isa. xl. 19; Zech. xiii. 9). But, perhaps, the most interesting of all such allusions are those to the melting, and separation, and refining of metals (Ps. xii. 6; Prov. xvii. 3, &c.; Isa. i. 25; Jer. vi. 29; Ezek. xxii. 18—20). Malachi (iii. 2, 3) makes use of a striking metaphor derived from the metallurgy of silver. Before the discovery of quicksilver, lead was used for the purification of the precious metals. How far the ancients were acquainted with what is now known as "Pattinson's method" of obtaining silver from argentiferous lead ore is uncertain; but Pliny apparently hints at something of the kind in these words—"When submitted to the action of fire, part of the ore precipitates itself in the form of lead, while the silver is left floating on the surface." [*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 31 (6).]

Clearly, however, the passage from Malachi above-named refers to the process of "cupellation." "He [the Messiah] shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness." This passage derives an additional beauty from the phenomena which occur in this method of purifying silver. "A very beautiful phenomenon, known as the fulguration of the metal, attends the removal of the last portions of lead from the silver. During the earlier stages of the process the film of oxide of lead, which is constantly forming over the surface of the melted mass, is renewed as rapidly as it is removed; but when the lead has all been oxidised, the film of litharge upon the silver becomes thinner and thinner as it flows off; it then exhibits a succession of the beautiful iridescent tints of Newton's rings; and at length the film of oxide suddenly disappears, and reveals the brilliant surface of the metallic silver beneath" (Miller's *Chemistry*, pt. ii., p. 741). The brilliant tints of the film of oxide in its later stages, and the sudden flashing forth of the metal in its full pure glory, form a striking illustration of the offering of righteousness which the refining and purifying influence of the Christian faith produces.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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INTRODUCTION TO ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

II. FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

THE town of Thermæ (a name similar in meaning to our *Bath* or *Hotwells*), situated on the north-eastern angle of the gulf to which it gives its name,[1] was a place of note in early Grecian times.[2] Its chief importance, however, dates from the era of Macedonian supremacy; Cassander, general of Alexander the Great, no doubt from regard to the commercial capabilities of the place, having made it into a stately city, and re-named it after his own wife, Alexander's sister, THESSALONICA. It soon became a great centre of traffic, both by land and sea, and on the Roman occupation of Macedonia was selected as the metropolis of the second of the four divisions of the province (B.C. 168). Though shorn of its former glories, it is still one of the chief cities of the Turkish empire, with a population of about 60,000 inhabitants, and retains its name in the abbreviated form of *Saloniki*.

I. The honour of being the cradle of European Christianity may fairly be shared between Philippi and Thessalonica. In the former city the Gospel was first preached; in the latter, as it would appear, the first organised church was constituted. The Apostle, in the course of his second great missionary journey, had been summoned to Europe by the vision of one who said, "Come over into Macedonia and help us."[3] Silvanus (or Silas), Timothy, and the Evangelist Luke,[4] were among his travelling companions. The outbreak of popular fury which led to St. Paul's departure from Philippi is to be noted as the first recorded instance of purely *Gentile* opposition to the Gospel. Between Philippi and Thessalonica, a distance of between eighty and ninety miles, there seems to have been no pause. The Apostle would naturally make for the latter city, on account both of its importance and of the multitude of Jews who resided there.[5] To these, according to his wont, he first appealed, and then, on their rejecting the evangelic message, as before at the Pisidian Antioch, and afterwards at Corinth, he "turned to the Gentiles."[6]

II. It is remarkable that the history in the "Acts"

[1] Sinus Thermaicus. The town was also called Halia and Emathia.

[2] Herodotus vii. 123; Thucydides i. 61.

[3] Acts xvi. 9. The preliminaries of the vision were equally striking. See verses 6, 7 for a description of the way in which the missionaries were hurried by Divine impulse past large and inviting fields of labour in Asia Minor, "down to Troas," in the very corner of the land; nothing left before them but the waters of the Mediterranean. Then came the call to another continent and race.

[4] The *we* of Luke begins (Acts xvi. 10) as though the Evangelist had joined the apostolic company at Troas. He appears to have been left behind in Philippi (the third person being resumed, chap. xvii. 1), at which place he rejoins the Apostle (chap. xx. 6).

[5] "*The* synagogue" of the district was at Thessalonica. See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 271. It should, however, be added that the definite article is by most modern editors omitted from the received text of Acts xvii. 1.

[6] Acts xiii. 46; xviii. 6.

contains little or no record[1] of St. Paul's labours among the Gentile population of Thessalonica. We read only of three weeks' preaching in the synagogue, followed by the conversion of many Jews, "devout Greeks," and "chief women." Upon this the unbelieving Jews—enlisting (as we should say) the "roughs" of Thessalonica—created a riot which led to the departure of Paul and Silas by night.

It is evident, however, from the Epistle, that the Apostle's work in the city was both more extensive and of longer duration than the history of itself would intimate. For (1) the bulk of the Thessalonian church consisted of converts from idolatry. "Ye turned to God *from idols*, to serve the living and true God."[2] This not only points to labours *outside* the synagogue, but shows that the chief and most lasting successes of the Apostle in Thessalonica were thus achieved. (2) There was already an organised Christian community when St. Paul wrote the Epistle, "Know them . . . which are over you in the Lord,"[3] the general—almost technical—term for the appointed presidents or rulers of the Church. It was customary with the Apostles to appoint these on a *second* visit, where they had at first preached the Gospel.[4] If, as the reference seems to show, the ordination was effected during this first residence of Paul in Thessalonica, his stay must have been much longer than three weeks. (3) The Apostle gives a detailed description of his life in the city, which can scarcely be supposed to apply to so brief a sojourn. It is indeed impossible to read the account in 1 Thess. ii. 5–12—especially verse 5, "Neither at any time used we flattering words;" verse 9, "Labouring night and day;" verse 11, "We exhorted and comforted and charged every one of you"—without feeling that the history, not of weeks, but of months, is before us. (4) The same conclusion is strikingly corroborated by a casual reference in the Epistle to the Philippians,[5] "Even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity." The Christians of Philippi must then have heard of the straits of the Apostle in the great city eighty miles away, of his determination not to be indebted for support to those among whom he was labouring; must accordingly have sent him supplies, and, after an interval, must have repeated the kindness. The "three Sabbath days" of the Acts, it is clear, do not furnish space for all this. Nor need we hesitate to accept the inevitable conclusion, especially when we remember (*a*) that St. Luke has necessarily omitted many things in the Apostle's history, (*b*) that nothing in the narrative forbids the interposition of a considerable space between the three weeks' ministry in the synagogue and the assault upon the house of Jason; and (*c*) that the "turning to the Gentiles" was so habitual with the Apostle, that the history of his work in any city would be almost incomplete without it.

III. The interests of this church, so gathered, were naturally very near to the Apostle's heart. He longed to remain with them, to carry on the work so happily begun. The sudden and painful departure, compelled by the violence of his enemies, was to him an exquisite trial. He comforted himself that it was "but for a season"—a brief hour's space.[6] When he had reached Berœa—the next stage of his journey—and even after he had arrived in Athens, his longing was still to return to Thessalonica. "Once and again" would Paul have come to them, "but Satan hindered."[7] The utmost that he could do was to send Timothy to convey his affectionate messages, and to report to him concerning the state of the church. In the history we read that when St. Paul left Berœa by sea for Athens, he left directions for "Silas and Timothy to follow him with all speed;" and, further, that the Apostle "waited for" these two brethren "at Athens." We do not, however, read of their having rejoined him in that city, it having been at *Corinth* that "Silas and Timothy came" to Paul "from Macedonia." Are we then to conclude that they had disregarded his injunction to follow him "with all speed?" The Epistle answers the question. "We thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and sent Timothy" *back* to Thessalonica, either as soon as he had rejoined the Apostle according to the direction, or by countermanding that direction while he was yet on the way, and requesting him to go back to Thessalonica instead of coming on to Athens. Either explanation consists with the Apostle's words, although the former seems the more natural.[8] With little hesitation, then, we adopt the supposition that Timothy came to Paul at Athens, and that the Apostle, finding it impossible, as he wished, to retrace his own way to Thessalonica, sent his younger companion to represent him. Silas, for some reason, still remained in Berœa, the consequence being that Paul was for a time in Athens *alone*. After visiting Thessalonica, Timothy rejoined Silas, and both together proceeded to Corinth, whither Paul had by this time made his way.

IV. The mission of Timothy, as appears from the Epistle, was twofold. The newly-formed Thessalonian

[1] The only indication of a ministry among the Gentiles is found in a varied reading of Acts xvii. 4, which Lachmann prefers and Tischendorf admits into the margin, "of the devout, *and of* the Greeks a great multitude."

[2] 1 Thess. i. 9.

[3] 1 Thess. v. 12; προϊστάμενους.

[4] Acts xiv. 21—23.

[5] Phil. iv. 15, 16. The words, "in the beginning of the Gospel," plainly show that St. Paul is here speaking of this visit, when the Gospel was first preached in Macedonia, and not of any subsequent one, as has been sometimes supposed.

[6] 1 Thess. ii. 17, πρὸς καιρὸν ὥρας.

[7] Chap. ii. 18: observe the emphasis, "I Paul," as much as to say, "I did send Timothy, as it was, but was most anxious to come myself." On the nature of the hindrance by "Satan," whether persecution, bodily infirmity, or want of opportunity, it is unnecessary to speculate. (See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 298.) The Apostle seems to have been unable to carry out his cherished purpose of re-visiting the Thessalonians until his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 1, 4). Aristarchus is there prominently mentioned as a Thessalonian (apparently of standing in the church, xix. 29; xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10). It is interesting to have the name of but one who may have had the happiness of receiving St. Paul's first Epistle. Whether Demas was of Thessalonica, we cannot tell. When he deserted the Apostle for love of the world, he went thither (2 Tim. iv. 10), probably to trade.

[8] Compare Acts xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 5; 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2; and Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, on the last-mentioned passage.

church had been already attacked by persecution, in which, though Jews may still have been the instigators, the heathen population of the city were the chief instruments.[1] Anxious lest the constancy of the church should fail, the Apostle commissioned Timothy to "establish" and "comfort them," bidding him also to inquire into their spiritual state, and to bring word concerning their "faith." The tidings, reaching St. Paul at Corinth, filled him with grateful joy. Dimly but expressively the history speaks of the excitement which at the time possessed the Apostle's mind. "He was pressed, or urged by the word."[2] At this time, and in this mood of mind, there can be no reasonable doubt, he dictated this First Epistle.

On a point so little disputed as the genuineness of this Epistle, little need here be said.[3] The arguments to the contrary which have been drawn from internal difficulties, and especially from supposed discrepancy with the history, have already been answered by anticipation in the present paper. Somewhat singularly, Grotius regards the commonly received Second Epistle as having been really the First, Ewald and Davidson, in more modern times, holding the same opinion. The very inconclusive grounds alleged for this view will be briefly examined in the introduction to the Second Epistle.

V. The order of topics in the letter, so far as an arrangement can be traced amid the freedom of the epistolary style, may be set down as follows:—

1. After the introductory greeting, in which Silas and Timothy are joined with St. Paul, the Apostle congratulates the Thessalonians on the firmness with which they had received the faith, and the conspicuous excellence of their piety (chap. i.). If the statement in verses 7, 8, that their faith was "spread abroad in every place," seems at all inconsistent with the recent date of their conversion, the central position of Thessalonica should be remembered. Merchants and travellers were daily passing through the city. Every ship which sailed down the Thermaic gulf would carry some tidings of the new doctrine, the moral transformation.[4] Converts travelling from place to place would themselves become missionaries. Commerce would thus become the handmaid of the faith.

2. The Apostle next dwells on his own ministry in Thessalonica—its spirit and course. Reading here "between the lines," we are tempted to ask, Was there any spirit of insubordination, any germ of disaffection, as afterwards in Corinth? Great earnestness in the faith is sometimes assailed by the temptation to a false independence. The Apostle with a noble ingenuousness describes his work, in its fearlessness (ii. 1, 2), its pure trustfulness (vv. 3—5), its self-sacrificing affectionateness (vv. 6—8), shown in uncomplaining toil for needful subsistence (ver. 9), and unceasing effort for the spiritual good of every individual (vv. 10—12). The whole paragraph presents a portrait, perhaps unequalled in the same compass, of a true-hearted, devoted ministry. To the end of the third chapter the same topic of St. Paul's personal relation to the church is continued, his earnest desire to revisit them being especially prominent. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that some in Thessalonica had misinterpreted the Apostle's failure to return to them, as he had evidently intended to do when he left the city.

3. The remainder of the letter is occupied by such practical topics as the report of Timothy concerning the state of the church had plainly suggested. These may be classed as follows:—

(*a*) Introduction, and exhortation to purity (iv. 1—8). Temptation to sensual indulgence was the besetting evil of heathen cities.[5] Most needful to be enforced, therefore, was the duty of possessing the "vessel," *i.e.*, the *body* or instrument[6] of the soul, in purity, and of acting "in *this* matter" (iv. 6) with perfect honour one towards another.

(*b*) Fraternity (ii. 9—12). The special way in which consideration for the brethren is to be displayed is by *industry*, presented here as a true form of brotherly love. So it was in the Apostle's own conduct (ii. 9). Idleness is selfishness. Beautifully is this suggested, in the Apostle's own way, as a point almost needless to mention to these Thessalonians, to whom the secret of self-sacrificing love was already "taught of God."

(*c*) State of the pious dead (iv. 13—18). Timothy had brought tidings from the church of sad bereavement—perhaps by martyrdom. The chief sorrow of survivors was that the departed ones would lose the joy of Christ's appearing and kingdom upon earth. This era of blessedness was expected very soon to dawn, and not even to apostles was it given "to know the times and seasons." It was therefore needful for St. Paul to console the mourners by assuring them that, whenever Christ should come, the living would have no precedence over the dead (ver. 15); nay, that the dead should *first arise*,[7] and come "with Him" to meet their brethren, who would "be alive and remain" on earth until that day.

(*d*) The Second Advent (v. 1—11). The preceding topic, so rich in consolation, suggests that in the same event there is material also for solemn warning. If in prospect of it the Apostle could say to those who

[1] Compare chap. ii. 14, "your own countrymen," with iii. 2—5.

[2] Acts xviii. 5, where the received text has, "pressed *in the spirit*;" the chief MSS. and editors reading "*in* (or by) *the word*." It was a crisis in St. Paul's labours at Corinth, marked not only by the earnestness of his ministry, but by his decision to turn to the Gentiles. Some have suggested that "the word" in this text may refer to the intelligence brought from Thessalonica.

[3] The reader who may wish to pursue this topic, with the view of meeting all possible objections, is referred to Professor Jowett's subtle and exhaustive essay, *Thessalonians*, &c., vol. i., p. 18.

[4] See further, BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 271, on "the Local Colouring of St. Paul's Epistles."

[5] See as above, BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 272.

[6] See paper on "Difficult Passages Explained," BIBLE EDUCATOR, II., p. 298.

[7] "The dead in Christ shall rise first." Nothing can show more strikingly the unintelligent way in which Scripture is often read than the fact that this passage is often quoted to prove that believers will arise *before the wicked*. It is clear that the comparison is between *departed and living Christians*, at the time of the Second Advent.

mourned departed friends, "Be comforted," not less impressively does he now say to all, "Be watchful."

(*e*) Relation to their pastors (v. 12, 13). What special circumstances may have made this counsel applicable, we know not. It has been noticed above as indicating some settled order already existent in the church at Thessalonica. The concluding words of verse 13, "Be at peace among yourselves," strikingly show how to the Apostle the spirit of brotherhood was ever associated with the law of order.

(*f*) General exhortations, and Conclusion (v. 14—28). The Apostle, having finished those counsels which Timothy's report had rendered necessary, now pours out the fulness of his soul in brief hortatory sentences, encouraging and warning by turns, speaking to intellect, and heart, and conduct. The benediction, doubtless by his "own hand," crowns the whole; but not before he had in this, his First Epistle destined to preservation in the churches, solemnly claimed canonical authority on its behalf. "I charge you by the Lord that this Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren." This means much more than a friendly circulation from hand to hand, or the reading aloud, as of a beloved pastor's letter, at a social meeting. The manner of the command bespeaks the authority of conscious inspiration, and places the letter on the level of those writings of Moses and the prophets which were "read in the synagogues every sabbath day."[1]

VI. The theology of this First Epistle is very simple, and, as we should say, elementary, the contents being mainly practical. With wonderful perversity, this fact has been employed as indicating an advance, and even change, of view in St. Paul himself, as though his creed when he addressed the Christians of Thessalonica were of a far simpler kind than when he addressed the church in Rome. Rightly estimated, this very abstinence from the profounder topics of the Christian faith aids in establishing, albeit indirectly, the genuineness of the Epistle. The church was young—almost in the infancy of its faith. The controversies which would hereafter lead to the scientific statement and argumentative unfolding of Christian doctrine had not as yet troubled the minds of Gentile believers. The churches needed "milk" rather than "strong meat." To the Thessalonians, as yet, the Gospel was mainly a call to "turn from idols" to serve the Father, "the living and true God;" to trust the great Redeemer "Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come;" and to honour both by faith, hope, and charity (i. 3). Such to them was the teaching which came "in word, in power, and in the Holy Ghost" (i. 5). And "the present truth," the means of uplifting from the world, and of bringing invisible realities near, was the prophecy of Christ's second appearing, the call to await "the Son from heaven." These primary truths, in their breadth and fulness of ethical application, are the staple of this Epistle, as they were the strength of the earlier churches. The contents of the letter thus precisely accord with its place in the series.

It is interesting also to trace secret links of correspondence between hints and phrases of this Epistle, and the more detailed teaching of the Apostle's later productions. In the letters to the Corinthians especially, St. Paul follows out, in more extended form, many a suggestion which we have in these words of his written at Corinth. Reference has already been made to his union of "faith, hope, and love" in chap. i. 3. A similar association of the three Christian graces is found in chap. v. 8. The Apostle had evidently in his mind the thoughts so nobly and beautifully wrought out in 1 Cor. xiii. Compare again 1 Thess. i. 5 with 1 Cor. ii. 4; 1 Thess. i. 6 with 1 Cor. xi. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 4 with 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4.[2] The anxiety to revisit the Thessalonians has its counterpart in the Apostle's earnest desire to see the Corinthians again (1 Thess. ii. 17; 2 Cor. i. 15; 1 Cor. v. 3); and the arrival of Timothy with good news from Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 6) is paralleled by the "coming of Titus" (2 Cor. vii. 6). On the whole, it is the same man who writes *to* Corinth and *from* Corinth, in no sense repeating himself, but revealing the character of his mind and heart by his very turns of phrase, while his soul is ever filled with most earnest, tender, and almost jealous affection for those whom he has been the means of leading to Christ.

[1] Acts xv. 21; xiii. 27.

[2] Other striking similarities are noticed by Professor Jowett, vol. i., p. 23.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JEHU.

BY THE REV. W. BENHAM, B.D., VICAR OF MARGATE.

[Places where mentioned:—1 Kings xix. 16, 17; 2 Kings ix. and x. *passim*; xii. 1; xiii. 1; xiv. 8; xv. 12; 2 Chron. xxii. 7—9; xxv. 17; Hosea i. 4.]

JEHU, the tenth king of Israel, was the son of Jehoshaphat (2 Kings ix. 2), the son of Nimshi. The fact that he is commonly called simply "the son of Nimshi" would seem to imply that the latter was a man of some mark, but there is nothing further told us about him. The age of Jehu is nowhere mentioned, but he was plainly a soldier from his youth. On the day, so black-omened for the house of Ahab, when the ungodly king went down from Samaria to Jezreel to take possession of Naboth's vineyard, Jehu and Bidkar, two of his body-guard, rode behind him in his chariot. At the entrance to the vineyard Ahab was terror-stricken to

behold waiting for him the stern figure of Elijah the Tishbite. His bitter question, "Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" betrayed the secret agony which remorse and terror had been working within him, despite the hardy assurances of his wife. The prophet's terrible answer echoed in the memory of the two attendant soldiers for years to come (2 Kings ix. 25, 26), and one may not unreasonably suppose that from that hour an ambition to acquire the crown now declared forfeit took possession of Jehu's soul. Already, though he knew it not, Elijah had received directions to anoint him king (1 Kings xix. 16, 17), but this duty was in the end reserved for Elisha, probably because Ahab's repentance caused the judgment upon him to be deferred.

The latter portion of the reign of Ahab was marked, with a few intervals of truce, by a fierce war with Syria. The latter country had been making strenuous efforts to push its frontier to the Jordan, but hitherto had not succeeded. An endeavour, however, to drive the Syrians out of Ramoth-gilead, which they had captured, brought Ahab to his dishonoured grave, and the dogs licked up his blood in the pool of Samaria. His sons, first Ahaziah, then Joram, succeeded him, and thirteen years after his death, in the 93rd year of the monarchy, and 884th year before Christ, the war was again raging on the fatal field of Ramoth-gilead. The city, still in possession of the Syrians, was being besieged by Joram's army. He himself had been wounded, and had returned to Samaria, and the command of this army had devolved upon Jehu, whose name has not occurred in the history since Elijah's commission to anoint him king. The moment when he first appears is brought very strikingly before us. A council of war was being held by the officers, when one of the disciples of the prophets, known as such by his garb, and declared by an old tradition to have been the future prophet Jonah, rushed hurriedly and excitedly in, and called Jehu forth, declaring that he had a message for him. The two retired into an inner room, when the young prophet produced a box of oil, and said, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of the Lord, even over Israel." Then, having further declared that God's judgment was now ready to fall on the devoted house of Ahab, and that Jehu was its appointed executor, the messenger rushed forth as hurriedly as he had entered, and disappeared. He had been commissioned by Elisha to do this, in accordance with the command of the Lord to Elijah. It is noteworthy that, so far as we can gather, Elisha and Jehu never met. The prophet's name occurs no more from the day that he commissioned his disciple to anoint Jehu until he is visited on his death-bed, more than forty years afterwards, by Jehu's grandson, Joash (2 Kings xiii. 14).

When Jehu returned to the council from the momentous interview with the young prophet, he was eagerly questioned as to the purport of it. He was evidently divided between the ambition which was ready to devour him, and the fear of plucking unripe fruit. But his answer showed a growing confidence, a desire to tell, and to receive their approval—"Ye know the man and his communication." The answer moved them to greater eagerness; probably they came near to a right guess, and he, reading in their faces that he was safe, then answered explicitly, "He spake unto me, saying, Thus saith the Lord, I have anointed thee king over Israel." Their enthusiasm immediately burst forth; they hasted, threw down their cloaks under his feet as a carpet of state, placed him on the outer stairs of the house, as the highest point within their reach, and there, as he sat conspicuously above them all, they blew a royal salute with trumpets, and cried, saying, "Jehu is king!"

The first step was thus gained. The army in the field had unanimously acknowledged him. He was not the man to lose time as regarded the formidable obstacles which lay before him. He would face them at once. He bade his newly-gotten subjects stop all communication with Jezreel, and started forth to carry the news himself to the family of Ahab that he had risen up against them to destroy them.

The watchman on the palace tower of Jezreel was gazing across the plain towards the Jordan valley, doubtless looking for news from the seat of war. He saw on the horizon a cloud of dust[1] raised by an advancing company, and gave notice of it. A messenger was dispatched by Joram to inquire, "Is it peace?" but he was not suffered to take an answer back, and Jehu continued his swift advance. Another messenger was sent, with the same result; but as the company drew nearer, the watchman recognised Jehu by his furious driving, and upon this Joram himself went forth. He was accompanied by his nephew Ahaziah, king of Judah, who had come to Samaria on a visit to him. They were not long left in doubt as to the purpose of Jehu. The fierce reply which Joram received to his question, "Is it peace, Jehu?" at once showed him the state of the case, and with the cry, "There is treachery, O Ahaziah!" he turned to flee. But it was too late. Without a moment's faltering Jehu drew a bow with his full strength; the arrow entered between the king's shoulders, and pierced his heart. Jehu, as he passed, had the body thrown out into Naboth's vineyard, declaring as he did so that he was but executing the righteous judgment of God.

Ahaziah meanwhile attempted to make good his escape by the way of Beth-gan [A. V., "the garden house"]. But the remorseless invader followed hard after him, and he too was smitten at Gur, whether to death or not is not clear. The divergence of the two narratives of 2 Kings ix. 27—29, and 2 Chron. xxii. 7—9, renders the exact circumstances of his end uncertain; but Bishop Wordsworth's conjecture is ingenious and by no means improbable. It is as follows: Ahaziah escaped to Samaria, and there, for a while, lay hidden while his wounds healed. He then endeavoured to escape to his own capital, Jerusalem; but finding that Jehu's scouts were keeping a strict look-out for him on that side, he

[1] 2 Kings ix. 17 (LXX.).

made for a northern port, Tyre or Acre, with a view of reaching Joppa by sea, where he would be safe. With this purpose he started across the plain of Esdraelon, but was discovered at Megiddo, and there slain.

But we must follow Jehu on his way to Jezreel. The aged queen-mother tired her head and painted her eyelashes, and looked out to meet him. With what motive? Was it in the hard dauntless spirit which had said to Ahab, "Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? Arise and eat; I will give thee the field of Naboth." If so, her actions implied that she resolved to confront the invader without flinching, and so to awe him into submission as men sometimes do savage beasts; or failing this, she would defy him to his worst, die, and make no sign of fear. Or was it, as some think, that she was willing to bid for him, to offer herself as his concubine after Oriental custom, and thus, as she would think, give him confidence of success? On the answer to this question the right rendering of her words to him must depend. If our version is correct, we must adopt the first hypothesis, she was hoping to terrify him. Those who adopt the second, translate it, "Hail to Zimri who hath slain his master!" making her applaud the deed. I without hesitation adopt the former view; it is entirely in accordance with what we know of Jezebel. Assuredly she reckoned madly if she hoped to conciliate Jehu. Whatever doubts or delusions mingled themselves with his religious belief, one conviction there was which possessed him without any doubt at all. It was that the house of Ahab was to perish by his hand, that it was a wicked house, and its religion horrible altogether. Without any misgivings at all, he believed himself to be a scourge of God, and he rejoiced in the office, and took advantage of it, so to speak, to gratify his own bloody instincts. He stayed not for a moment to parley. "Who is on my side? . . . . Throw her down!" The eunuchs who looked out at his summons obeyed him, and her blood bespattered the wall and the horses as he drove his chariot over her and entered the city. With characteristic cold-bloodedness he immediately proceeded to eat and drink, then ordered that she should be buried. But the dogs who prowled about the walls, as they do in all Eastern cities, and as Dr. Stanley saw them on this very spot, had already devoured her corpse save her skull and her feet and the palms of her hands. These portions they had rejected, as it is said all wild beasts do still. The remains proved what her horrible end had been; and when the news was brought to Jehu it apparently moved him to a ghastly joy, as being another manifestation of God's wrath.

Thus he had now gained not only the army, but the royal city of Jezreel. He next proceeded to secure the capital, and to exterminate the fallen dynasty. There were seventy members of it in Samaria, and it remained to be seen whether the city would support them or give its adhesion to the revolution. Accordingly, he wrote secret letters to the rulers of the city,[1] and to those who had charge of the royal family, bidding them prepare to fight for their master's house. Terror-stricken, as they remembered that two kings had already fallen before him, their reply was that they would submit to him on his own terms. And they carried out their promise, and on the next day sent, at his summons, the heads of the seventy princes in baskets to Jezreel. At this point he shows that he can be crafty as well as bold. Ordering the heads to be laid in two heaps by the gate during the night, he came forward next morning and addressed the people in a strain of mingled surprise and admiration of their zeal, as if it had been they who had killed the princes, and thereby contrasted favourably with himself. This was righteousness indeed, he said; he had conspired against his master and slain him, certainly; but they had gone very far beyond him in fulfilling the Divine will.

He then started for Samaria. Two remarkable incidents occurred on the way. First he met a body of forty-two persons who, on being questioned, called themselves "the brethren of Ahaziah." The expression probably means nephews, as is not uncommon in Scripture. Ahaziah's brothers had all been slain by the Arabians (2 Chron. xxi. 17). If they were his nephews they were of the family of Ahab, and would therefore fall under Jehu's commission. "Take them alive," he said, and they were dragged away to a pit, and slain to a man.[2] Immediately afterwards Jehu met Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, the founder, or second founder, of the sect of the Rechabites. We know him as having enjoined on his tribe a perpetual nomadic life and total abstinence from wine. He must have been a man of high religious character, and very great in popular estimation, and from the expression that he came to meet Jehu it seems not unlikely that the people of Samaria had dispatched him to secure good terms for them. The meeting was thoroughly cordial on both sides: the one was evidently glad to have the support of a man of such great influence, the other was eager to engage Jehu on the side of the true religion. So they rode to Samaria in Jehu's chariot, "the warrior in his coat of mail, the ascetic in his hair-cloth."

The extermination of the house of Ahab was relentlessly completed in Samaria, but was followed by a yet more sweeping act of destruction. Hitherto he stood openly committed only to destroy the family of Ahab; now with deep dissimulation he announced that he was about to carry on the worship of Baal in a far more imposing manner than Ahab had done. "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much." He invited the whole body of Baal-worshippers to a great religious festival, to the intent that he might devote them at one stroke to the sword. There was no thought of destroying the *place* and forbidding the

[1] Our version, following the Hebrew, has "to the rulers of Jezreel" (x. 1); the LXX. reads "to the rulers of Samaria," which seems more correct. Other ancient versions read "to the rulers of the city."

[2] There is some obscurity in the meaning of the word translated "shearing-house." The literal meaning is given in the margin, "the house of the binding of the shepherds," and the probable explanation is that this was the rendezvous of the nomad Kenites with their flocks of sheep.

idolatry, no offering of any opportunity of repentance, no pity at all. Only Jehonadab was in his secret, and evidently sanctioned his duplicity. The whole heathen population was summoned, and it would seem that the work of Elijah had already borne much fruit in discrediting the abomination; for whereas formerly it had seemed as if Elijah alone was left of the worshippers of the Lord, the devotees of Baal now are all enclosed in one great temple. Jehu and Jehonadab entered the temple. "In the interior was a kind of inner fastness or adytum, in which were seated or raised on pillars, the figures, carved in wood,[1] of the Phœnician deities as they were seen in vision centuries later by Jezebel's fellow-countrymen, Hannibal, in the sanctuary of Gades.[2] In the centre was Baal, the sun-god; around him were the inferior divinities. In front of the temple stood, on a stone pillar, the figure of Baal alone."[3] The priests appeared clothed in their sacred vestments, and the king offered the first sacrifice (2 Kings x. 24, LXX.). Having done so, he left the temple. But he had appointed eighty men to wait without, who at a given signal rushed in, and massacred the wretched worshippers to a man. When this horrible work was done, the wooden images were burnt, the great statue was shattered, the temple was levelled with the ground, and turned into a depository of all the filth of the town. This was the end of the worship of Baal in the kingdom of Israel. It lasted a few years longer in Judah, but there, too, it was at length abolished.

These acts of destruction comprise nearly the whole of the record of Jehu's reign. There is no sign of his ability or will to take any other part than that of destroyer, though he reigned for twenty-eight years (B.C. 884 to 856). But there are a few points which still demand attention.

First, though he had ruthlessly destroyed the worship of Baal, he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, but worshipped the golden calves.

A second point involves an apparent contradiction. It is this:—He first receives praise for the work which he has done, and afterwards is denounced (in his posterity at least) for the same action. "The Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel." So says the narrative in the Kings. But in the prophet Hosea it is written: "And I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and I will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel" (Hos. i. 4). The first of these two points throws much light on the second. The defection of Jehu showed that he had other ends in view than the pleasing of God. Personal ambition had been at the bottom of his heart, and he had destroyed that form of idolatry which was identified with the house of Ahab. But having achieved his end, he took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord. The vengeance which had fallen upon Ahab's house had been the righteous retribution upon Ahab's sins, but the executioner gloated over and rejoiced in his work. He had his reward in the establishment of his dynasty for four generations. What was righteous in his spirit—his steadiness of purpose and hatred of injustice—all this God blessed. But the brutal ferocity, the remorseless indifference to agony and bloodshed, these evil elements prevailed over the better, and when the fire against Baal had burnt itself out for want of fuel, nought was left but dull ashes. His zeal for righteousness did not turn inwards and burn up his own sins. When there was nothing left to destroy, his occupation was gone. The same thirst for blood which had marked him, passed down, a ghastly bequeathment, to his children, and brought the Divine curse upon them.

The reign of Jehu closed in disaster. The Syrian invasion, from combating which he had hastened on becoming king, had been vigorously pushed forward by Hazael, and was now successful. The whole country east of Jordan, comprising half of the kingdom of Israel, was wrested away. And this had been done with the accompaniment of horrible cruelty on the part of Hazael (see 2 Kings viii. 12, 13). The reign of Jehu, therefore, was one of misery and calamity. He is the first Israelite king, too, who is recorded to have paid tribute to the king of Assyria. The fact is stated, not in Scripture, but on the "black obelisk" discovered by Mr. Layard, and now in the British Museum. The names both of Jehu and of his foe Hazael were deciphered by Dr. Hincks and Colonel Rawlinson, among the tributaries of the "great king."[4] But one feature of the reign of Jehu we must not forget. Whilst he stands before us the one figure in the picture, red-handed and remorseless, we might at first sight take him as the embodiment of the whole monarchy and people. But he is not so. There was another emissary of God at work in the kingdom, though, as we have said, his name does not appear, his hand doubtless busy with healing and binding up the broken places. Elisha the son of Shaphan was he. Many years afterwards he lay dying, and Jehu's grandson came to bid him farewell. "My father," cried the king, "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof," that is, "the defence and protection of the kingdom art thou, and thou art passing away." Joash was hereby confessing the truth that deeds of violence and oppression like Jehu's have no power and leave no advantage, but that the Lord's delight is in them that fear Him and put their trust in His mercy.

[1] 2 Kings x. 26. [2] Livy, xxi. 22.
[3] Stanley's *Jewish Church*, p. 288.

[4] See Layard's *Second Visit to Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 614—616.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.

SACRED PLACES (*concluded*).

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WE have spoken both of the Tabernacle as a whole, and of the different articles of furniture with which its various parts were provided; but, before bringing our remarks on it to a close, it may be well to look for a moment at the relation of these parts to one another, and to make some general observations upon them for which it was hardly possible to find an appropriate place while treating of them in detail.

I. In the first place, our attention is naturally directed to certain fundamental ideas which all the parts and utensils of the Tabernacle have in common.

(1.) They are all not only holy, but "most holy," and with this object in view are all of them anointed with the holy anointing oil. "Moreover the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Take thou also unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred shekels, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty shekels, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty shekels, and of cassia five hundred shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, and of oil olive an hin: and thou shalt make it an oil of holy ointment compound after the art of the apothecary: it shall be an holy anointing oil. And thou shalt anoint the tabernacle of the congregation therewith, and the ark of the testimony, and the table and all his vessels, and the candlestick and his vessels, and the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt-offering with all his vessels, and the laver and his foot. And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy: whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy" (Exod. xxx. 22—29). The general instructions thus given are repeated on different occasions with regard to several of the particular objects mentioned, such as the brazen altar (Exod. xl. 10), and the altar of incense (Exod. xxx. 10); while the same attribute of "most holy" is assigned to other things immediately connected with them, though not included in this enumeration, the incense (Exod. xxx. 36), and the shewbread loaves (Lev. xxiv. 9). All were peculiarly sanctified and set apart for God. The sacredness of the objects thus anointed with oil was further brought out by the fact that the oil used for the purpose was mixed with *four* ingredients, a circumstance which, when we call to mind that a similar number was used in the composition of the incense, it is impossible to regard as accidental. It was designed to express the Divine perfection and completeness of the compound, four being the number of God as He reveals Himself to and takes up His abode with man. The same exalted holiness of the oil is also indicated by its being the oil employed in the consecration of the high priest (Exod. xxx. 30), and by the express provision of the law, "Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, shall even be cut off from his people" (Exod. xxx. 33). With this oil, then, the Tabernacle and every one of its articles of furniture was anointed. Each was devoted to the Holy One of Israel. He claimed each as His. They were all "most holy."

The fact now mentioned is important as tending to show, what it is peculiarly necessary to bear in mind when we would understand the offerings of Israel, that the *whole* Tabernacle was in a certain sense the dwelling of God with man, His dwelling in the midst of those whom He had chosen from among the nations of the world to be a "purchased possession" to Himself. He dwelt more peculiarly, it is true, in the holy of holies, but He dwelt also in the holy place; nay, further, He met His people at the "tent of meeting," which, being outside both the cherubim covering and the boards overlaid with gold by which it was sustained, occupied in reality a portion of the outer court. No part, in short, of the Tabernacle was common. All the ground upon which it stood, everything connected with it, was holy. Throughout it all God was in covenant with Israel. Each part of it, and whatever touched any of its parts, was His.

(2.) In strict correspondence with this it is to be observed that in all the three parts of the Tabernacle Israel was a holy people, called at least to be so, and admitted to the enjoyment of its privileges in order that this object of its existence might be realised. There was no court of the Gentiles in the Tabernacle, and we are not to imagine that in the outer court the people were out of covenant with God until the time when their offering was presented at the brazen altar. Such an idea would be inconsistent, not only with the whole language of the Old Testament with regard to Israel, but with the true conception of "the altar of burnt-offering" and its fundamental purpose. From its first entrance into the court Israel was redeemed. The people offered as redeemed. God met with them, and they with God, in that character. The sense of redemption, the walking up to what is implied in it, the experience of what it brings, was no doubt realised in different parts of the Tabernacle in different degrees, a point which will immediately be considered. In the meantime it is enough to say that as all the apartments and all the furniture, and all the vessels of God's dwelling-place were holy, so those who entered and used them were also holy. The Tabernacle had indeed also a reference, though a distant one, to the Gentile nations of the earth. Four is not the number of God as He reveals Himself to Israel, but as He reveals Himself to man. It has a relation to the world at large, to the *kosmos*, to that theatre of the Almighty's manifestation of Himself which is conterminous only with the four quarters of the globe: and when, therefore, we find that so much importance is

attached, as we have already seen, to the squareness of the brazen altar and of the altar of incense; when the four cardinal points find such special mention as they do in the directions given for the erection of the structure; and when, in the fulfilment, stress is evidently laid upon the fact that the New Jerusalem "lieth foursquare" (Rev. xxi. 16), we are constrained to see in this a silent prophecy of the time when "many shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. viii. 11, and Luke xiii. 29). That time, however, was not yet arrived. Israel alone had been selected from among all the nations of the earth to be the Almighty's peculiar people, and as such it came to worship Him and to meet Him at His Tabernacle.

(3.) In all three parts of the Tabernacle we have an altar, and that, too, one connected not only with the unbloody but with the bloody sacrifices. That this was the character of the brazen altar in the outer court it is of course impossible to dispute. It is equally impossible to doubt that it was so with the mercy-seat in the holy of holies, for on the great day of atonement—the day which concentrated the whole sacrificial system into its most direct and powerful expression—the high priest sprinkled the mercy-seat with the blood both of the bullock and of the ram slain as sin-offerings, the one for the priesthood, the other for the people. It might seem to be more doubtful whether this was also the case with the altar of incense, and distinguished inquirers have thought that it was not, but that the bloody sacrifice was left behind when the holy place was entered, and that the people, reconciled to God by the sacrifice in the outer court, presented through the priests in the first apartment of the inner house only the offering of praise, and prayer, and holy deeds. We have already, however, in speaking of this altar, had occasion to notice its name, a place of slaughter, which we can hardly suppose it would have received had it not been associated with animal sacrifice. In addition to this, it has to be remembered that it was an express injunction, that the blood of the sin-offering of the congregation should be smeared upon its horns (Lev. iv. 7, &c.), and that on the great day of atonement it was sprinkled, in the same manner as the mercy-seat, first with the blood of the bullock, and then with the blood of the he-goat slain upon that day. The idea of an altar upon which atonement was made for sin belonged, therefore, to each of the three divisions of the Tabernacle, and not to one or to two alone.

(4.) While there was thus an altar in each, there was also an offering in each, and that too an offering so similar in the one to what it was in the others that the terms by which it is specially described in each are interchangeable. Of the offering of the outer court it is unnecessary to speak. The very name of the altar there, that of burnt-offering, sufficiently shows the character of the service, and the meaning of the ritual connected with it. But there was an offering also in the holy place, and that too in the case of each of the three articles of furniture which it contained. That it was so in the case of the golden candlestick is shown by the very peculiar word employed to describe the lighting of its lamps at evening, that is, at the beginning of the twenty-four hours, and when, therefore, the offering may be held to have been daily renewed: "Thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof, and they shall cause to ascend"—that is, they shall cause to ascend as a burnt-offering—"the lamps thereof, that they may give light" (Exod. xxv. 37). It was so also in the case of the shewbread loaves, or at all events of that frankincense which was so closely associated with them as to be a part of the expression of what they were. The loaves themselves were not indeed burned, because they were to be eaten by the priests, but the frankincense set upon them was, and it is expressly designated an offering: "Thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, that it may be on the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the Lord" (Lev. xxiv. 7). It corresponded, indeed, in this respect exactly to the frankincense of the ordinary meat-offering, the only difference being that in the latter a handful of the flour of which it was mainly composed was also cast into the fire (Lev. vi. 14, 15). Finally, the incense of the altar of incense is also distinctly brought before us as an offering, when it is said, "Aaron shall burn"—that is, shall burn as an offering—"thereon sweet incense every morning; and when Aaron causeth to ascend the lamps at even, he shall burn incense upon it, a perpetual incense before the Lord throughout your generations" (Exod. xxx. 7, 8). While the idea of "offering" thus belonged to all the furniture of the holy place, it belonged also to the ritual of the holy of holies. For that cloud of incense raised by the high priest when he entered it on the one day of the year on which he was commissioned to do so, is not to be regarded by us merely as a cloud in which he was to envelope himself that he might not see the glory of God and die. The language employed in regard to it, and particularly the instruction to "take a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord" (Lev. xvi. 12), sufficiently indicates that this incense cloud was, like the burning of all other incense, an offering. At the same time, the idea of offering in the holy of holies was also brought out by that sprinkling of blood upon the mercy-seat of which we have already spoken. Thus, then, the idea of "offering" belonged not only to one part of the Tabernacle, but to all its parts; and that, too, of offering in which, while Israel presented itself as a living sacrifice to God, it sought pardon through the blood of atonement for its sins and shortcomings.

(5.) We notice only further, in connection with the main point now before us, that some parts of the ritual of the Tabernacle appear expressly designed to show us that, whatever distinctions there may have been between its parts, they were all bound together in unity. They were not entirely distinct from each other. There might be a progress, but, if so, it was that of one organic whole. Illustration of this connection between the holy of holies and the holy place is to be seen in the

circumstance formerly adverted to, that the furniture of the latter is brought into a peculiarly close relation to the former, thus showing that, however it may have belonged to its own apartment, it belonged also to the still more sacred one beyond. But a connection was further established between the holy of holies and the outer court when, upon the great day of atonement, the high priest was to kindle the incense with which he entered into the former by means of coals of fire taken "from off the altar before the Lord" (Lev. xvi. 12), language by which we can only understand the fire of the brazen altar to be meant. Any other fire would have been accounted "strange fire," and the use of it would have involved the judgment of God.

Thus it appears that the same fundamental ideas marked all the three parts of the Tabernacle. All were "most holy." All had an altar and an offering. The presence of God was to be found in each, and in each Israel was a redeemed people. While this, however, was the case, we have now to remark—

II. That there was an evident progress in the three parts, and that whether we look at them from a Divine or from a human starting-point, from that involved in God's revelation of Himself to Israel, or in Israel's approach to God.

If for a moment we take first the former point of view, we find this idea of progress indicated by the difference in the structure of all the parts, which bear the marks of an increasing sanctity as we pass from without inwards. Thus, the numerical scale of the outer court was grounded upon the number five, an incomplete and broken number, the half of ten. The root-number of the holy place was indeed ten, corresponding to the fact that it was a part of the sanctuary in which God dwelt, and that the same hangings which were extended over the holy of holies covered it. Still, ten did not rule all its proportions, and it is only when we enter the most holy place that we find ourselves in an apartment which is a perfect cube of that number of perfection. The same thing appears in the materials made use of for the construction of the three altars, the leading parts of the furniture with which each of the three spaces was provided. In the outer court the altar was of brass, or rather bronze. In the holy place it was acacia-wood overlaid with gold. In the holy of holies the gold was solid. Perhaps also the increasing immediateness of God's presence, as we penetrate into the interior of the sanctuary, may have been designed to appear in the horns of the altars. We have no information, indeed, that there was any difference of shape between those of the brazen altar and of the altar of incense. But the latter were evidently more sacred than the former, for they seem to have been smeared only with the blood of the sin-offering of the priest and of the congregation as a whole, not with that of the sin-offerings of individuals. On the mercy-seat, again, there were no horns; and the explanation must be sought in this, that it was the very throne of God. There could, therefore, be there no symbol of majesty and power more exalted than that the thought of which was suggested by the altar itself. The immediate presence of God included at once the whole and the perfect glory of His being. In nothing, however, did the gradation of which we are now speaking appear more manifest than in the amount of light possessed by each of the three parts of the Tabernacle. In the outer court there was the full light of day, the light of the sun, the ordinary light given to the world by Him who causeth the sun to shine both on the evil and the good. In the first apartment of the sanctuary this light was not enjoyed. It is, indeed, difficult to say what the exact amount of darkness, so far at least as want of sunlight was concerned, in this apartment may have been. There were no windows in it, but it is possible that the vail before the entrance may not have entirely prevented the penetrating of some rays of light. Yet we know nothing in the words of Scripture upon which to ground such a supposition, and the probability is that the only light which shone in it was that of the golden candlestick, not a common but a covenant light, a light proceeding from the sacred oil prepared according to special directions for the purpose, and although unquestionably dim compared with that of the sun without, fitted by that very fact to prepare the mind for the darkness of the inmost sanctuary of all, for the holy of holies was in total darkness. There were, again, no windows in it. The entrance, closed by the second vail, was at the end of an apartment already nearly, if not wholly, deprived of sunlight, and the hangings and coverings were certainly sufficiently thick and close to obstruct all rays of light from without. Nor was there any artificial light within, except when the bright cloud of the Shechinah was there. But, as far as concerned man, that cloud was darkness. The light in which God dwells is inaccessible and full of glory. The splendour of His presence is too much for mortal gaze; hence it is that in Scripture He is said at one time to dwell in light, at another in darkness. His "brightness is as the light;" "He covereth Himself with light as with a garment;" "He dwelleth in light that no man can approach unto;" "He is light, and with Him there is no darkness at all" (Hab. iii. 4; Ps. civ. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 16; 1 John i. 5). On the other hand, when Moses drew near God to receive the revelation of His will at Sinai, he is described as "drawing near unto the thick darkness where God was" (Exod. xx. 21). The Psalmist sees Him making "darkness His secret place, His pavilion round about Him dark waters and thick clouds of the skies," while again "clouds and darkness are round about Him" (Ps. xviii. 11; xcvii. 2). The two things indeed are interchangeable, "The darkness and the light are both alike to Him" (Ps. cxxxix. 12); and the only thing perhaps that has to be said as to a distinction is, that the emblem of darkness rather than light appears to be employed when the judgment aspect of the Almighty is brought prominently into view. If this last observation be correct, we have another illustration besides that afforded by the cherubim, that this aspect of God was the fundamental one by which He revealed Himself to Israel, in which He made Himself known in

his Tabernacle. The nearer, therefore, that Israel approached the darkness, the nearer it was to the Lord of Sabaoth, to the Lord of Hosts who dwelt between the cherubim. There was, in short, a gradation in regard to the nearness of God's presence in the different parts of the Tabernacle.

This idea of progress, however, belongs equally to the Tabernacle when we look at it from the human point of view, when we consider the condition of Israel in its different parts. We have already seen that in all of them Israel was redeemed, but it did not in all of them equally appropriate the blessings of redemption. Hence it was that the people might not penetrate beyond the outer court. Though called to be a nation of priests, they had not sufficiently felt that they were so. The priests alone, in whom the priestly character of the nation as an appropriated fact was realised, represented it in the holy place. They alone were permitted to enter it, but with the prospect implied in their doing so that when the people rose to the consciousness of the dignity of their calling, the like privilege would no longer be withheld from them. A similar remark applies to the holy of holies. The high priest alone, and that too only on a single day of the year, might draw aside the vail separating it from the holy place, and approach into the closest proximity to the throne of God. But the high priest, concentrating in himself all that belonged to the priestly character of the priests, represented in its highest potency the priestly character of the nation; and in his privilege, therefore, was contained the promise that, when the priestliness of Israel was fully realised by it, it too should have access to the innermost sanctuary of the Almighty. Three stages of privilege, not three conditions of life, are thus set before us in the three parts of the Tabernacle. The root of life is the same in each, but that root has put forth more of the branches and fruits which naturally spring from it in the second than in the first, and still more in the third than in the second.

With the progress thus indicated there further corresponded a progress in the character of the offerings presented at each of what we have spoken of as the three altars of the Tabernacle. We have already seen that the fundamental idea of these is the same, and that in respect of the bloody as well of the unbloody sacrifice. But with this sameness there was also a difference. At the brazen altar of the court the offerer presented himself as a burnt-offering to the Lord, and declared that he was not his own, but that he acknowledged the claims of Him by whom he had been redeemed out of his house of bondage. There also he offered all the other sacrifices required of him by the law. It is a multitude of individuals that we witness in the outer court, with their varied offerings, with their varied sins and shortcomings, each declaring that he yields himself up to God, and each seeking through the blood of atonement acceptance with Him. When we pass into the holy place it seems to us that the individuality disappears, is swallowed up in the thought of national and religious unity. The horns of the altar of incense there may not be sprinkled or smeared with the blood of the offering made by any single lay member of the congregation, but only with that of an offering made on behalf of a priest, a representative of the people, or of the congregation as a whole (Lev. iv. 3—7, 13—18). It is still the blood of atonement, however; and we cannot join with those who imagine that, when the offering is made in the holy place, we have represented "that stage in the history of salvation in which the great fact of vicarious suffering for the sins of the world lies in the past, and all that is needed is the personal appropriation of the atoning virtue of the blood that has been shed."[1] No such distinction is drawn in Scripture, and it is impossible to reconcile it with the fact that, on the great day of atonement, whatever "vicarious suffering" there was in the outer court was exhibited in its highest potency, not only in the holy, but in the most holy place. That idea of progress, therefore, which attached itself to the offerings of the different parts of the Tabernacle is not to be sought in laying aside the idea of vicarious suffering as we advance from its more outward to its more inward parts. It is to be sought rather in the distinction between the offerings of individuals as such and of individuals as constituting an organic whole. In this last form Israel has its offering taken into the holy place; and, inasmuch as an organic whole is higher than the sum of all its parts enumerated separately, the offering of the holy place is higher than that of the court. Hence also the fruits produced attain a higher expression in the former than in the latter. Even the individual is to give light, is to be fruitful in good works, is to send abroad the savour of a godly life. But he cannot do this to the extent or with the power of the "great congregation." There one checks another's faults, supplies another's deficiencies, makes up for another's shortcomings, while all combined send forth a larger body of light, a more abundant harvest, a sweeter fragrance, than even the most perfect of them can send forth separately. It was fitting, therefore, that a much more definite expression should be given to this when that stage of progress was reached, and that to effect it the candlestick, the shewbread, and the altar of incense should be placed where they were. The same view of the matter may be taken by us when we enter the holy of holies. The sprinkling of blood upon the mercy-seat shows that the idea of "vicarious suffering" is not left behind even in it; while the cloud of incense raised from the large quantity of incense then taken by the high priest (Lev. xvi. 12) is an evident advance upon the incense kindled in the holy place. It is true that we have no representation either of the increase of light or of good works; but the reason of that may well be that on the great day of atonement the vail separating the holy place from the holy of holies was drawn aside while the high priest ministered within, and that their symbolical representation in the one part of the double structure

[1] Kurz, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, p. 315, Clark's translation.

belonged for the time at least equally to the other. It was enough that the incense should be increased. It could easily be so, and it was besides this the culminating point of the three, not light or good works alone, but the fragrance which they give forth when produced according to the prescriptions of the sanctuary.

Hence also, from all that has been said, the necessity of finding the fulfilment of the whole Tabernacle in the condition and privileges of the Church of Christ in her present state, and not merely when she has actually reached her perfection in that city of God which St. John beheld descending from heaven as the New Jerusalem. Both the unity and the progress of the ideas symbolised in its different parts are characteristic of Christians, here as well as hereafter. Their cleansing and offering of themselves; the light which they shed abroad, the fruits of holiness which they produce, and both going up as a sweet savour before God; their approach to the very throne of the Most High; their living "in the midst" of it and "round about" it; their taking part in the judgment of the world and of sin;—all these things belong to them even now. Even now they have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus;" they are seated in "the heavenly places" with their Lord; they see God; and they wait not for the withdrawal of any vail that still hides glory from their view, but only for confirmation in what they have, and for final deliverance from all temptation and fear of fall.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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THE BITTERN.

IT cannot be determined with certainty what the Hebrew word *kippôd*, occurring three times in the Old Testament, and translated in our version by "bittern," really denotes. The animal is mentioned in company with the cormorant (Isa. xxxiv. 11) in the prophet's picture of the desolation of Edom. "The cormorant (*kaâth*, 'pelican') and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness." The same prophet (xiv. 23), speaking of the desolation of Babylon, says, "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water." Zephaniah (ii. 13, 14), telling of the judgments that were to come upon Assyria, says that Jehovah "will destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness, and packs[1] shall lie down in the midst of her, all the wild beasts of a multitude [such as jackals, which hunt in crowds]; the pelican and the bittern also shall lodge in the chapiters thereof; a voice shall sing in the windows."

The derivation of the Hebrew word (*kippôd*), and its relationship with the Arabic *kunfod*, point rather to the hedgehog than to the bittern. According to Gesenius, *kippôd* is derived from a root meaning "to shrink from fear," which is characteristic of a hedgehog, but not of a bittern. The Septuagint and the Vulgate support the rendering of "hedgehog," as also do most commentators, such as Rosenmüller, Maurer, Delitzsch and Keil, Fürst, Benisch, Sharpe, Leeser, &c., but the requirements of the Bible texts are much better met by interpreting *kippôd* to mean some marsh-loving bird as "the bittern." From the expression of Babylon being "a possession for the bittern and pools of water," one would naturally infer that some marsh-loving bird was associated in the prophet's mind with desolate pools of water. Hedgehogs do not inhabit marshy, but dry places. Moreover, it is said that "the pelican and the bittern shall lodge on the knobs or chapiters of the pillars." Keil and Delitzsch (*Comment.* on Zeph. ii. 14) interpret "upon the knobs of the pillars left standing when the palaces were destroyed." A bittern or a pelican perched on the top of a column left standing among the ruins is a true picture of desolation; but not a hedgehog, even supposing the animal could ever get there. Of course, we may allow that the knobs were thrown down, but even then a hedgehog would be a very unlikely animal to perch himself thereon; for be it remembered the Hebrew verb *yalînu* seems to imply, not an accidental and temporary perching on the knobs of the columns, but a habit of lodging, or "passing the night" thereon, according to the probable derivation of the Hebrew word.

Notwithstanding, then, the authorities which favour the translation of hedgehog or porcupine as the representative of the original word, we can come to no other conclusion than that some marsh-loving bird, such as the bittern, is denoted. It has been questioned whether the bittern is ever found in the Mesopotamian plains, but Tristram says, "As a matter of fact the bittern is very abundant in these swamps of the Tigris, and in all the marshy grounds of Syria; and its strange booming note, disturbing the stillness of the night, gives an idea of desolation which nothing but the wail of the hyena can equal."

Formerly, when extensive marshes were common, the bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*) was plentifully distributed over this country, but now drainage and cultivation have made it, comparatively speaking, rather a rare bird. It was once in some estimation as an article of food. According to Sir Thomas Browne, young bitterns were considered a better dish than young herons. The

[1] The A.V. reading "flocks" is inappropriate when used for wild beasts, such as jackals, which are evidently intended.

THE CORMORANT (*Phalacrocorax carbo*).

word "bittern" is a corruption of the Latin *Botaurus*, as is shown by the old word *bittour*, *bytoure*, *bitore*, used by Chaucer and Dryden—

> "And as a *bittore bumbleth* in the mire,
> She laid hir mouth unto the water down."
> *Wife of Bath's Tale*, line 116.

> "Then to the water's brink she laid her head,
> And as a *bittour bumps* withiu a reed,
> To thee alone, O Lake,' she said, 'I tell.'"—DRYDEN, *ibid.*

Butter-bump is still used in the North to denote a bittern. Compare Tennyson's *Northern Farmer*—

> "Theer wur a boggle in it, I often 'eerd un mysen;
> Moäst loike a butter-bump."

Miredrum, *bog-bumper*, *bumpie*, are also provincial words having reference to the peculiar bellowing sound the bird produces, chiefly in the spring and summer; hence probably the Latin term, *Botaurus*, *i.e.*, Bos-taurus. Pliny says there is a bird called a *taurus*, from the sound it produces; but as he calls it a small bird, it cannot be the bittern, which is about two and a-half feet in length. The bittern was one of the few birds which Goldsmith descanted on from personal observation in his native country. "Those who have walked on a summer's evening," he writes, "by the sedgy sides of unfrequented rivers, must remember a variety of notes from different water-fowl, the loud scream of the wild goose, the croaking of the mallard, the whining of the lapwing, and the tremulous neighing of the jack snipe [? common snipe]. But of all these sounds there is none so dismally hollow as the booming of the bittern. It is impossible for words to give those who have not heard this evening call an adequate idea of its solemnity.

It is like the interrupted bellowing of a bull, but hollower and louder, and is heard at a mile's distance, as if issuing from some formidable being that resided at the bottom of the waters."

Willoughby, from the bellowing noise uttered in the breeding season, identifies the bittern with the night-raven, at whose deadly voice the superstitious wayfarer of the night turned pale and trembled. "This, without doubt," he says, "is that bird our common people call the night-raven, and have such a dread of, imagining its cry portends no less than their death, or the death of some of their near relations." It was a common opinion that the bittern produced that bumping or "mugient noise," as Sir Thomas Browne calls it, by putting its bill into a reed, or into mud and water, and there blowing violently; hence the allusions in Chaucer and Dryden quoted above.

Goldsmith also tells us of the superstitious notions held by the common people in his day with respect to the bittern; its hollow booms presaging some dire calamity. As the uneducated in various countries have had such superstitious fancies, it is very probable that such were also held by the Orientals of old; and the graphic description of desolate Nineveh or Babylon, by the Hebrew prophets, receives especial force from the presence of the bittern booming dismally from its concealment amongst the reeds and rushes of the marshy pools, or lodging, spectre-like, on the top of some lofty column of a ruinous city. We may appropriately enough refer to Goldsmith's charming poem, *The Deserted Village*, where this same bird appears amid the "desolation" that saddens all the green:—

> "Along thy glades, a solitary guest,
> The hollow-sounding bittern guards its nest."

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PSALMS.

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THE Psalms form a book of which the interest grows upon us as we ourselves grow in years. The depth of spiritual teaching which they contain makes it impossible for them to be fully realised except by those who have themselves advanced some way in spiritual life. But these find, as others have found before them, that there is no religious feeling or holy desire of their own which has not been anticipated by the Psalmist. We look upon the Psalter, therefore, as a complete treasury of devotion, as a little manual of faith and piety unequalled in depth of feeling and loftiness of aspirations.

We speak thus of the Psalms, because we feel that they speak of us and to us. We have felt the truth of the words of an ancient writer who says of a psalm that it gives "a calm to tempest-tost souls," that "it soothes the thoughts when they are stormy and tumultuous." To read a psalm is the shortest path to comfort for one who is sick or afflicted; to sing a psalm is the best sacrifice of praise that can be offered.

Nor is this value of the Psalms appreciated in our days only. So far as we know, they have always been used in private and public worship as we use them. Let it be enough to remind the reader of Christ's use of the Psalms as an act of praise after the Last Supper, and that thrice while upon the cross He used them, His spirit departing from Him as He uttered a part of a psalm. And His Church, whether Jewish or Christian, has always used the Psalms under all sorts of circumstances. Jonah in his danger, Jeremiah in his persecutions, Ezra and Nehemiah in their joy, Jehoshaphat in the flush of victory, found alike that the Psalms were the best expression of their devotion to God.

The Psalter is known to the Jews as the Book *Tehillim*, or more shortly *Tillim*. Certain individual parts of the collection are known by other names, as we shall see when we come to discuss the titles; but the name given above would designate it as the "Song Book," the different titles, such as "Maschil," "Prayer," and the like, indicating what the sort of song is, whether didactic or supplicatory in its tone.

Perhaps this name, "The Song Book," gives us a hint as to the origin of this wonderful collection. It would imply that it grew up gradually as songs were required for liturgical use; and that they were thus compiled lest by remaining as scattered fragments any of them should be lost. That the Psalter should have been gradually formed is exactly what we should have expected, for, as it forms in itself a miniature of the Bible, so we should think it beforehand to be highly probable that the history of its formation would be a miniature of the history of the formation of the whole Bible. We have, in the titles to the Psalms, much which favours this theory of the gradual composition of the Psalter, and much from the internal evidence of the individual psalms which bears it out, so that we think there is little doubt as to the origin of the collection, though the names of the authors may be uncertain.

We venture here to anticipate a remark which would be more appropriate at a later part of the paper, but as it will be necessary to refer to the titles while we are discussing the origin of the collection, it may be as well to state here a canon which will be of great use in estimating the evidential value of the titles. It appears to be a very safe rule, that in all cases, unless the contents of a psalm are at variance with the title, the title is as probable an account of the origin and occasion of the psalm as any that can be given.

Bearing this rule in mind, and it is not destitute of authority, we find that psalms are ascribed to different authors in far different ages, ranging from Moses, the traditional author of Ps. xc., down to the author of the hymn to be sung at the dedication of the Temple, or the psalms which speak of the captivity as ended. Of course we do not pledge ourselves to the fact that Moses wrote this psalm, or that the dedication of the Temple is the same as that mentioned by St. John (John x. 22). We simply state the limits between which, according to the tradition handed down in the titles, the collection arose.

But we have, besides these titles, another very important tradition to aid us in our inquiry. There is extant a very ancient Greek translation of the Bible commonly known as the Alexandrine or Septuagint version. This translation of the Psalms gives us in the titles a different tradition from that of the Hebrew titles. It gives us the tradition preserved by the Jews of Alexandria, as distinguished from the Palestinian Jews. The variations are slight. The fact that most psalms which are not ascribed to any writer in the Hebrew text, remain anonymous in the Greek, shows that the translators were anxious not to introduce any unauthenticated tradition. The addition of the names of authors—namely, Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah—have nothing improbable in them. We therefore regard the Alexandrine tradition with a reverence only second to that with which we regard the Palestinian.

We do not enter into the titles contained by the later Eastern versions, as they are all due to Christian translators. In fact, they have very little interest, as they do little more than mention the spiritual interpretation of the psalm, and record the number of verses that it contains.

But we have another tradition preserved to us, which cannot be passed over, and this is the one which the Jews themselves have handed down. We shall cite this as it is recorded in the preface to the Psalms written by Rabbi David Kimchi. He says, "Our Rabbis, of blessed memory, have stated that David, King of Israel, wrote his book by means of (*i.e.*, through the instrumentality of) ten elders, namely, Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Asaph, Heman, Jedu-thun, Moses, and the three sons of Korah—Aser, Elkanah, and Abiasaph. That is to say, that these ten uttered the psalms which are written in their names. And they say that Adam uttered the psalm entitled a song for the Sabbath day (*i.e.*, Ps. xcii.) after being created on the eve of the Sabbath day. And our Rabbis have declared that Ethan the Ezrahite is the same as Abraham our father; and they say that Melchizedek composed Ps. cx., 'The Lord said unto my Lord.' The rest are explained under their several names" (*i.e.*, by their titles).

We have mentioned this tradition, because it is contained in the writings of one of the ablest of the mediæval Jewish writers. It states what was the traditional belief of the Jews in his day, but whether he believed it himself or not he does not state. It bears upon the face of it the marks of the greatest improbability.

We see, then, that in accordance with these three streams of tradition, the longest period during which the collection was in course of formation, is that ascribed by the Septuagint, the shortest that by the Hebrew titles, while Jewish tradition attempts to ascribe all the Psalms to David and his ten elders.

Closely bearing upon the history of the Psalter is the fact that it stands at the head of that part of the Hebrew Scriptures which was known to the Jews as the *K'thubim, i.e.*, the Writings, or the Hagiographa, as they are often called now. The Psalms were thus distinguished from the Law, and from the former and the latter Prophets. They immediately preceded, in the Hebrew Scriptures, as in our own, the Book of Proverbs, and may not this be a sort of indication that they were admitted into the Canon earlier than the Proverbs? Whatever subsequent discussions may have been as to the relative positions of the Psalms and Proverbs, there can be no doubt that in our Saviour's time the Psalms stood at the head of the *K'thubim.* We read (Luke xxiv. 44) that He refers to the threefold division of the Scriptures, mentioning the Psalms as the third division, "The Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms," indicating most distinctly how the Scriptures were then arranged.

It appears to be probable, thus far, that the "Book of Songs" had began to be formed at an early period. We may now notice a fact that throws some light upon the reason why the collection was made. The Psalter is far from containing all the Hebrew hymns that are known. We have hymns written by David himself which are not admitted as psalms. It is difficult to see why the hymn composed on the death of Sâul and Jonathan should not have appeared in the Psalter. The fact that it is personal does not stand in the way, for a psalm relative to Doeg (*i.e.*, Ps. lii.) is admitted. It is also strange that the "last words of David" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7) should be found only in the Prophetical Books, when we find hymns referring to David's early life (Ps. viii., xxiii.) reckoned as Psalms. We do find, however, in two instances, a hymn appearing both in the Prophetical Books and among the Psalms, for Ps. xviii. appears, in only a slightly different form, in 2 Sam. xxii. 2—51. Of course we might note in the same way the absence of the songs of Moses, and of Deborah, which would seem to be as worthy of holding a place among the Psalms as Ps. lxviii. To these might be added the canticle of Hezekiah, as noble and pathetic a specimen of Hebrew poetry as can be found, yet excluded from the Psalter, while Ps. xxxix. and xc. are admitted. These omissions point to the probable origin of the Psalter. Such hymns as were used for liturgical purposes were admitted, those which were merely read as records of the past history of the nation were excluded.

Another fact bears out the same theory. We find certain psalms existing in a double form. For instance, Ps. xiv. is almost identical with Ps. liii. The difference

between them is chiefly that Ps. xiv. speaks of the LORD, that is, of Jehovah, where Ps. liii. speaks of God. (This is frequently expressed otherwise by stating that Ps. liii. is an Elohistic version of Ps. xiv.) That one psalm is borrowed from the other cannot be doubted, and that the variation is due to liturgical purposes is highly probable.

Again, we find an instance of part of one psalm being cut off to form another psalm. For instance, Ps. lxx. consists almost word for word of the last five verses of Ps. xl. It is hard to account for this, except upon the liturgical hypothesis.

One psalm appears to be a compound of certain others. This is a phenomenon bearing out the truth of what we have supposed to be the case. Ps. cviii. is made up of Ps. lvii. 7—11 and lx. 5—12, the differences being very slight. There can be no doubt that this is due to an occasion being found to which neither Ps. lvii. nor lx. were suitable while complete, but that the separate parts would, when combined, be an exact expression of the devotional feelings of those who used them. Still, however, this compound psalm was not rejected from the Psalter (as was another of the same nature which appears in 1 Chron. xvi. 7—36, which is composed of cv. 1—16; xcvi. 2—7, 11—13), but was preserved as one of the "Songs." Thus we may well suppose that, as hymn after hymn was composed for divine service by the Psalmist, or as it was adapted from existing hymns to suit a special occasion, it was added to the existing collection, occasionally with the musical directions remaining which indicated what instruments were to accompany the hymn, who was to sing it, and what the tune was to be. We shall notice under the heading of the Titles an important fact bearing this out.

We have already referred to the Psalter as being a Bible in miniature, and as forming in itself a complete work. To the Jew it appeared to be framed upon the model of the Law, being divided, as the Law was, into five books. The antiquity of these divisions must be very great, though it cannot be ascertained. We can trace them in the English version by the benediction with which each book closes, and in one place, by a remarkable notice in the text, we can distinguish traces of a far earlier edition of the Psalter than that which we have at present. The first book ends with Ps. xli., the benediction being, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting and everlasting, Amen and Amen." The second book ends with Ps. lxxii., the benediction (vv. 18, 19) being partly taken from the words of the LORD recorded in Numb. xiv. 21. To this is added the "Amen, Amen," as at the close of each of the three first books. On this follows the remarkable notice which informs the reader that "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." These words, it is clear, suggest to us that at some early time the collection of psalms ended here; for they are inconsistent with the appearance of many psalms directly ascribed to David in the other books, unless we suppose those other Davidic psalms to have been added to the collection at a later date. Just as in an old building we find occasionally an ancient piece of moulding in some position where it is not needed, which was left there by an architect who altered the character of the building at an early date, that we might see what the form of it was before he touched it, so does this verse appear to have been left in the text to show us how the sacred book has increased in its contents from time to time, and with what pains the compilers of it fulfilled their tasks. The third book concludes with Ps. lxxxix., the benediction being almost similar to that in Book I. The fourth book concludes with Ps. cvi., and the benediction differs from that of Book I. by the addition of the word "Hallelujah," or "Praise ye the Lord." We may regard the last five psalms, or at least Ps. cl., as the benediction of the last book. The words, "Let every thing that hath breath praise the LORD, Hallelujah," are a worthy termination of so glorious a book.

Such, then, are the divisions of the Psalter indicated not only by the inscriptions which are found in the Hebrew text, but also by the benedictions. It remains for us to examine the principles upon which these divisions were made. We approach this difficult inquiry with only two principles to guide us, (1) How far do the contents of the several psalms and their subject-matter aid us in forming an adequate and consistent theory of accounting for the division? (2) How far are the titles of any service in our inquiry?

(1.) As far as the subject-matter is concerned, it would appear as if it had been the intention of the compilers to place the earliest psalms at the beginning of the collection, and those by later authors in the subsequent books. But here a reader might ask with great reason, "How can it be known, apart from the title, whether a psalm is early or late?" We can discover the date of a psalm, partly from historical references, partly from the style. Thus many psalms speak of one who is hotly pursued by enemies (xxii. 12—16; xxvii. 10—12), sleeping in the wilderness underneath the open air (lvii.), and betrayed by one in whom he had placed all his trust (lxix.). There can be little doubt from the historical references that such Psalms refer to David. Or, to take another instance, Ps. xlv. speaks of one who is fair (ver. 2), brave (ver. 3), prosperous (ver. 4), powerful (ver. 5), just (ver. 6), magnificent (ver. 7). No historical character mentioned in the Old Testament, except Solomon, falls under such a description; consequently by the historical references we should infer that such a psalm was composed by one who lived in the days of Solomon.

But (2) the style is also a great indication of date, though for the English reader it is not so easy to discern variations of style, as it is for one who is acquainted with a little Hebrew. A safe rule to follow with regard to style as an indication of the date of the composition of any psalm is that laid down by De Wette (*Commentary on the Psalms*, 5th Edit., pp. 15, 16), "The more difficult and awkward that the language is, the more terse and concise the mode in which the thoughts are expressed, the earlier is the date

of the psalm; and on the contrary, as the language is the more easy and the more flowing, as the thoughts appear to be set down upon some definite plan, the later is the date of any psalm." This is precisely what we find in many psalms of the two first books—Ps. ix. and x. are to an English reader most obscure; the difficulties which a Hebrew scholar finds in them are immense, both as to language and thought—consequently it is nearly certain that they are of an earlier date than a psalm such as lxxviii., where a clear and definite plan can be traced throughout the whole. The reader cannot be too careful, however, in forming any estimate of the style of an author. Style varies in the same author so much, according as his own circumstances or his feelings move him, that we are very liable to make mistakes. If of two great Hebrew scholars one affirms that a psalm is written in David's time, and the other that the same psalm was written some six or seven hundred years later, and each bases his arguments for the date upon the style of the psalm, into what errors may not those fall who, with little knowledge of Hebrew, and with only a superficial knowledge of Jewish history, venture to assign each psalm to its date?

Roughly speaking, then, we may state that the first two books, so far as style is any evidence, contain the earliest psalms. We may now examine how far the titles bear out this. We may notice in the first place that anonymous psalms, which are rare in the first two books, are not once met with in the third book, but are very frequent in the last two books, ten out of the seventeen psalms composing the fourth book, and eighteen out of the forty-four which form the last book being without any author's name mentioned in the title.

Again, in the first book, all the psalms which are not anonymous (the anonymous psalms are i., ii., x., and xxxiii., and it is highly probable that Ps. ix. and x. were originally one psalm) are ascribed to David. Thirteen psalms in the second book, one in the third, two in the fourth, and fifteen in the fifth, are also stated by the titles to have been written by him. Again, in the first book nineteen psalms are inscribed to the chief musician, twenty-five in the second book, eight in the third, none in the fourth, and only three in the fifth. This would seem to indicate that the office of chief musician had ceased to be of such importance when the three last books were added as it was when the two first books were arranged, and would point to a later date.

On the other hand, we find the name of Asaph prefixed to one psalm only in the first book, to eleven in the second, and to no others. The sons of Korah are mentioned in the titles of seven psalms in the second book, and of four in the third, but nowhere else. The name "Maschil" appears once only in the first and fifth books, never in the fourth book, seven times in the second book, and four times in the third. The much perplexing name Michtam appears once in the first book, five times in the second, and nowhere else. Psalms of Degrees, in which there are many references to late events in Jewish history, are found in the fifth book only.

With these facts before us, it would appear that what we inferred from the subject-matter and historical contents of the Psalms is fully borne out by the titles. The Psalms of David occupy the chief part of the first book; those of the sons of Korah and anonymous psalms form the basis of the second; Psalms of Asaph a large proportion of the third book; the fourth book consists chiefly of anonymous psalms; the fifth is a miscellaneous collection.

A further distinction has been supposed to exist between the books, and to account for the present arrangement; this is the difference between the names which are used by the psalmists when they would speak of God. It will be observed that in some psalms "God" is only spoken of, in others "the LORD." Thus it has been observed that in Book I. "God" is used 43 times, "the LORD" 272 times; in Book II. "God" is used 164 times, "the LORD" 30 times; in Book III. "God" is used 43 times, "the LORD" 44 times. Now, whatever these facts may imply, we cannot believe that the compilers of the Psalter counted diligently how often these names were used in the different psalms, and then arranged them in books accordingly. It is quite as hard to maintain an early origin as a late from such data. All that we can do is to state the fact and leave it unexplained. It is a fact as certainly as it is a fact that the name "God" is used more than twice as often as the name "Lord" in the collects from Advent to Trinity Sunday, but that in the twenty-five Sundays after Trinity the name "Lord" is used half as often again as the name "God." The cases are certainly parallel, and if no inference can be drawn in the one case, why should it be drawn in the other?

We would gladly classify these five books according to their subject-matter, but such a task has hitherto proved impracticable. We give the best scheme that has been given, but that is unsatisfactory. According to this scheme, Book I. consists of prayers suitable for any day, and for any time or condition of life; Book II., of psalms for holy days and public worship in general; Book III., of lamentations on account of national disasters; Book IV., psalms of joy and hope; Book V., general Temple hymns.

It remains for us now to examine the various classes of hymns that we meet with in the Psalter viewed as one book, and to attempt to classify them, so far as we can, under their separate heads. Though it is impossible to make the line of demarcation between them as clear and as distinct as we could wish, they may be roughly divided as follows:—

1. Hymns of Praise, such as viii., xix., xxix., xxxiii., lxv., xciii., civ., cxlv., &c.

2. Historical Hymns, in which the mind of the spiritual reader is elevated to God by the repeated mention of His mercies to Israel, which afford hope of further mercies, such as lxxviii., cv., cvi., cxiv.

3. Others refer to the Tabernacle, or the Temple, regarded as the place where God's presence was espe-

cially to be sought by the pious Jew, such as Ps. xv., xxiv., lxviii., lxxi., lxxvii., cxxxii., cxxxiv., cxxxv.

4. Others speak especially of a King of the house of David whose reign is to be glorious, and unlimited both in duration and extent, such as Ps. ii., xx., xxi., xlv., lxxii., cx. These are psalms which we find frequently applied to Christ in the New Testament. On account of this, and also on account of the early belief of the Jews that certain of these psalms applied to the Messiah, they are called the Messianic Psalms.

Others again describe the sufferings of one who is in great distress, all, except Ps. lxxxviii., brightening up towards the end with the hope of deliverance, which culminate into a hymn of praise—*e.g.*, Ps. vii., x., xi., xii., xiv., xxii., lv., lvi., lxxxviii., cix., cxxxvii. The suffering described is occasionally mental, occasionally physical. Some of these—Ps. vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.—are used by the Church as penitential psalms.

Some of the Psalms are of an entirely different description, being didactic in their style, or hymns of instruction rather than prayers, or hymns of praise and thanksgiving. Among these may be mentioned Ps. xxxvii., xlix., lxxiii.

Another class consists of purely spiritual hymns and songs, such as Ps. i., xxiii., xlii., xliii., ci., cxxi., cxxvii., cxxviii., cxxxiii., cxxxix.

But, as we observed, an accurate classification is impossible. A psalm expressive of the deepest sorrow, such as Ps. xxii., terminates in the brightest expression of thankfulness; a psalm of praise, such as Ps. xxxiv. is at the beginning, becomes in the end didactic; Ps. ciii., which is a burst of praise in the beginning and in the end, becomes didactic in the middle part.

However, before we take leave of this division of our subject, we must notice two classes of psalms, which are remarkable, the first from their form, the second from their title: these are known as (1) the Alphabetical Psalms, (2) the Songs of Degrees.

(1.) The first class consists of eight psalms, *i.e.*, ix., x., (which we view as one), xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv. The peculiarity of this class of psalms consists in a certain alphabetical or acrostic arrangement of the verses, by which each initial letter of each verse follows the preceding as one letter in the alphabet follows another. The English reader will understand this arrangement most easily by referring to the Bible version of Ps. cxix. The names of the twenty-two Hebrew letters will be observed at the head of each of the twenty-two subdivisions of the psalm. This is the most perfect specimen of alphabetical writing that is to be found in the Scriptures, as each of the eight verses that forms a subdivision of the psalm begins with the same letter. However, the alphabetical arrangement is not always carried out so systematically as in this psalm. In Ps. ix., x., we find a very interesting specimen of this style. With the exception of the letter *daleth*, all the letters as far as *caph* are found at the beginning of verses in Ps. ix. Ps. x. begins with *lamed*. There then follows a break in the alphabetical arrangement till the end of verse 11. Verses 12, 14, 15, and 17 begin with the last four letters of the alphabet. The whole style of the psalm, as is frequently the case when the wicked are the subject, is very rugged, and the alphabetical arrangement accords with the style. Ps. xxv. is more complete. The first letter of the alphabet begins each of the two first verses, but by the transposition of the two first words of the second verse it may be made to begin with *beth*. The letters *vau* and *koph* are missing, *resh* beginning both verse 18 and verse 19. The last verse, which bears the marks of a later liturgical addition, begins with *pe*. To this Ps. xxxiv. is somewhat similar in arrangement, the letter *vau* being absent, and the last verse beginning with *pe*. Ps. xxxvii. is more complete, most of the pairs of verses beginning with the corresponding letter of the alphabet. The letter *ayin* is missing, and the last two verses begin with *vau*, the second letters of each word, however, beginning with the last letter of the alphabet. The variations from the couplet arrangement are found in the verses beginning with *vau, caph, shin, tsaddi, koph; samech* having three verses, the other letters only one. Ps. cxi. and cxii. form a pair in which the first eight verses are so written that the alphabetical arrangement applies to each half of every verse, while the last six letters of the alphabet are employed in the three subdivisions of the two last verses. The arrangement in these psalms may be said to be symmetrical, though irregular. Of Ps. cxix., the only one which is regular and symmetrical in its arrangement, we have spoken already. The series closes with Ps. cxlv., which is deficient in the letter *nun*.

What was the object of such an arrangement it is not easy to say. It may have been intended to assist the memory. But with far greater probability it was intended to be a poetical ornament, corresponding to the alliterative style which is found in some early English poems. There is nothing in this style which indicates an author living at a late period. On the contrary, it would rather betoken an early state of literature. It may be a germ of that great ornament of assonance, which is used so freely and with such beauty by the prophet Isaiah.

(2.) The Songs of Degrees are fifteen in number, reaching from Ps. cxx. to Ps. cxxxiv. The word translated "degrees" in our English version means "steps" in the Hebrew, whence it has been supposed by some that these "Gradual Psalms" were sung on fifteen steps which led into the Court of Israel. This account, however, looks doubtful; it has very little authority to support it, the internal evidence in some verses being against it. Others have supposed that they were sung by the Jews as they returned from the Captivity, but there is too little mention made of the deliverance from Babylon to make this probable; besides, the passages where the Captivity is mentioned, speak of it as an old event. With more probability they may be looked upon as pilgrim songs, which were chanted by the people as they went up to the Holy City. We can almost trace the progress of their pilgrimage from these songs. In Ps. cxx. we see them in some distress upon the road.

In Ps. cxxi. they pitch their tents within sight of the mountains that stand round about Jerusalem. In Ps. cxxii. the city with its walls and palaces bursts upon their gaze. The songs continue to describe the feelings of the pilgrims as they approach nearer and nearer to the end of their journey. In Ps. cxxx. we have their penitential psalm, in Ps. cxxxi. the prayer of humble access, reminding us of the conditions laid down in Ps. xv. and xxiv., by observing which only might man venture to dwell in God's tabernacle. But not till the end of the series, *i.e.*, Ps. cxxxiv., does the happy band find itself safe within the walls of the sanctuary, and there lift up the hands to bless the Lord. One other explanation of the name must be mentioned. From a peculiar way in which the thoughts are arranged in many of the psalms, an idea which is prominent at the end of one verse being made to begin the succeeding verse, the notion of "steps" has been supposed to have arisen. A good instance of the "step" style is found in Ps. cxxi.—

> "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills
> From whence *cometh my help;*
> *My help cometh* from the LORD
> Which made heaven and earth."—

where the words in italic characters exemplify what we speak of. This style is not peculiar to the Psalms. We give a remarkable instance of it from Isa. xxvi., where a hymn occurs which reminds us of many passages in the Psalms. The words which illustrate the "step" arrangement are printed in italic type:—

> "3. Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace
> Whose mind is stayed on Thee,
> Because *He trusteth in Thee.*
>
> 4. *Trust ye* in the Lord for ever,
> For in the LORD JEHOVAH is everlasting strength.
>
> 5. For He bringeth down them that dwell on high;
> The lofty city, *He layeth it low;*
> *He layeth it low*, even to the ground,
> He bringeth it *even to the dust.*
>
> 6. *The foot* shall tread it down,
> Even the *foot of the poor,*
> And the *steps* of the needy.
>
> 7. The *way* of the just is *uprightness:*
> Thou, most *upright,*
> Dost weigh the *path* of the just.
>
> 8. Yea, in the *way* of thy judgments, O LORD," &c.
> (Isa. xxvi.)

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE SONS OF ANTIPATER.

OF the two sons thus appointed to prominent positions, the younger, Herod,[1] soon began to display uncommon abilities, and the most unbounded ambition. Though only twenty-five[2] years of age, the new governor of Galilee turned his energies at once to the efficient management of his province. Numerous robber bands which infested the confines of Syria, were resolutely attacked; their chief, Hezekias, was put to death, and security was restored.

Such decision won the praises of multitudes in the towns and cities of Syria, and especially of Sextus Cæsar, the new president of the province. But the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem had not been consulted, and Hyrcanus felt that Antipater and his sons were everything, while he was of no account. Accordingly Herod was summoned before the Sanhedrin to answer for his conduct, and appeared, not in the garb of a suppliant, but clothed in purple,[3] accompanied by a strong body-guard, and with a letter from Sextus Cæsar demanding his acquittal. Such insolent dictation provoked the anger of the council, but they would have been too terrified to proceed to judgment had it not been for Sameas, or Shammai, one of the most learned of the Rabbis, and a strict observer of the Law. He sternly rebuked the culprit, and urged his fellow-judges to pronounce sentence of death.

They would have acted on his advice, but the timid Hyrcanus secretly urged the criminal to flee from the city. Herod took the hint, and flying to Damascus threw himself at the feet of Sextus Cæsar, who appointed him governor of Cœle-Syria and Samaria.[4] Filled with rage, he soon gathered an army, and, marching against Jerusalem, would have avenged the affront he had received, had it not been for the intervention of his father and brother, who urged him to be satisfied with his acquittal, and to draw off his troops.[5]

This was in B.C. 46. Two years later, B.C. 44, Cæsar was assassinated at Rome, and Antipater addressed himself to the task of meeting the new situation, unexpected even by his sagacity. Cassius, the chief conspirator in the murder of Cæsar, became pro-consul of Syria, and arriving in Judæa, enforced upon the country the enormous tribute of seven hundred talents of silver. Antipater commissioned Herod to collect the quota from Galilee, while Malichus, a powerful Jew, and an adherent of Hyrcanus, was directed to obtain the rest. Herod, with characteristic energy, employed himself in raising two hundred talents for Galilee, and so gained the favour of Cassius, while the people of Lydda, Gophna, and Emmaus, being backward in their contributions, were sold into slavery; but so incensed was the pro-consul at

[1] His mother was Cypros, an Arabian of noble descent (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 3).

[2] Josephus says fifteen, but for πεντεκαίδεκα we ought apparently to read πεντεκαιεικοσι (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 2; *B. J.* i. 10, § 4.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 4.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 5; *B. J.* i. 10, § 8.

[5] See Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, iii. 379.

Malichus for his dilatoriness, that he would have put him to death, had it not been for the intervention of Antipater, who advanced one hundred talents on his account.[1] Herod was now confirmed in the government of Cœle-Syria, and Cassius even promised him the kingdom of Judea, if the arms of the Republic proved triumphant. Soon afterwards Antipater perished by poison, administered with the connivance of Malichus, who had ineffectually made an open attempt upon his life. Herod would have taken instant vengeance upon the murderer, but was dissuaded by Phasael. Eventually he got him into his power, and caused him to be put to death.[2]

It was now obvious that the virtual supremacy lay more than ever in the hands of the sons of Antipater. The party of Hyrcanus struggled in vain against their ascendancy. But it was not the policy of Herod openly to break with the high priest; and to conciliate the Jews who clung to the Asmonean family, he was betrothed,[3] with the consent of Hyrcanus, to his beautiful and accomplished grand-daughter, Mariamne,[4] who was as yet a child.

Meanwhile, the forces of Brutus and Cassius had met their opponents Antonius and Octavius on the disastrous field of Philippi, B.C. 42. The conquerors separated. Octavius hurried to Italy, Antonius to Asia. No sooner had the latter arrived in Bithynia, than a number of influential Jews waited upon him to urge heavy complaints against Herod and Phasael. But Herod plied him with such heavy bribes, that the complainants could not obtain a hearing.[5] In the following year, B.C. 41, another deputation met him at Daphne, near Antioch, and on this occasion they were accompanied by Hyrcanus himself. The Roman heard what they had to say, and then turning to the high priest asked whom he deemed best fitted to rule the country. Remembering the projected alliance between Herod and his granddaughter, Hyrcanus named the sons of Antipater, and Antonius readily consenting, they were named tetrarchs of Judea; nor could another deputation of one thousand Jews, who waited upon him at Tyre, alter his decision.[6]

But now an unexpected power appeared in the country, and Judea became the victim of the strife for empire between Rome and Parthia. While Antonius was wasting his time in the society of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, the Parthians, under Pacorus, having been bribed[7] by Antigonus,[8] advanced through Syria, and made themselves masters of Sidon, Ptolemais, and all the coast except Tyre.[9] Hence a division of the Parthian forces marched against Jerusalem, and their leader, admitted within the walls, proposed to act as umpire between the rival claimants for the throne of Judæa.

Phasael assented, and in an evil hour, accompanied by Hyrcanus, repaired to the Parthian governor in Galilee, who threw them both into chains. Herod, suspecting treachery, preferred to stay behind in the Baris[10] at Jerusalem, where he had taken refuge, and thence fled by night to Masada,[11] a strong fortress at the southern end of the Dead Sea, where he left his wife and followers in the care of his brother Joseph. Thence he hastened towards Petra, to seek the aid of Malchus, the successor of Aretas. But met by envoys prohibiting his approach, he made his way to Pelusium, and thence to Alexandria, where Cleopatra tried in vain to induce him to take the command of an expedition. With true insight he saw that in the capital of the West his fortunes were to be made, and though it was the depth of winter,[12] took ship and sailed for Rome, B.C. 40.

CHAPTER XIV.

HEROD KING OF JUDÆA.

MEANWHILE the Parthians had obtained possession of Jerusalem. Antigonus was made king, and Hyrcanus and Phasael were delivered into his power. The latter, knowing his death was certain, beat out his brains against the walls of his prison. As for Hyrcanus, while he knelt in the posture of a suppliant before Antigonus, the new king, resolved that he should never hold the office of high priest again, bit off his ears,[13] and then sent him to be led prisoner to Seleucia by the Parthians. Thus Jerusalem was left in the hands of a foreign army, who committed the greatest excesses.

Herod in the meantime had not been idle. On arriving at Rome, he found Antonius at the summit of power. The triumvir received him with the utmost distinction, and introduced him to Octavius, who at once recalled the services which the Idumean had rendered to the great Julius. A Parthian campaign was at this time being diligently planned by Antonius, and he found in Herod a useful ally. Within seven days, therefore, he procured a decree of the senate, nominating him king of Judæa, and Herod, successful beyond his most sanguine hopes, walked in procession between Octavius and Antonius, preceded by the consuls and other magistrates, to the Capitol, where the usual sacrifices were offered, and

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[1] Jos. *B. J.* i. 11, § 2.

[2] Jos. *B. J.* i. 11, § 8; Ewald, v. 403.

[3] He had already married Doris, a native of Judea, of high family, by whom he became the father of a son, Antipater (Jos. *B. J.* i. 12, § 3).

[4] Jos. *B. J.* i. 12, § 3.

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 12, § 2; *B. J.* i. 12, § 4; Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 54.

[6] Jos. *B. J.* i. 12, §§ 5, 6.

[7] Jos. *B. J.* i. 13, § 1, tells us that Antigonus promised him one thousand talents and five hundred women of Judæa.

[8] The son of Aristobulus II., who had been put to death by the army of Pompeius. He was the last of the Maccabees who sat on the throne.

[9] Jos. *B. J.* i. 13, § 1; *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 3; Dion. xlviii. 26.

[10] Afterwards known as the Tower of Antonia, when restored and enlarged by Herod.

[11] This fortress, now called *Sebbeh*, was situated at the S.W. end of the Dead Sea, on a rock rising to a height of 1,500 feet, and separated from the neighbouring mountain-range by deep ravines. It was first built by Jonathan Maccabæus. (See Traill's *Josephus*; Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, i. 525.)

[12] Μήτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας (Jos. *B. J.* i. 14, § 2); Χειμῶνός τε ὄντος (*Ant.* xiv. 14, § 2).

[13] Jos. *B. J.* i. 13, § 9.

the decree investing him with royal power was enrolled.[1]

Herod did not remain long at Rome. Everything depended on the celerity of his movements. The close of the week, therefore, saw him appointed king, and hurrying to Brundusium. Thence he took ship for Ptolemais, and arrived there after an absence of barely three months. Collecting a body of troops, he speedily won over all Galilee, where the recollection of his energy as governor was still fresh. Then he set out to attack Antigonus, who had unsuccessfully laid siege to Masâda, in the hope of obtaining possession of Mariamne.[2] Joppa next fell into his hands; and having raised the siege of Masâda, and liberated his relatives, he proceeded, in conjunction with the Roman general Silo, to lay siege to Jerusalem. He pitched his camp on the north side of the city, but, though aided by the Roman troops, his progress was very slow. The Jews within the city were strongly attached to Antigonus, the last representative of the Asmonean line, and held out with great pertinacity. The jealousy and corruption of the Roman generals perpetually hampered Herod's plans, but nothing daunted his energy or activity. He sent his brother Joseph to Idumea to prevent any risings in that quarter; placed his wives in security at Samaria; re-conquered Galilee, which had gone over to Antigonus; hastened to the aid of his patron Antonius at Samosata, and obtained from him the assistance of two more legions under Sosius. Thence, furious at the death of his brother Joseph, who had been slain at Jericho, he hurried, B.C. 37, to Jerusalem, and re-commenced the siege, aided by Sosius, at the head of 50,000 troops.[3]

But his progress was still slow.[4] Forty days were spent in taking the first wall, fifteen in taking the second. Then the outer court of the Temple and the lower city were reduced. At last the signal for the assault was given, and an indiscriminate massacre ensued. Multitudes were cut down in the narrow streets, many more while crowded together in their houses. The fury of the legions was roused, and the massacre was only stayed by the repeated solicitations of Herod, who stood with a drawn sword before the entrance of the Holy of Holies, and threatened to cut down any one of the Roman soldiers who attempted to enter. Despairing of success, Antigonus descended from the Baris, where he had taken refuge, and in an abject manner implored Sosius to spare his life. It was granted him, but only to be taken from him shortly afterwards at Antioch by order of Antonius, who had him tried and condemned, and after he had been scourged by the Roman lictors, struck off his head.[5]

Thus ignominiously passed away the last priest-king of the Asmonean line, 126 years after Judas Maccabæus had obtained the government of Judæa, and Herod remained supreme on the ruins of the Asmoneans.

CHAPTER XV.

HEROD AND OCTAVIUS.

HEROD had now attained the highest object of his ambition. By Roman aid, and under the influence of Roman supremacy, he had become sole ruler of Palestine, and he maintained his power unchallenged until his death.

He had already committed many and terrible crimes against the Asmonean dynasty, but "he had learnt in the school of the Roman proscriptions the two concurrent objects for which the tyrant selects his victims, the satisfaction of his vengeance and the replenishment of his coffers."[6] One of his first measures, therefore, after the capture of Jerusalem, was to execute forty-five of the most prominent partisans of Antigonus. These were all slaughtered in one day. He next proceeded to sentence *the entire Sanhedrin* to death, with the exception of two only, Pollio and Sameas, who alone during the last siege had counselled their countrymen to surrender the city. With these two exceptions, all the rest were executed.

The grandfather of his bride Mariamne and his own great benefactor, the aged Hyrcanus, had been for three years in the hands of the Parthians in Babylonia. There he had been held in high respect for his age and lofty office, and now suffered himself to be persuaded by Herod to return to Jerusalem, where, though he still received the respect due to him, he could not again discharge his sacerdotal functions.[7]

The appointment of a successor to his sacred office became a matter of great solicitude to the Idumean monarch. He knew he could not treat the services of the Temple with neglect, for they were the very centre of the national life. To prevent any rival, therefore, to his own supremacy, he appointed an obscure priest of the line of Aaron, who had returned from Babylonia, and was devoted to his interests, to this high office.[8] But this appointment provoked the resentment not only of the aged Hyrcanus, but of the people generally, and of the whole body of the priests. There was still a scion of the Asmonean house in the person of Aristobulus, a brother of his queen Mariamne, and a grandson of Hyrcanus. He had a rightful claim to the office, and his mother Alexandra eagerly coveted the honour for him. Though he had already appointed

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5; *B. J.* i. 14, § 4; Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 57.

[2] Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 57.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 1.

[4] Jerusalem held out more than six months. It was a sabbatical year, and the people were hard pressed by famine.

[5] Jos. *B. J.* i. 18, § 3; Plut. *Anton.* 36; Liv. *Epist.* 128. "Antonius was the first of the Romans who consented to smite a king with the axe. Perhaps this ignominious punishment was intended to brand the sufferer as a rebel and an usurper. Perhaps it was adopted in ostentatious disregard of the prescriptions of Roman policy, in token that the triumvir claimed to rule in Asia as an Oriental despot rather than the agent of an European republic" (Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, iii. 381; Milman's *History of the Jews*, ii. 59). Ewald inclines to think it was done "because it seemed to be absolutely necessary on Herod's account for terrifying the Jews" (*History of Israel*, v. 416 *n.*).

[6] Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, iii. 382.

[7] See above, p. 320.

[8] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 2, § 4.

Ananel, Herod now suddenly conferred the position on Aristobulus, who was only seventeen years of age, thus showing that he considered the high priesthood dependent entirely on his own will and pleasure. The sight of the handsome youth, arrayed in his gorgeous robes and performing his holy functions at the Feast of Tabernacles, filled the people with delight, and they rent the air with their shouts of applause. These shouts sealed the doom of the unfortunate young man. Herod's jealousy instantly took fire, and he had him drowned in the fishponds at Jericho.

With his death the last hope of the Asmoneans seemed to be taken away, and neither Herod's vain pretence of sorrow, nor the magnificent funeral which he celebrated in his honour, could deceive the people or the bereaved mother. The grief of Alexandra was unbounded, and she wrote a full account of all that had occurred to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. Even *her* heart was touched with sympathy for the unhappy mother, and she could not rest till she had persuaded Antonius to call the tyrant to account. Accordingly the triumvir summoned him to his presence.[1] How critical Herod deemed affairs was made plain by his orders to his brother Joseph to slay Mariamne, in the event of his not returning, rather than allow her to fall into the hands of Antonius. Having made these provisions, he set out for Egypt, and presented himself before his Roman patron, and by boldly denying the charge, and still more by lavish bribes, so won upon him, that not only were the accusations against himself dismissed, but the triumvir placed him by his side on the judicial throne, and bestowed upon him every mark of distinction.[2]

Having escorted his patron on his way to Armenia, Herod returned to Jerusalem to find that very different events had occurred there. During his absence news reached Jerusalem that he had failed in his mission, and that Antonius had put him to death. Thereupon Alexandra thought that the Idumean usurpation was at an end, and that Judæa might recover her freedom under her native princes. But while she and Mariamne were taking measures for seizing the supreme power, suddenly Herod returned. His sister Salome whispered charges against his wife, and he discovered that his secret instructions to Joseph had been divulged. Thereupon Alexandra was thrown into prison; Joseph was executed; and Mariamne all but shared the same fate, owing her escape only to the charm of her own loveliness.[3]

But though reinstated in his supreme power by Antonius, Herod was tortured with apprehensions owing to the unbounded influence of Cleopatra, who was daily receiving from her lover new tokens of his devotion, and had cast longing eyes on the throne of Judæa. The queen of Egypt accompanied her paramour to the banks of the Euphrates, and received from him at parting certain territories bordering on the Jewish kingdom, and the balsam-gardens near Jericho. On her return she passed through Herod's dominions, and sojourned for some time in his capital; and she is said to have made overtures to him, which would secure for herself a devoted friend, in the event of the defeat of her Roman lover.[4]

For now the eventful year, B.C. 31, was drawing on. The rival potentates of Judæa and Egypt had long been watching and fencing with each other, when the battle of Actium ended all their intrigues, and both found themselves obliged to petition for existence from the conqueror. Herod had raised a body of troops to assist Antonius, but the designs of Cleopatra had involved him in a war with Malchus, an Arabian prince. In the first campaign he had been signally defeated, owing to the unwillingness of the Jews to undertake a war against a nation with whom they had no quarrel. But in the spring of B.C. 31, a sudden earthquake convulsed the cities of southern Palestine, and the Arabs, taking advantage of the consternation, slew the Jewish ambassadors who had come to treat for peace. The news of their barbarity roused the whole people, and enabled Herod to win a decisive victory over his foes at Philadelphia,[5] and to gain something like popular favour from his subjects.

Though by undertaking this war the dexterous politician had avoided being involved in the great war between the Eastern and Western world, the issue of the battle of Actium seemed again to make Herod's fortunes tremble in the balance. But he resolved to confront the conqueror with the same resolute bearing which had availed before Antonius and Cleopatra. Having, therefore, caused Hyrcanus, who might be a centre of disaffection in his absence, to be put to death by the Sanhedrin, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Arabian king, he handed over the administration of the kingdom to his brother Pherôras. He next secured Mariamne with her brother in the fortress of Alexandrium, in charge of Soemus the Iturean, with the same instructions as before, if he did not return; and then set out for Rhodes, where Octavius had arrived on his way to Egypt.[6]

Without reserve he threw himself on the clemency of the conqueror, owned that he had been the friend of the late triumvir, and promised the same fidelity to his new patron, if he would honour him with his confidence. Won over by his frankness, the arbiter of the world commanded him to resume the diadem, and permitted him to accompany him to Antioch, Ptolemais, and Egypt, where, on the death of Antonius, he restored to him the territory round Jericho which Cleopatra had wrung from her paramour, together with Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, the maritime towns of Gaza, Joppa, and Anthedon, as also the Tower of Strato.[7] Thus, successful beyond all his expectations, Herod returned to Jerusalem with greater power secured to him than he had ever enjoyed before.

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3, § 5; Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 320.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3, § 5. Cleopatra had coveted the dominions of Herod, but Antonius consoled her with the gift of Cœle-Syria.
[3] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3, § 9.
[4] Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, iii. 383.
[5] Jos. *B. J.* i. 19, § 3.
[6] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 6, 6; *B. J.* i. 20, § 1.
[7] Jos. *B. J.* i. 20, § 3; Merivale's *Romans*, iii. 356.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PSALMS (*concluded*).

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WE now proceed to examine the names of the different authors to whom the Psalms are ascribed by the titles, bearing in mind the rule which we gave above, that unless the contents of a psalm contradict the title, the title is probably as correct a history of the psalm as can be given.

1. The earliest writer to whom any psalm is ascribed by the titles is "Moses, the man of God." He is said to have been the author of Ps. xc. As the psalm is didactic, it is not easy to discover anything in the contents which bears in any way upon the title. Certainly, if obscurity of style and difficulty of expression is a test of antiquity, there is much in the contents of the psalm which makes the Mosaic authorship not improbable.

2. David is the next author, to whom are ascribed by the titles Ps. iii.—xxxii., xxxiv.—xli., li.—lxv., lxviii.—lxx., lxxxvi., ci., ciii., cviii.—cx., cxxii., cxxiv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., cxxxviii.—cxlv. We have here reckoned, as before, Ps. ix. and x. as only one psalm. If Ps. x. is not ascribed to David, it must be added to the list of anonymous psalms.

Let us now examine how far the truth of these titles is supported by the contents of the psalms. The earliest psalm in which we find any difficulty is the 5th, where in the 7th verse we have a reference to the Temple. The Hebrew word *heykal*, however, in this passage is the same as that employed in 1 Sam. i. 9; iii. 3, to mean the Tabernacle. Consequently we find nothing to oppose the Davidic authorship. In Ps. xiv. 7, there is an apparent reference to the Captivity, which contradicts the title. We find similar references to the Captivity in Ps. xxv. 22; li. 18, 19; liii. 6. But, considering the liturgical use which was made of the Psalter, there is nothing to surprise us in this. It is perfectly possible that these verses were added to the Psalms at some later time, so as to meet the urgencies of the case. It has been objected that the mention of David's name (xviii. 50) is an argument against the Davidic origin of that psalm. But surely the fact that St. Paul mentions his own name in an epistle does not prove that the epistle was not written by him. Why then should the mention of David's name in a psalm be an argument against the authenticity of the psalm?

We may examine all the other psalms ascribed to David by the titles, and if we do so with care, we shall come to the conclusion that we have not sufficient evidence to infer that "without doubt" the greater part of these seventy-three psalms ascribed to David were written at a far later date. We add a word of caution with regard to arguments drawn from style. The style of an author constantly varies as different ideas present themselves to his mind. If we would then be able to discern an author by his style, we should study his writings *in extenso*, so as to become familiar with it. But the very limited range of ancient Hebrew literature that remains precludes a sufficient study to enable us to speak with certainty upon this point; consequently we look with suspicion upon all arguments drawn from style, unless they are based upon an induction drawn from a very large number of instances.

3. Solomon is the next traditional author in chronological order. To him, by the titles, are ascribed Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii. To prevent any misconception on the part of the English reader with regard to the meaning of the title, it is worth while to remark that the preposition which in the title to this psalm is translated "for" (it consists of one letter, the letter *l*), is the same as that which, in the preceding psalm and in many others, is translated "of." So far as the title goes, there is nothing there which opposes the Salomonic origin of these psalms. Of course we know little of Solomon's style, for of his voluminous works only a very few have come down to us. Yet there are some remarkable coincidences in style between Ps. lxxii. and the Book of Proverbs, which has, for the most part, been accredited to Solomon. There is an apparent reference to Solomon in Ps. cxxvii., for a name by which Solomon was known was Jedidiah, or the "Beloved of the LORD." This may be traced in the words "He giveth *His Beloved* sleep." If, indeed, we were forced to reply to the question, "Why Solomon should not be the author of Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii.?" we should find ourselves in a position of greater difficulty than those who undertake to prove that Solomon was the author.

Asaph is recorded in the titles as the author of Ps. lxxiii.—lxxxiii. Of his history nothing more is known than that he was one of David's chief musicians (1 Chron. vi. 39; xv. 17; xvi. 5). Among the most prominent thoughts in the psalms ascribed to him is an invasion, which is characterised by the most frightful ravages. In these psalms also there appears an account of certain confederations of hostile tribes against the country of the writer; and besides this, the enemy is described as having been destroyed in some wonderful and unexpected manner. Apparently the reference is in many cases to the Assyrian invasion. Many of Asaph's psalms, however, refer to early historical events. We are therefore, of course, unable to assign any date to the composition of many of Asaph's psalms.

Heman the Ezrahite is mentioned in the titles as the author of Ps. lxxxviii., to which we have already referred as unique for the deep desponding spirit that runs throughout it. It reads like a psalm written by one who was in a world where all dwelt in solitude, apart from those whom they loved, with a remembrance of a life that had already passed away, with a hope of another life

that was to come, looking for some great wonder which should bring the dead again unto life, and enable them to praise God once more as they had in former times. It is a psalm which seems almost to introduce us to the realms of the departed. He that speaks in it is at rest, because he is "free among the dead," but yet there is a gloom cast over the whole psalm which gives a strange and unearthly effect as we read it, and try to realise the meaning of it. The author is unknown. He must have suffered much to have been able to dictate so sad a psalm. The titular author, Heman the Ezrahite, is mentioned in 1 Chron. xv. 17, 19 (marg., 1 Chron. ii. 6); 1 Kings iv. 31. He is there described as a contemporary of Solomon, and as remarkable for his wisdom. In default of a more probable author, we accept the tradition furnished by the title, ascribing it to Heman.

We will just mention the Jewish tradition with regard to Ethan the Ezrahite. That tradition is, of course, entirely without value. Ethan was probably one of David's choir. The invasion to which reference is made in Ps. lxxxix., the only one ascribed to Ethan, is probably the Egyptian invasion under Shishak, in the days of Rehoboam. There is certainly nothing in the contents of the psalm which precludes the early origin which the title claims.

The sons of Korah are mentioned in the titles of eleven psalms, that is, xlii., xliv.—xlix., lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxvii., lxxxviii., to which, probably, Ps. xliii. should be added; but whether the title designates them as the authors, or as the persons to whom these psalms are dedicated, is not clear. We may also remark that all the psalms are remarkable for the rarity of the use of the name LORD, as compared with that of God.

So much may be said with regard to the authors of the psalms who are mentioned in the titles. The most striking fact is that in the whole collection not a single psalm is attributed to one of the prophets. From what we know of the works of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk, we should have expected to have found some of their songs included in the great Book of Songs. But Palestinian tradition would not admit them. The Alexandrine tradition admitted, as we shall see further on, that the prophets Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah were authors of certain psalms, but these are the latest authors to whom any psalms are ascribed by ancient tradition.

It has been suspected, however, upon various grounds, that some of the psalms may have been produced by writers who lived not only after the return from the Captivity, but far down into the Maccabee period. Gradually these suspicions have grown into assertions, and the assertions have come to be regarded as axioms, so that it has been maintained not only that the majority of the psalms are of a far later date than that which has been traditionally allowed to them, but that many of them were written in the second century before Christ. Among those which have been confidently asserted to be Maccabee psalms may be mentioned Ps. xliv., lx., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxiii.

We may notice briefly the character of these psalms, and see how far the subject-matter of them requires the ordinary traditional view of their origin to give way to the Maccabee hypothesis. In Ps. xliv. the Psalmist recounts the ancient mercies of God, complains of a great defeat that his nation has sustained, and prays for redemption. In Ps. lx. there is the same complaint of a national defeat, but also a prayer for redemption, based upon the ground of some national victory that has already been granted. In Ps. lxxiv. a horde of invaders has gone through the land, devastating all that they have met. The most perplexing reference in this psalm is that to the "synagogues" (ver. 8), or the "houses of God," as the word is translated in the Prayer-book version. Now, if this word really meant "synagogues," there would be no doubt that the psalm was written at some considerable period after the Captivity. But the word means nothing more than "places of meeting." Such might be the college of prophets at Jericho or at Bethel, of which we read in 2 Kings ii. 3, 5. That there were certain holy places in the land before the Captivity, appears plain from the Rabshakeh's[1] words to the men of Judah, "If thou say to me, We trust in the LORD our God: is it not He whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away" (2 Kings xviii. 22)? With the natural liability of a foreigner to make mistakes, the Rabshakeh confounded the idolatrous high places which Hezekiah had so carefully removed, with these other sacred places, to which we find references elsewhere, *e.g.*, Josh. xxii. 34, and Isa. xix. 19 (where, however, the land spoken of is Egypt; but the fact of the erection of this pillar in Egypt being spoken of by the prophet as a sign of reverence to the LORD, makes it not improbable that some such custom was prevalent among the Jews of his day).[2] But to return to our psalm. After the description of the devastation, comes the appeal to past mercies, and, last of all, the prayer for deliverance. Ps. lxxix., which, like Ps. lxxiv., is ascribed to Asaph, complains of the ruin of Jerusalem, praying for deliverance, and vowing sacrifices of praise. And it is interesting to remark that this psalm is especially cited in 1 Macc. vii. 16, as being already known among the holy books of the Jews. Ps. lxxx. is cast in almost the same mould. It differs from the others in being constructed like a litany with a refrain frequently recurring, "Turn us again, O Lord God of Hosts, cause thy face to shine." Ps. lxxxiii. is very similar to the others, consisting of a complaint to God of the confederations of certain neighbouring tribes, and of a prayer for deliverance from the oppressors.

Now we may observe in all these psalms that mention is made of great troubles then existing in the Holy Land, but that there is no reference whatever to any domestic disorders, nor to any of the idolatrous and heathenish rites so frequent in the Holy Land at the

[1] The name is probably a title, "the chief cup-bearer."

[2] The Moabite inscription supports this view. Mesha speaks of taking certain "vessels belonging to Jehovah." How could he have done this if some smaller sanctuaries had not been existing east of Jordan?

Maccabee period, and to which the Maccabee books refer. There is no mention made of the prohibition to read the Law, or of the people being forced to eat unclean food, which were such striking characteristics of the Maccabee troubles. What De Wette says of one of the so-called Maccabee Psalms applies to all of those which we have cited; they have too little to say about the Maccabee times to enable us to affirm so late an authorship for them. Such circumstances as are described in them can easily be explained out of the history which preceded the captivity. A land which had seen so many invasions, from the time of Shishak down to Nebuchadnezzar, had many a woful tale to tell of fire, plunder, and the sword. We may conclude that till stronger arguments are alleged in favour of the Maccabee authorship, we have every reason to maintain our ordinary belief, namely, that by far the greater number of the Psalms were composed by authors who lived before the Captivity, and that the remainder of the authors did not live so very long after the Captivity, as they refer to it as an event of recent occurrence. If there were any *consensus* among critics, we might be inclined to think differently; but when we find two Psalms positively ascribed to David by one of the greatest scholars in Europe, which another declares to be of Maccabee origin, we begin to see that critical acumen alone cannot much aid us in settling the question.

We touch, before concluding, upon the interesting question of the titles of the Psalms. That they are of considerable antiquity cannot be doubted, as we find an ancient title, which has now lost its meaning, appended to Ps. lxxii., and as in many cases we find double titles, which indicate that the Psalm to which they are prefixed had been applied to different purposes, or that it had passed under the care of more than one editor. Such psalms are xlv., lxv., lxxvi., lxxxviii., cxlii.

From the mere fact that many of the psalms remain anonymous, we see with what reverence the existing titles must have been regarded at a very early period, the editors being unwilling to introduce any tradition beyond that which they had before them.

The reference of the titles is twofold, either to the nature of the composition and the liturgical performance of it, or to historical matters. We deal with the former only in this section, as the meaning of the historical titles is far easier for the ordinary reader to discover. We have arranged the titles in the same order as that in which they occur in the psalms to which they respectively belong.

1. *Neginoth, i.e.*, music of stringed instruments, with which the Psalm was to be accompanied. It appears in the titles to Ps. iv., vi., liv., lv., lxvii., lxxvi. It occurs once in the prophetical writings, Hab. iii. 19, where it is distinctly translated, "on my stringed instruments." The *Selah*, which occurs twice in Ps. iv., is most probably a direction to the instruments to play loud music. The meaning of *Selah*, however, is much disputed. The word *Neginoth* is translated "hymns" by the LXX.

2. *Nehiloth*, only in the title of Ps. v., probably means "flutes." The LXX. connected it with the word *Nachalah*, which means "an inheritance." What they intended to mean cannot be ascertained.

3. *Shiggaion* occurs only in the title to Ps. vii. It is found in the plural in "Shiggionoth" (Hab. iii. 1). The LXX. translate it "psalms." It is probably derived from a Hebrew word meaning to wander, and describes a hymn composed in an irregular metre.

4. *Gittith* occurs in title to Ps. viii., lxxxi., lxxxiv., and is apparently a musical instrument. It has been supposed to mean "in the Gittite-way," that is, that the hymn is to be sung in the same way as the people of Gath used to sing their hymns. The LXX. pointed the word with different vowels, and connected it with a word meaning a "wine-press."

5. *Muth-Labben*, "Death to the Son," the name of some well-known tune to which Ps. ix. was to be sung.

6. *Sheminith*, literally, "the eighth," and so translated by the LXX. It occurs only in the titles of Ps. vi. and xii. If the musical scale of the Hebrews was the same as ours, it may mean "on the octave," that is, to be sung by a bass voice. Many persons understand it to mean "an instrument of eight strings," on which the accompaniment was to be played.

7. *Michtam*, prefixed to Ps. xvi., lvi., lvii., lviii., lix., lx., explained in the margin of our Bible to mean "a golden psalm." It has been conjectured that the word should be written *Michtab*, which would mean, as in Isa. xxxviii. 9, "a writing." The LXX. translate it "writing on a pillar," στηλογραφία.

8. *Aijeleth-Shahar* occurs in the title to Ps. xxii., and is rightly translated in our margin, "The hind of the morning." This would apparently be the name of a tune which was probably chosen on account of David comparing himself when persecuted to a hunted stag. Such comparisons were not contrary to the general character of David's mind, as any one can see by looking at 1 Sam. xxiv. 14. The LXX. translate the phrase by the words "The help in the morning." This translation is based upon the 19th verse of the psalm, where the word *eijeluth*, which in our version is translated "strength," is not in sound unlike "Aijeleth."

9. *Maschil*. This occurs in the titles to Ps. xxxii., xlii., xliv., xlv., lii.—lv., lxxiv., lxxviii., lxxxviii., lxxxix., cxlii. It is explained in the margin of our Bibles, "A Psalm giving instruction." This translation is perfectly possible. Or the word might mean "meditation," a sense which is occasionally given to it. The LXX. translate it, "of understanding."

10. *Shoshannim* appears in the title of Ps. xlv. and lxix. only. The word literally means "lilies." It occurs in the title to Ps. lx., *Shushan-eduth*, or "the lily of the testimony." Whether this was the name of an instrument or of a tune is quite uncertain. The LXX. title is obscure in meaning, though its derivation is clear. We do not venture to do more than give the Greek of the title, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων.

11. *Alamoth*, an obscure word occurring in the title

to Ps. xlvi. It is supposed by some to be the name of an instrument, by others to mean that the Psalm was to be sung by female voices (for the word *elem* is used in the Bible to mean a young lad, and its feminine *almah* to mean a female not married, but at an age fit for marriage). This, then, would mean, if the Hebrew system of singing was in any way similar to our own, "to be sung an octave above," *i.e.*, in the treble, and not in the bass. From the custom mentioned in Ps. lxviii. 25, of "damsels" joining in the songs of public worship, this last interpretation appears to have something in its favour. The title is mentioned by name in 1 Chron. xv. 20, "on Alamoth." The LXX. refer to the derivation of the word from a verb meaning "to conceal," and translate it "for the hidden."

12. *Mahalath* introduces Ps. liii. and lxxxviii.; like *Nehiloth*, it has been supposed to be the name of a flute. It is derived from a verb which means "to pierce," whence also comes another word meaning "sickness." From this last sense of the word *chalal*, the word *Mahalath* has been supposed to be the name of a tune to which some song was sung beginning with the word "sickness." The LXX. looked upon it in each psalm as a proper name, or possibly, from being unable to explain the word, left it in its Hebrew form clothed in Greek letters. In Ps. lxxxviii. the word *Leannoth* is added, which means "for humbling." The LXX. translate the word "to answer," a meaning which is not improbable.

Al-taschith is common to four Psalms (lvii., lviii., lix., lxxv.). It is rightly translated in the margin of our Bibles and in the LXX., "Destroy not." A reference has been traced to the words of David (1 Sam. xxvi. 9).

Neginah, occurring in Ps. lxi., is simply the singular of *Neginoth*, of which we have spoken above.

In conclusion we have to notice briefly the variations of the titles that are met with in the LXX.

These variations in the titles are due to the omission and to the addition of certain words. The omissions are very slight, and do not amount to more than the following: the word *Shiggaion* (Ps. vii.), for which the translators seem to have read the usual word which we translate "To the chief musician." Again, the name of David is omitted in the titles to Ps. cxxii., cxxiv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., and that of Solomon in title to Ps. cxxvii. Beyond these, there are no omissions.

The additions, however, are very extensive. Though certain psalms, which in the Hebrew were ascribed to David, have not the same tradition in the LXX., yet we find that the Alexandrine tradition ascribed psalms to David which the Palestinian tradition did not. These are the following: Ps. xxxiii., xliii., lxxi., xci., xciii., xciv., xcv., xcvi., xcvii., xcix., civ., cxxxvii. Other additions to the titles worthy of notice are Ps. xxiv., "for the first day of the week;" xxvii., "before he was anointed;" xxix., ἐξοδίου σκήνης, meaning apparently, "departure from the tabernacle" when service was over; xxxi., ἐκστάσεως, *i.e.*, "of despair," a word added to the title from the LXX. of verse 23; xxxviii., "concerning the Sabbath day;" xlviii., "on the second day of the week;" lxvi., "an ode of a psalm of resurrection," the last word being taken from the LXX. version of verse 12; lxx., to the [tune?] "Save me, O Lord;" lxxi., "A Psalm of David, when the sons of Jonadab and the first were taken captive;" lxxvi., "a psalm referring to the Assyrian;" lxxx., "testimony for Asaph, psalm for the Assyrian;" xciii., "for the day before the Sabbath when the earth was peopled;" xciv., "Psalm of David for the fourth day of the week;" xcvi., "when the house was built after the Captivity," ode of David; xcvii., "David's, when his territory was settled." To Ps. cv.—cvii., cxiv., cxvi.—cxix., cxxxvi., Hallelnia is added. To cxliii. the historical notice, "when his son persecuted him," is added; and to Ps. cxliv., "with reference to Goliath." The name of Jeremiah is prefixed to Ps. cxxxvii., and that of Haggai and Zechariah to Ps. cxxxviii., cxlvi.—cxlviii.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. LUKE.

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"And he beheld them, and said, What is this then that is written, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder."—LUKE xx. 17, 18.

THE discourse in which these words occur is recorded at considerable length by the three synoptic Evangelists, all of whom refer to the place in which it was delivered—viz., "in the Temple" (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ), *i.e.*, in that court of the Temple in which our Lord commonly taught. This circumstance, viewed in connection with the massive character of the stones of which the walls of the Temple were built,[1] imparts a peculiar force and interest to the allusion made in these words to that Stone which, though rejected by the master-builders, became, as the work of Jehovah Himself, the Head of the Corner.

In order to the clearer understanding of the whole passage, it is necessary to refer not only to the 118th Psalm, from which the quotation which is here found is taken, but also to other passages in the Old Testament to which reference seems to be made. Now it appears from a comparison of Isa. xxviii. 16—"Behold,

[1] Mr. Robinson tells us that at the south-west corner, "the corner-stone on the west side, now next above the surface of the ground, measures 30 feet 10 inches in length by 6½ feet broad, and several others vary from 20½ to 24½ feet long by 5 feet in thickness." (*Biblical Researches*, i. p. 423, Boston, 1841.)

I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation"—with Jer. li. 26, where "a stone for a corner" is distinguished from "a stone for foundations," that corner-stones were placed in different positions as regards elevation; whilst a reference to Ps. cxviii. 22, where a stone refused by the builders is described as having become "the head of the corner;" and to Zech. iv. 7, where a stone of the same description appears to be denoted under the designation of the "head-stone," seems to warrant the conclusion that the "corner-stone" is a term equally applicable to the chief stone at the top as to that placed at the foundation of a building, or to those inserted at any of the angles in order to bind the walls together.

The train of thought to which the quotation from the 118th Psalm may be traced seems to be as follows:—A stone, conspicuous for size and adaptation as the foundation-stone of a building, is, by the caprice of the builders, rejected, until, the work being almost completed, the same stone which was deemed unworthy of a place in the lower and less conspicuous portion of the building, is found to be the only stone which will serve the purpose of the builders as the head or crowning-stone of the corner.

The insertion, then, of a corner-stone both at the foundation and also at the head of the building seems to afford us the key to the interpretation of the whole passage. Those who stumble at the foundation-stone once laid in Zion—*i.e.*, those to whom the person and work of Christ prove, in the words of Isaiah, quoted by St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 8), "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence"—"shall be broken," or, as the word may be rendered, completely bruised. Such stumbling, however, is not of necessity final and fatal. In every case there must be a bringing down before there is a lifting up; and even those who stumble most grievously at the requirements of Christ's Gospel may be led as penitents to Him who was sent "to heal the broken-hearted," and who was "set" not only for "the fall," but also for "the rising again of many in Israel." Far different, however, must be the doom of those who obstinately and persistently reject a crucified Saviour, and who expose themselves to the righteous indignation of an offended Judge. On such the stone "cut out without hands," rejected by the master-builders of this world, but exalted as the Head of the Corner by Jehovah Himself, must fall hereafter with resistless force, crushing to powder those on whom it descends, "breaking them in pieces together," and causing them to "become like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors," which "the wind carries away," and for which "no place is found"[1] (Dan. ii. 34, 35).

[1] The word λικμήσει appears to be used in a pregnant sense, and in direct reference to the prophet Daniel's interpretation of King Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This word is not inaptly rendered in the A. V. "grind to powder;" but the literal rendering is "it will winnow him," and the allusion appears to be to the use of the fan, or the action of the wind, in purging the wheat from the chaff, as described in the passage to which allusion is made above. The word is used in the LXX. in Dan. ii. 44, where it answers to the word rendered in the A.V. "consume."

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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THE HERON.

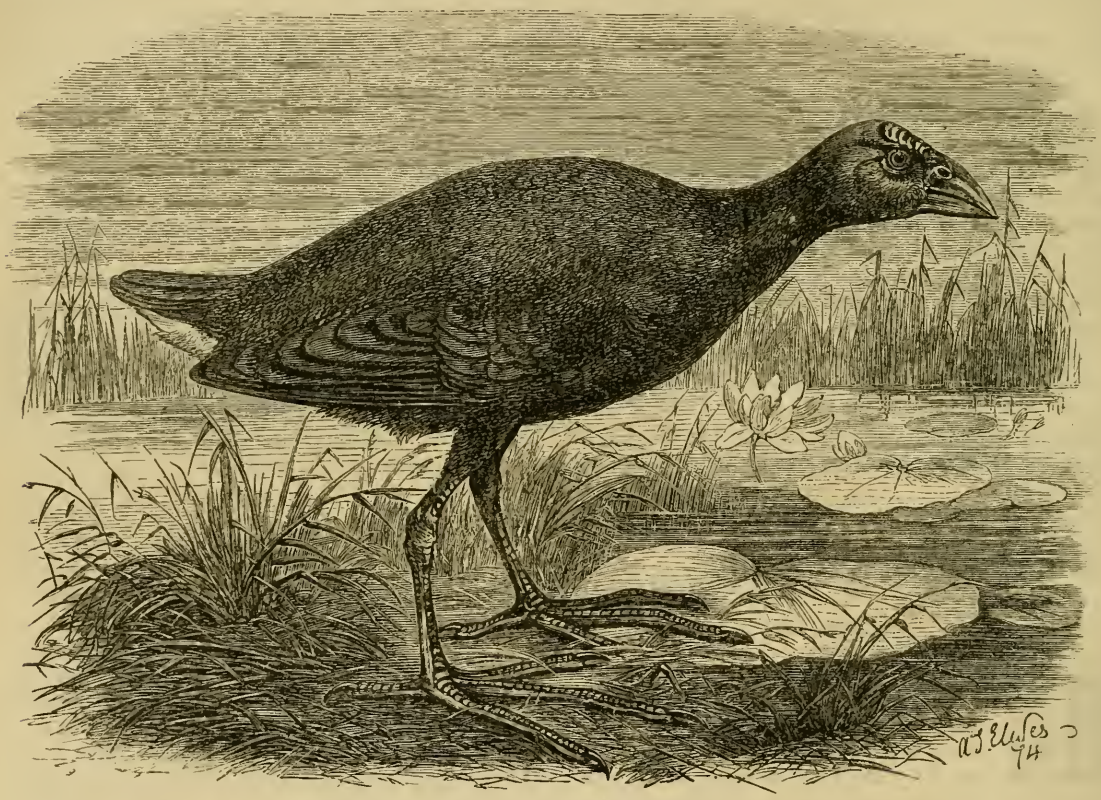
THE Hebrew word *anâphah*, the representative of the heron, occurs only in the list of unclean birds in Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 18. The LXX. read χαραδριός, which seems to denote some wading-bird of the plover or rail family of birds. The ancient Greeks believed the charadrius to be a very greedy bird, hence the proverb, "to live the life of a charadrius" was applied to a glutton. Ælian (*Nat. Hist.* xvii. 13) says that the sight of it was a cure for the jaundice.

Etymologically, χαραδριός points to some bird inhabiting the holes in river-banks. The Hebrew term is derived by Gesenius from a root meaning "to breathe angrily;" Fürst thinks *anâphah*, from *ânaph* (*nâph*), "to run," also possible, but erroneously identifies the word with "a parrot," unknown in the countries of the Mediterranean before the time of Alexander the Great.

Mr. A. H. Sayce, in his Assyrian Grammar (p. 185), has compared the name of a bird which occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions (*W. A. I.* ii. 37, 55), viz., *ap-pu-un-nu* (*appunnu*), with the Hebrew *anâphah*, which the Targum of Jerusalem renders *abnîthâ*. Other names for the *appunnu* were *a-ta-an* and *cu-mu-u*. That the *ataan* was a river or fresh-water bird is definitely stated by the determinative affix. The Accadian name, according to Mr. Sayce, seems to mean "blue rump." It is not improbable that the purple gallinule (*Porphyrio antiquorum*) may represent the Accadian word; it is a very striking-looking bird, with a rich blue and dark indigo colour on its back, a red bill, and pink feet. This bird is common in Egypt, and would be familiar to the Israelites when in that country. The purple gallinule belongs to the same family as our common coot and moor-hen.

Herons of various species are found in Palestine and Egypt, of which the most common is the buff-backed heron (*Buphus russatus*), often called erroneously the white ibis, immense flocks of which live and breed in the impenetrable swamps of the Huleh, the ancient Merom, as Dr. Tristram informs us. The common heron of this country (*Ardea cinerea*) is frequent in the marshy grounds and by the river-banks in Palestine. From the carnivorous habits of the herons, whose food consists of fish, frogs, and sometimes even rats, they would naturally be regarded as unclean birds and unfit

for food. The food of the purple gallinules consists of various kinds of seeds, which they readily crack with their formidable bill, using their feet to convey their food to the mouth; but, according to Mr. Gould, they will also eat snails, frogs, and other aquatic animals. The purple gallinule has a wide extent of range, being found over a great portion of Africa to the south, and as far as the mountains of the Himalaya to the east. In Europe it is common in the Grecian archipelago, the Levant, and the Ionian Islands. Its figure, or what we take to be its figure, occurs on the Egyptian monuments (see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.*, iii., No. 339, Fig. 11). Although the herons and the *porphyrio* would doubtless be regarded as unfit for food, it is not possible to say definitely what family of birds is denoted by the *anâphah* "after its kind."



THE PURPLE GALLINULE (*Porphyrio Antiquorum*).

THE SWAN.

It is not very probable that the swan, purely vegetarian in its food, should be included in the Levitical law (Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 16), amongst the birds counted unclean and to be held in abomination. Neither, again, would the swan have been sufficiently familiar to the Israelites to have obtained a place in the list. At present swans are almost unknown in Palestine, and only occasionally found in Egypt. The Hebrew word *tinshemeth* occurs also as some kind of lizard in Lev. xi. 30, where our translators give "mole." In that passage the word probably means "a chameleon." The LXX., in Lev. xi. 18, and Deut. xiv. 16, read πορφυρίων and ἴβις. The *porphyrio* has been noticed in the preceding article. The ibis (*Ibis religiosa*), so celebrated in its connection with the idolatry of the Egyptians, is a bird likely to be noticed in the laws relating to diet. It is frequently depicted on the Egyptian monuments, and was sacred to Thoth, who was fabulously reported to have eluded the pursuit of Typho under the form of this bird. It was greatly revered in every part of Egypt, and was everywhere embalmed. Many of these ibis mummies may be seen in the British Museum, and living birds in the Regent's Park Zoological Gardens. The bird is extinct on the Lower Nile, but may be seen by travellers in Abyssinia. It is carnivorous in its habits, feeding on molluscs. Herodotus attributes the veneration of the Egyptians for the ibis to the services it was supposed to render them by feeding on winged serpents, but the structure of the bill, which is long, curved, and slender, would not enable it to kill serpents, but is well adapted to dabble in soft marshy ground. Cuvier, however, is said to have found remains of serpents' skins in ibis mummies; but the careful examination of a great number of individuals by Savigny, who

THE SACRED IBIS (*Ibis religiosa*).

accompanied the French expedition into Egypt, and found in the stomachs of the birds land and fresh-water shells only, would show that their normal natural food was not serpents. The Egyptians call the ibis *Abou-Menjel, i.e.,* "Father Sickle-bill;" the Ethiopian name of *Abou-Hannes, i.e.,* "Father John," was given to it because the birds arrive about St. John's Day. The *Tantalus Ibis* of Linnæus, a larger bird, was long regarded as the true ibis of ancient Egypt; but a comparison of the ibis mummies in the British Museum with living specimens in the Zoological Gardens will satisfy any observer of their identity.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

LARGER MEASURES OF TIME.

THE SEPTENNATE AND THE JUBILEE:—FROM THE EXODUS TO THE FALL OF BETHER.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

THE investigation in which we have engaged, as to the smaller measures of time among the Jews, enables us to understand the occurrence of an apparent anomaly that exists as to the secular periods of their history, and their methods of chronological record. On the one hand, the prohibition, by the Oral Law, of the construction of a calendar, is likely to have prevented them from making such determinate records, either of political events or of astronomical occurrences, as other ancient nations have done. In China, in Egypt, and in Assyria, we find monumental or literary records of remote antiquity, and of positive astronomical accuracy. We have nothing of this kind in Hebrew literature. The references, rarely occurring, to physical phenomena (as to the earthquake in the time of Uzziah, and to certain eclipses, which the prophets mention as signs and portents), are so vague as to be of scarcely any value to the chronologist. On the other hand, the accuracy of a purely natural calendar is so great, and the value of the coincidences between the different cycles employed is so high, that the possibility of recovering long-lost dates is not, on the face of the question, to be denied. The various modes of reckoning—by regnal years, counted decennially; by the septennates, or weeks of years, and jubilees, or weeks of septennates; by the revolution of twenty-four weeks, according to which the order of daily service was distributed, not only among the priests, but through the entire nation; the occurrence of embolismic years, or those containing thirteen moons; and the coincidence between the days of the week and those of the month—form such a net-work of comparative determinations, that care and patience may be expected to recover much which, if sought for without a clear knowledge of this complicated system, would be altogether out of reach.

It is true that to those modern scholars who are so actively engaged in the destructive analysis of the entire fabric of the Old Testament, some of the results that will presently be brought forward may be highly unacceptable. But the real question is, not whether determinations are coincident with, or opposed to, the fashionable views of the day, but whether they are reliable and sound. It is not as matters of theory or opinion that any question of date should be treated. The ground for every calculation must be distinctly stated. Without presuming to claim an immunity from that imperfection which is an attribute of all human work, it is yet possible so to follow exact and truthful methods as to arrive, in some cases, at results which are beyond the region of intelligent doubt.

Very slight reflection is enough to show that there exists both ample room and pressing need for an accurate scientific determination of the dates of the Bible. In no branch of study can a wider divergence be pointed out, than in the numerous conflicting estimates of the date of what is called the Mundane Era. We shall use this expression in its chronological sense alone, as meaning that era of the Pentateuch from which the through reckoning of the sacred books commences. Geological and historical knowledge alike forbid any other application of the term. The educated Jews approached the study of their sacred books with a reverence which it is well to emulate. So far from assuming that every reader could understand the majestic chapter which commences the Book of Genesis, the Oral Law prohibited its study, except under certain restrictions. The undiscriminating, literal explanation of the Pentateuch is an offspring of modern ignorance and presumption.

The dates which are occasionally printed in the margin of the English Bible place the Christian Era—which, when in the seventh century it was first adopted, was thought to be the date of the Advent—in the 4004th year of the Mundane Era. This is according to the chronology of Archbishop Usher. Upwards of fifty learned writers have attempted the determination of the Mundane Era, with as many different results. The learned Scaliger, one not only of the most patient, but also of the most erudite of students, gave the date 3948. Mr. Clinton, one of the most reliable of modern scholars, makes it 4138. Canon Browne, in his *Ordo Sæclorum*, arrives at 4201. But these discrepancies almost vanish, by comparison, as we advance toward the extremes of the list. The modern Jewish chronology diminishes the period between the Mundane and the Christian Eras to 3760 years. The reckoning of Panvinius extends it to 6310; and that of the Alfonsine Tables to 6984.

It is not uninteresting to observe that the determination which we are about to bring forward, and which lies nearly midway between those extreme points, is almost identical with that at which Origen arrived, from an entirely different order of considerations.[1] Origen was of opinion that the task of disentangling the web which, even in his day, had been woven as to dates, was beyond his power. But he argued, from his interpretation of the Book of Daniel, that the Advent must have occurred *Anno Mundi* 4830. Had Origen read the passages on which his opinion was based with more care, he would have seen that not the Advent, but the Crucifixion, was the event of which he should have reckoned the prophetic date. With this correction, his deduction led him to the very decade in which the

[1] See Moreri's great *Dictionary*, art. "Monde."

crucifixion actually occurred, from purely chronological indications.

It may be asked whether the dates which the hereditary historians of the Sacred Books, the Jews, ascribed to their own national history, should not be entitled, *primâ facie*, to acceptance. The reply is, that within a well-known historic period—namely, between the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the Era of Alexander the Great—the modern Jewish reckoning differs widely from historic truth. Going back only as far as the date of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, there is a diminution of 184 years from the true chronology. This is a point as to which there can be no dispute, and the result is to invalidate the entire modern Jewish system of reckoning.

It is the opinion of Professor Ewald,[1] that the Jews used the Mundane Era before the time of Herod; and certain epitaphs lately discovered in the Crimea are cited to support this view. To a certain extent this use may be said to be a well-known fact; as in the works of Josephus,[2] in several distinct passages, occur calculations from the Mundane Era. Unfortunately, these passages disagree. This may, very possibly, be due to corruption of the original text. With regard to the more serious discrepancies, which amount to six or eight hundred years, we are aware of the reason of their origin, and shall have to investigate the arguments in support of the diverging views. But the fact exists; and, such being the case, it is impossible to say what was the date originally given by Josephus. Thus the numerous chronological statements of that great writer are to a great extent useless for the purpose of construction. It will be seen, however, that they retain a very important value for the purpose of verification. When the actual course of the reckoning is traced, it is found that many distinct statements of Josephus exactly accord with it. These passages are just those which, as only having what may be called a latent chronological import, might best have been expected to escape the mischievous diligence of transcribers, anxious to correct, as they thought, the statements of the historians, by their own superior knowledge.

The ordinary mode of reckoning upwards and downwards, from an arbitrary era, tends to obscure the true relation of chronological facts. Those who are accustomed rapidly to reckon A.D. and B.C. are but little conscious how it confuses ordinary readers thus to reverse the process of thought. The actual lapse of time that separates any two events, one of which occurred before, and the other after, the Christian Era, is never presented to the eye at a glance. A small sum in addition has to be mentally wrought in every such case. Our grasp of the unity of history is thus enfeebled. To obviate this difficulty, Scaliger, one of the men to whom we are chiefly indebted for our rudiments of chronological knowledge, devised the only method of reckoning which can be called entirely indisputable, because it is entirely artificial. He took for the basis of his system, which is called that of the Julian Period, three cycles or numbers of years, each of which has a distinct chronological value. Of these the first is what is called the Golden Number, being the Metonic cycle of nineteen years, at the end of which the new moon returns to the same solar date as that on which her conjunction occurred at the commencement. The second cycle is that of the Indiction, of fifteen years, by which the Roman taxation was at one time regulated. This mode of date is adopted in certain Papal documents. The third was the Dominical Cycle, of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which the 1st of January falls on the same day of the week as at the commencement, and the leap years follow a similar order.

The value of the Julian Period is high; as it is an absolute method of referring all dates to a common Era, without reference to any chronological theory. The multiplication together of the numbers 19, 15, and 28, gives a product of 7980. During that term of years, the same combination of the three numbers can only occur once. Thus if the position of any year in the Metonic Cycle, the Cycle of Indiction, and that of the Dominical Letter, is known, its periodic number or place in the dead reckoning is at once fixed. What we call A.D. 1 (which is A.U.C. 754, or the 754th year of the City of Rome) is the year 4714 of the Julian Period.

For Jewish dates, the Julian Period does not possess the same value that it has with regard to mediæval history. The Jewish cycles of seven years and forty-nine years are not referred to this mode of reckoning; nor are the courses of the priests, which formed another mode of checking the records of time. But the most formidable objection is, that the reformation of the calendar by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, followed by the English Parliament in 1752, has destroyed the applicability of Scaliger's period for present use. The Dominical Cycle of twenty-eight years was disarranged by that change, as three out of every 400 years now have no bissextile day. The true Dominical Cycle is therefore one, not of twenty-eight, but of 400 years.

There is thus great need of some well-considered system of through reckoning, which shall furnish the chronologist with a definite system of scientific notation, possessing advantages similar to those of the Julian Period, while avoiding the defects of that method of calculation. If the system employed by the sacred writers can be recovered, it may be expected to prove the best fitted for this purpose.

I.—MODES OF RECKONING USED IN THE BIBLE.

The various chronological systems or modes of reckoning, which it is necessary to understand in order to comprehend the references to dates that occur in the Bible, the Apocryphal Books, and the *Wars* and *Antiquities* of Josephus, are as follow:—

First to be considered, though latest in the order of time, is the chronology of Rome. To this are referred all the events that took place during the existence of the Idumean dynasty in Palestine. The years of Rome, from the commencement of the Republic, were denoted

[1] See *History of Israel*, vol. v., p. 497.
[2] *Ant.* viii. 3, § 1; *Ant.* x. 8, § 5; Preface, § 3.

by the names of the Consuls for the year. After the establishment of the Empire (although the use of the Consular date was continued down to the reign of Justinian, in A.D. 541), the dates were ordinarily given by the regnal year of the emperor, as we find in St. Luke's Gospel. Both Consular and Imperial dates, however, are referred to a through reckoning from the assumed date of the foundation of the City of Rome, in the year 3960 of the Julian Period, or 754 years before the Christian Era. To this notation all the events narrated in the New Testament, or in the history of Palestine up to the accession of Herod the Great, are more or less directly referable.

The reckoning of the First Book of Maccabees, which gives the history of Jerusalem from the time of the rise of that great priestly family to power, as well as the reckoning of those portions of the history of Josephus which cover the whole period of this dynasty, is that of the Greek kings of Asia. The era of that reckoning is called the Era of the Seleucidæ. It dates from the capture of Babylon by Seleucus I., called Nicator, eleven years after the death of Alexander the Great, in the year 4401 of the Julian Period; and it was used for 244 years, down to the fall of the dynasty.

A Jewish Era was established in the 170th year of the Seleucidæ, under the title of the First Year of the reign of Simon Maccabeus, High Priest and Ethnarch of the Jews. Very little reference of events to this date is now found. The regnal years of the Maccabean princes are approximately known; but the Greek reckoning, as before stated, is generally used for that portion of Jewish history.

The visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem, in the high priesthood of Jaddua, the 41st high priest, is narrated by Josephus. But neither the brief years of that great conqueror, nor those of the Philippine Era, established at his death, are cited in Jewish history.[1]

The most important chronological reckoning, immediately before the time of Alexander the Great, is that of the Era of Nabonassar, the epoch of which is 424 years before that of the Philippine Era. This mode of reckoning is nowhere referred to in Hebrew literature. But the regnal years of the kings of Babylon and of Persia are mentioned, as dating the return of the Jews from the captivity, and the subsequent events down to the close of the Old Testament. These dates are most exactly known to us as referred to the Era of Nabonassar, and thus as forming a portion of the general chronology of history.

From the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, in the 209th year of the Era of Nabonassar, back to the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the dates of the Old Testament are determined by distinct statements. They are also referred to the regnal years of the kings of Babylon. It is with reference to the dates during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar that the first conflict of opinion as to date, going back from the final overthrow of Judæa, occurs. We shall refer to it in its proper place.

From the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, back to the accession of David, the events of Jewish history are referred to the regnal years of the kings of Judæa. For a portion of this time, the regnal years of the kings of Israel are also cited. References to the Septennial Cycle are also to be found during this time. During the Asmonean period references of this kind are more numerous. They will be found hereafter to constitute a most important series of dates, absolutely verifying those arrived at by other modes of reckoning.

The regnal years of the kings of Babylon and of Jerusalem were not reckoned from the day of the accession of each sovereign, as is the case in Great Britain. The Jewish year began at different seasons, for different purposes, and was differently calculated accordingly. For regnal reckoning, the year began on the first day of Nisan, or Abib, the lunar month in which fell the Paschal moon. For the kings of Babylon the regnal date was the first day of Thoth, the first month of the vague Egyptian year.[2] This year was so called because it consisted of 365 days, without any intercalation. As the actual length of the solar year is nearly 365¼ days, the Egyptian year was, astronomically speaking, too short. In every 400 years it lost ninety-seven days. Thus in the period of 1,504 equinoctial years, an entire solar year was gained by the Egyptian reckoning; and the first of Thoth occurred on each of the 365 days of the solar year in turn. This great peculiarity of the vague Egyptian year gives a special value to all dates that are expressed in its terms, as are many of those in the *Almagest*. As they were but little understood, they presented little temptation to a transcriber to alter. They are, moreover, recorded in monuments, and rank among the most certain and valuable of historic dates.

If a king reigned on the first day of Nisan, or on the first of Thoth, even if he died or was deposed on the following day, the whole of the year in question was called his regnal year. Very great accuracy is thus attained, as no fractions of reigns have to be regarded, except in the very exceptional cases in which they are distinctly recorded.

Before the accession of David, the years of the Old Testament history are denoted by the periods of rule of the Presidents, Judges, or High Priests, who from time to time bore sway. There is not, in this ancient portion of history, quite so definite a chronological chain as we have thus far found to exist. But in compensation for any obscurity, we find certain through reckonings, or long periods of time, to be occasionally mentioned. By comparing these controlling periods with the minor dates, and with the indications of the Septennial Cycle, we trace our way, without any reasonable cause of doubt as to the accuracy of the results, back to the date of the Exodus.

[1] Josephus refers to the death of Alexander without date (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 6; *Ant.* xii. 1, § 1); he gives twelve years to his reign (*Ant.* xii. 2, § 1).

[2] The first of Thoth, which commenced the first year of Nabopolassar, 122 Nabonassar, fell on the day corresponding to our present 9th of January.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

AHAB.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

AHAB, son of Omri, the seventh king of the separate kingdom of Israel, stands in bad pre-eminence among its sovereigns. Wicked as his predecessors without exception had been, Ahab surpassed them all in wickedness. His name is recorded by the sacred writers in terms of peculiar abhorrence. He "did more to provoke the Lord God of Israel to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him." "There was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord" (1 Kings xvi. 33; xxi. 25). His name calls up memories of cruelty, rapacity, and bloodshed. And yet we should be losing the chief lesson which the history of Ahab teaches, if we were to suppose that he was naturally a peculiarly wicked and cruel man. There are not wanting traits of gentleness and amiability, and even of nobility of character, which warrant the belief that under other circumstances Ahab would have been a very different man. But Ahab's ruin lay just in this, that he was the creature of circumstances. Moral weakness was his bane; and we see in him a terrible and instructive proof of the depths of degradation into which, in spite of much liking for good and aversion to evil, a weak man may sink and drag others with him, when he falls under the dominion of a stronger nature than his own, and that an evil one. Jezebel was the evil genius of Ahab. By her he was "stirred up to work wickedness" (1 Kings xxi. 25), and to his weak submission to her imperious and unscrupulous will, his moral ruin and the overthrow of his house were due. In the words of Dean Stanley, who refers to the parallel cases of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra, of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, "the feebler resolution of the man was urged to crime by the bolder and more relentless spirit of the woman."[1]

Ahab would seem to have been a man of culture and refinement. He had a passion for building, which he gratified in the erection of a palace for his wife Jezebel, with extensive gardens, on the charming eminence of Jezreel, overlooking the valley of the Jordan — the Windsor Castle of the capital of Samaria. The "ivory house"—*i.e.*, one chiefly inlaid with that material (cf. Amos iii. 15; vi. 4; Ps. xlv. 8)—"which he made, and the cities that he built," are celebrated by the chronicler of his reign (1 Kings xxii. 39). The rebuilding of Jericho in his days (chap. xvi. 34) cannot be properly ascribed to him. It seems to be mentioned simply as an evidence of the general impiety of Ahab's days, and the contempt into which the threatenings of God had fallen.

Nor were there wanting nobler qualities in Ahab. When moved by imminent danger he was not unwarlike. His campaigns against the Syrians were not unsuccessful; and he ended his life with becoming dignity on the field of battle, refusing to retire, though wounded to death, lest his forces should be disheartened.

Ahab was the son of Omri, who had been proclaimed king by the army of Israel, of which he was commander-in-chief, on the murder of Elah, the son of Baasha, by his officer Zimri, B.C. 935. Indignant at Zimri's treason and usurpation, the army, with their new sovereign at their head, hastened to Tirzah, the capital, which immediately fell into their hands. Zimri retired to the innermost part of the palace—probably the harem—which, Sardanapalus-like, after a reign of a week, he fired over his head, and perished in the conflagration (1 Kings xvi. 16—18). Omri did not at once obtain undisputed possession of the throne. Another claimant, Tibni the son of Ginath, secured the adherence of half the tribes. A civil war ensued, ending, after four years, in the defeat of Tibni's forces, and his capture and death, B.C. 931 (1 Kings xvi. 21, 22). The vigour and wisdom of Omri's rule firmly established his family on the throne, to which it gave four occupants, covering more than half a century. But however successful as a monarch, his worldly and irreligious policy involved a more thorough departure from the true God than the reigns of any of his predecessors. Under him the calf-worship introduced by Jeroboam seems to have been reduced to a formal system and established by enactments, denounced by Micah, at the very close of the nation's history, as "the statutes of Omri" (Micah vi. 16). The most fatal step, however, both for his family and his people, taken by Omri, was the marriage of his young son Ahab, soon after his accession to the throne, to Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians. Ethbaal, priest of Ashteroth, had obtained the throne by the murder of the former king, and his daughter inherited all the fierce traditions of her race, together with a fanatical attachment to her father's cruel and obscene religion. The dynastic strength secured by this Phœnician alliance was dearly purchased by the moral and religious corruption it introduced. The most lasting monument of Omri's reign was the transference of the capital of Israel from Tirzah to the hill of Samaria, which he had bought of its owner Shemer, and called by his name. The wisdom of his choice is confirmed by the permanence of his foundation. Its position "combines, in a union not elsewhere found in Palestine, strength, beauty, and fertility."[2]

Ahab peacefully succeeded his father B.C. 919. But

[1] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii., p. 312.

[2] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 244. "As Constantine's sagacity is fixed by his choice of Constantinople, so is that of Omri by his choice of Samaria" (*Jewish Church*, p. 284).

his accession to power was little more than nominal, the real authority being exercised throughout his reign by the imperious Jezebel, who used her weak and yielding husband as a tool for carrying out her relentless and bigoted policy. She was not the only wife of Ahab. The insulting demand of Ben-hadad (1 Kings xx. 5), and the mention of "seventy sons brought up in Samaria" (2 Kings x. 1), point to an extensive harem. But Jezebel is the only wife known to history; the only one, probably, who exercised any lasting influence over the fatally pliable Ahab, and whose "spirit," it has been remarked, "even after his death, through the reigns of his sons, was the evil genius of his dynasty."[1] The influence of Jezebel was ruinously evidenced, both for monarch and people, immediately upon Ahab's accession, by the establishment of the worship of the Phœnician deities, Baal and Ashteroth, accompanied by the savage and licentious rites which were its inseparable adjuncts, in the capital itself and within the precincts of the royal palace. "Stirred up" by her fanatical devotion, and borne along by her impetuous will, Ahab entirely apostatised from the worship of Jehovah, even in the corrupted form of the calf-worship of Bethel, and gave himself up to the strange and foul gods of Phœnicia. A temple, "the house of Baal," of vast size, was built by him in his father's new city of Samaria. This contained an altar, and a chief image or pillar of Baal, with other inferior images around. It was served by a band of 450 priests, for whose ministration there was a store of gorgeous vestments (1 Kings xvi. 32; xviii. 19; 2 Kings x. 21, 22, 26, 27). The temple of the female deity Ashteroth, built by Jezebel, was an appendage to her palace at Jezreel, and the 400 priests who served at its altar had their daily provision from her royal table (1 Kings xvi. 33; xviii. 19). The false worship introduced under such high sanction spread with deadly rapidity through a people who had been prepared for its reception by the modified idolatry established by Jeroboam, though the mass of the people, unable to divest themselves entirely of their ancient creed, were "halting between two opinions," and sought to combine the religion of Jehovah with that of Baal and Ashteroth.

To the fierce zeal of Jezebel, unscrupulously employing her husband's authority for her own ends, we must attribute the first organised persecution of the true faith by the civil power on record. Everywhere throughout the kingdom of Israel the altars of Jehovah were thrown down, the prophets massacred, and the servants of the true God driven to wander "in deserts and mountains," and take refuge "in dens and caves of the earth," where they were sustained by the faithful who, like Obadiah, dared to brave the royal wrath—"the precursors of the history of the catacombs and the Covenanters."[2] It was "the martyr age of the prophets in Israel."[3] Those that escaped the sword of the relentless Jezebel were hunted down and "persecuted even unto strange cities." It seemed as if the religion of Jehovah was to be swept clean out of the land by a torrent of licentiousness and blood.

And then the despised and insulted Ruler put forth His might on the breakers of His covenant. Suddenly issuing from his native mountains of Gilead, the wild Bedouin-like prophet Elijah confronted the guilty king with the startling announcement that the Most High had put the key of the heavens into his hand, and that for the sins of the land neither dew nor rain should moisten its parched surface till he uttered the word. As suddenly as he had appeared did the messenger of Jehovah disappear from the presence of the exasperated Ahab, to a divinely-indicated place of concealment, among the thickets of the torrent-bed of Cherith, where he remained safe—"for the Lord hid him"—from a search which ransacked Israel, and extended to neighbouring kingdoms (1 Kings xviii. 10).

Three years and a half of ever deepening misery from drought verified this prophetic denunciation. The land was dried up, and the cattle were everywhere dying for want of fodder; even the royal herds and stables were thinned. The extremity of the distress is indicated by the means adopted by Ahab to save some at least of his stock. He would not entrust the commission of finding pasture to any ordinary official, but dividing the land with his chief minister Obadiah—whom, notwithstanding his adherence to the true faith, he maintained in his office as governor of his household—he instituted a personal visitation of the land, in the hope of discovering some moist places by perennial springs, where a little grass might still remain. As he went on his way Obadiah was startled by the sudden apparition of Elijah, with the unwelcome command that he should make known his presence to his master. Obadiah's remonstrance silenced and Elijah's message delivered, Ahab proceeded to meet the "troubler of Israel." The monarch's charge was retorted on himself. It was he, and his father's house, not Elijah, who had brought this trouble upon the land by forsaking Jehovah and following Baalim. Ahab's wrath, fierce as it had been, sank down in a moment before the stern sentence of the messenger of Jehovah. Conscience told him that the charge brought was true, and he dared not deny it; still less could he venture to lay violent hands on one whose influence had proved so mighty with God, and on whose good-will so much was at issue. None but the prophet whose word had locked up the heavens could unlock them again. The relief of his suffering land was the first object, to which the gratification of personal vengeance, however deep, must yield. So, without demur, Ahab proceeded at once to execute Elijah's behest, summoning the prophets of Baal and Ashteroth to a trial of spiritual strength on Mount Carmel, and convoking the people of Israel as witnesses of its issue.

It is somewhat surprising that Jezebel does not once appear in a transaction which involved the permanence of the worship she had introduced and the life of

[1] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii., p. 287.
[2] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, 289.
[3] Newman, *Hebrew Monarchy*, 162.

its priests. But great as her influence over her husband was, it had its limits, and she knew them. Ahab, like most weak men, was probably an obstinate one, and when once his mind was resolved on a certain line of action, not even Jezebel's power could divert him from it. Jezebel would see when resistance was vain, and would prudently yield rather than shatter her sway on the rock of his obstinacy. If on this occasion, terrified by the distress of his nation, Ahab had consented to the demand of the imperious prophet, and his decision could not be altered, Jezebel must give way, and consult her own dignity by refusing to be a spectator of the combat, the issue of which she would proudly await in her palace at Jezreel.

Into the circumstances of that wondrous trial of strength between the solitary prophet of Jehovah and the 450 prophets of Baal, of which the heights of Carmel were the scene and the monarch and nation of Israel the spectators, we must not enter here. We can well conceive the feverish anxiety with which Ahab must have watched the progress of the struggle through the day of fierce excitement, and how, when the fire of Jehovah fell from heaven at the prayer of Elijah, and consumed not the sacrifice alone, but the very stones of the altar and the dust of the trench and the water that filled it, his impressionable nature would be carried away with the tide of popular enthusiasm. If his voice did not swell the cry that thundered from the assembled thousands, his heart acknowledged its truth, and confessed that "Jehovah He is the God." Mastered for the moment by this conviction, Ahab makes no attempt to stay the execution of the priests of his own sanctuary. Nay, he descends with Elijah to the torrent-bed of Kishon, and witnesses that terrible act of justice on those seducers of God's people. The slaughter over, at Elijah's bidding, the monarch leaves unmoved the scene of carnage, and hurriedly climbs the mountain-side to partake of the sacrificial banquet. If he can eat, no time is to be lost, for the long-desired blessing is at hand, "there is a sound of abundance of rain" (1 Kings xviii. 41). While, with the brutal apathy of a thorough-paced sensualist, Ahab is feasting, Elijah is praying. His "effectual fervent prayer" avails to bring the blessing. The "little cloud like a man's hand," rising from the sea on the western horizon, portends the coming tempest. If Ahab is to reach his palace that night he must start without delay, or he will be stopped by the swollen torrents. So the chariot is made ready, while the brazen sky becomes "black with clouds and wind," and the blessed rain begins to pour down in copious streams. The monarch, untouched by the massacre of his priests provided his own safety is secured, mounts his chariot at the foot of the hill; the steeds are lashed, and scour over the plain of Esdraelon to Jezreel; but, still kindled by the wild excitement of the day, Elijah dashes on before the chariot through the gathering storm, full sixteen miles, to the gates of Jezreel, where, with true Arab caution, he halts, awaiting the effect on Jezebel of the terrible tidings brought by Ahab. The message of the infuriated queen, sent, it would seem, that very night, threatening Elijah under a fearful oath with immediate death, proved how completely she had regained her ascendancy, and that the king was once more subject to her sway, so that the prophet's only safety lay in instant flight (1 Kings xix. 1—3).

Once again, how long after we know not, Ahab was confronted with Elijah, and received the awful sentence of extermination for himself and his house from his mouth.[1]

The king's favourite residence was the palace he had built for Jezebel on the eastern slopes of Jezreel, looking down the valley of the Jordan. The symmetry of the pleasure-grounds attached to the palace was broken by the vineyard of a private citizen named Naboth. The king applied to Naboth for the exchange or purchase of his property. But Naboth, a worshipper of Jehovah, felt himself precluded by the injunctions of the Mosaic law from alienating the property which had long been in his family, perhaps from the first partition of the land (Lev. xxv. 23—28; Numb. xxxvi. 7). His answer to the king is based on religious obligation, and displays an absence of all that could soften the refusal. "Jehovah forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee" (1 Kings xxi. 3). Unaccustomed to any opposition to his wishes, Ahab returned to his palace "sullen and angry" (ver. 4), and with a want of all self-restraint displayed his ill-temper to all his court—flinging himself on his couch like a wayward child whose will is crossed, sullenly turning his face to the wall, and refusing to partake of the banquet set before him. Intelligence of the king's outburst of temper penetrated the women's apartments, and reached Jezebel, who came to expostulate with him and inquire its cause. Very different was the effect of Naboth's refusal upon her. His spirit was utterly cowed, her's roused to decisive action. With proud scorn of the feebleness which let "I dare not wait upon I would," and weakly shrank from a deed of blood which could so promptly give him what he coveted, she taunted the more cowardly sinner—"Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? Arise, and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite" (ver. 7). How she would give it him she did not indicate. Nor was Ahab careful to inquire, lest he should be forced either to sanction what his conscience condemned, or to forbid what he would fain see done with no open complicity on his part. It presents a frightful picture of the demoralisation of the people of Jezreel, caused by the residence of the idolatrous and wicked court, that her horrible plot was so readily carried into effect. Jezebel evidently apprehended no opposition from those whose prosperity was so dependent on royal favour, nor did

[1] The unity of the narrative is better consulted by the arrangement of the LXX., which is followed here. They transpose the 20th and 21st chapter of 1 Kings, thus making the story of Naboth and the final interview between Ahab and Elijah come immediately after the prophet's commission to anoint Jehu as the executor of God's vengeance on the guilty king and his house, and bringing the Syrian wars of Ahab into a continuous history.

she find any. In obedience to the letters, authenticated with the royal signet, a charge of high treason and blasphemy was brought against Naboth by two vile wretches, "sons of Belial," suborned for the purpose. He was instantly condemned, dragged outside the city, and executed by the punishment for theocratic crimes, stoning (Lev. xxiv. 16), his innocent sons suffering with him (2 Kings ix. 26). The property of the convicted traitor was escheated to the crown, and Ahab was bidden by Jezebel, not without contempt at the weakness which made so much of so small a matter, to go and make it his own. "Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth, which he refused to give thee: for Naboth is not alive, but dead" (ver. 15). How he had died Ahab dared not ask. The vineyard was his, that was enough. So he mounted his chariot, with two of his chief officers behind him—Bidkar, and he who was destined to be God's instrument in avenging the foul murder on Jezebel and her children, Jehu the son of Nimshi (2 Kings ix. 25, 26)—and came down to feast his eyes on the coveted plot. But an unwelcome intruder met him there, to convict him of his sin, and denounce the Divine vengeance on him and his house. The very last man in the world he would have wished to see there suddenly presented himself. His "enemy," Elijah, "found him out." Others he might elude or hoodwink; the stern uncompromising prophet he could not. Elijah knew all; had seen all; no disguise could hide Ahab's guilt from him. Ahab must stand still, and, in the presence of his courtiers, hear himself denounced as the perpetrator of the vilest crimes, and listen to the tremendous sentence of Jehovah. "Thus saith the Lord, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine" (ver. 19). Once more the feeble impressionable nature of Ahab declared itself. The prophet's denunciation terrified him utterly. He sank in abject humiliation, and assumed the outward marks of the deepest penitence. "He rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly" (ver. 27). And his humiliation, imperfect as it was, was accepted by Him who is ever ready to receive the sinner who turns to Him. The judgment in its most terrible form was deferred from his own to his son's days. "In the heart of Ahab there was a sense of better things, and that sense is recognised and blessed.[1]

We come now to Ahab's Syrian wars. We have a somewhat detailed account of three campaigns, undertaken by him against Benhadad II.; two defensive, and one offensive, in the last of which he met his end.

The narrative of the first campaign opens somewhat abruptly with the siege of Samaria (1 Kings xx. 1). The reigning monarch, probably the son of the former Benhadad under whom Damascus attained its greatest power (1 Kings xv. 18), resolving to crush the rising kingdom of Israel, gathered an immense force of horses, chariots, and men, and, supported by two-and-thirty tributary kings, each with his contingent, marched straight for the capital. No effectual opposition was offered to his progress, and the beleaguered city was speedily reduced to the utmost extremity. In the insolence of assured victory Benhadad proposed the most degrading terms of surrender. The whole of the royal treasure, "the silver and the gold," was to be put into his hands, and the inmates of the royal harem, Ahab's "wives and children," were to be at his disposal. Conditions so monstrous were probably proposed by Benhadad with the assurance of their being rejected, in order to afford an excuse for the sack and plunder of the city. On their unlooked-for acceptance by the craven Ahab, his demands rose still higher. His officers were to be at liberty, after the surrender of all that he had first required, to enter the city, search the palace and other houses, and carry off whatever they pleased. Ahab's eyes were now opened to the real object of these overweening demands. "This man," he said, "seeketh mischief;" and, strengthened by the advice of the council of elders, he returned a timid refusal. "This thing"—not "I will not," but—"I may not do." Benhadad's end was now attained. His reply was one of fearful import. The threat it contained was confirmed by an oath: "Samaria should be stormed and plundered, and its houses reduced to a heap of ruins, the dust of which should not supply handfuls for his countless hosts" (ver. 10). But a nobler spirit had been awakened in Ahab, and his reply, which assumed a proverbial form, was worthy of a better man, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off" (ver. 11). His resolve to resist at once received the Divine sanction, and a promise of success from the mouth of a prophet. It would even be needless for him to put the whole army in array against the Syrians. "The young men of the princes of the provinces"—*i.e.*, the youthful attendants or squires of the provincial governors who had taken refuge in Samaria, numbering 232—would be enough to secure the victory over that innumerable multitude. In obedience to the prophet's order, the gallant little band sallied forth at noon, the army of Israel, amounting to no more than 7,000 in all, following in the rear. Benhadad and his tributary kings were carousing in contemptuous carelessness, when the news of a small body of cavalry having issued from the long-closed gates of Samaria reached him. Without interrupting the debauch, he ordered that a detachment should at once go out, and, whatever their object, peaceful or warlike, make them prisoners. But the Syrian soldiers met with an unlooked-for resistance. The youthful warriors slew every one his man, a panic seized them, which quickly spread through the unwieldy host, that fled in a disorderly tumult before the Israelitish army, as it came up, with Ahab at its head, to take advantage of the first success. The Syrian army was routed with great loss, leaving their tents and baggage and spoil to the victors. Benhadad himself only saved his life by mounting a fleet charger, and riding off with a small band of cavalry (vv. 16—21).

Ahab was well aware of the enemy he had to deal with, and knew that a foe once beaten is not a foe

[1] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 315.

finally conquered. In the certain anticipation that with the return of the season for military operations Benhadad would renew his attack, and in obedience to the injunction of his prophetical counsellor, he wisely spent the intervening months in increasing his military strength and preparing for a still more vigorous campaign.

Nor were the Syrians idle. The disastrous issue of the recent campaign taught them the necessity of changing their plan of operations. Provincial governors, who would be more directly amenable to the royal authority, were substituted for the thirty-two tributary kings, and thus greater unity of action secured. The hilly ground also which had been the scene of their defeat was abandoned for the plain. There the war-chariots, in which their chief strength lay, would prove of real service, while the change would, they fancied, secure for them the effectual co-operation of their native deities—"gods of the plain"—who would prove as much stronger on their own ground as those of Israel—"gods of the hills"—had done among the mountains. This blasphemous limitation of the presence and power of Jehovah sealed Benhadad's overthrow. He levied an enormous army, carefully equalised to that he had lost, and at the return of the year marched to Aphek, in the plains to the east of Jordan. The army of Israel was "like two little flocks of kids before them" (ver. 27). Ahab may well have been appalled at the contrast. But he was forbidden to fear. With the Syrian was earthly might, but Jehovah was with Israel, pledged to assert His supremacy over the gods of the heathen. "Because the Syrians have said, Jehovah is God of the hills, but He is not God of the valleys, therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thy hands, and ye shall know that I am Jehovah" (ver. 28). Seven days the armies encamped opposite one another. At last the battle was joined, and the offended honour of Jehovah was indicated by the complete rout of Benhadad's army with immense slaughter. The remnants of the army took refuge in the fortifications of Aphek,[1] but there the wrath of Jehovah pursued them. The city walls were thrown down, probably by an earthquake, and the defenders were buried in the ruins. Benhadad, with a few attendants, fled to some place of concealment in the innermost part of the city. Fearing to be discovered or betrayed, he acquiesced in the proposal of his servants that they should throw themselves as suppliants on the known clemency of the kings of Israel.

With sackcloth on their loins and halters round their necks, they presented themselves to Ahab with words of humblest entreaty. "Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray thee let me live." Life was all he asked, and more than he expected. But generous feelings were not wanting in Ahab, and his heart was touched by Benhadad's unexpected fall. Besides, his vanity was gratified at having so powerful a monarch a suitor for his life at his hands. The feeling of brotherhood was even then existing among crowned heads, and on hearing that the king of Syria had escaped the destruction of his army, he thoughtlessly recognised the tie as still existing between them. "Is he yet alive? He is my brother." Benhadad's servants were eagerly watching what Ahab would say, and quickly caught up this re-assuring word, repeating it—"thy brother Benhadad"—and fastening him to this implied recognition of amity. The Oriental laws of honour forbad the retractation of the pledge.[2] So, having acknowledged him as his brother, he proceeded to treat him as such, and took him up to ride by his side in his royal chariot. Benhadad, full of gratitude at this wholly unexpected leniency, suggested the terms he was willing to offer as the price of his freedom. He would restore the frontier towns taken from Omri by his father Benhadad I., thus disabling himself from future invasion by the same route,[3] and would grant Ahab the privilege his father had enjoyed in Samaria, of building streets and squares in his capital of Damascus, for his commercial and political convenience (vv. 33, 34). Ahab, elated by this unlooked-for change of fortune, rashly accepted the terms, and permitted the departure of his royal prisoner without requiring any pledge of the fulfilment of his engagement. Such an act was a gross political blunder no less than a heinous theocratical offence. The enemy of Jehovah had been delivered into his hand under His curse (ver. 42). To let him go was to be unfaithful to the commission under which he reigned. Space forbids us to dwell upon the remarkable symbolical acts of the prophets, by which he was taught his error. "Heavy and displeased"—not repentant, but "sullen and angry"—he once again returned to his palace to receive the sentence passed upon him and his nation. "Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people" (ver. 42).

The closing chapter in Ahab's history shows in strong colours the culpable carelessness he had been guilty of in allowing Benhadad to escape without any guarantee for the execution of his promises. Three years had elapsed, and still one of the most important frontier

[1] This Aphek is identified by Mr. Grove with the village of *Fik* at the head of the *Wady Fik*, on the level down country to the east of the Jordan, on the great road between Damascus and Jerusalem, six miles east of the Sea of Galilee.

[2] The conduct of Benhadad's attendants is explained by the Oriental laws of *dakheel*, still in force. By this "any one is at any time entitled to put himself under the protection of another, be that other his friend or his greatest enemy; and if the man applied to does not at once reject him, if the slightest form of friendly speech pass between the two, the bond is complete and must not be broken. If two enemies meet and exchange the *salem aleikum*, even by mistake, there is peace between them, and they will not fight. . . . . If a man be pursued by an enemy, or even be on the ground, he can save his life by calling out *dakheel*" (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 317—319). Benhadad's friends were on the watch to obtain for him *dakheel*, and the single phrase "he is my brother," though perhaps thoughtlessly uttered, having been accepted by them on his part, was sufficient to complete the bond, and secure the life of the captive (Prof. Rawlinson, *Speaker's Commentary, in loc.*).

[3] Newman, *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 168.

towns, the great trans-Jordanic fastness of Ramoth in Gilead, remained unsurrendered. The safety of his kingdom, no less than his own honour, was compromised by allowing so important a position, the key of the whole district, to remain in his enemy's hands. Not feeling himself strong enough to attempt to wrest it from Syria unaided, Ahab took the opportunity of a visit from the powerful and prosperous king of Judah, Jehoshaphat—to whose eldest son, Jehoram, he had given his daughter Athaliah to wife—to propose a joint expedition for its recovery. Too readily did the godly Jehoshaphat, flattered by the magnificence of his reception (2 Chron. xviii. 2), consent to place his whole forces at Ahab's disposal, and go up with him at their head (1 Kings xxii. 1—4). Before the expedition moved, however, Jehoshaphat requested that the will of Jehovah should be consulted, and that without any delay. "Enquire, I pray thee, at the word of the Lord, *to-day*" (ver. 5). A crowd of claimants to Divine powers, 400 in number, prophets probably attached to the calf-worship in Bethel, were summoned before the kings, who, the banquet over, were sitting, clad in their royal robes, each on his throne, in an open space in front of the city gate, the ordinary place for the administration of justice. They all with one mouth predicted the complete success of the expedition. To the discerning eye of Jehoshaphat this unanimity was suspicious. "He was not sure of their good faith. He would be glad if a prophet were consulted on whom he could more fully rely. Were there any such?" One there was whose faithfulness had rendered him odious to one who, in his weakness, desired not to hear what was true but what was pleasant, the hated Micaiah, the prophet of evil. To gratify one whom Ahab dared not offend, he was brought from the prison to which his true speaking had consigned him, and after an ironical confirmation of the words of the other prophets, he proceeded to predict the disastrous issue of the expedition, and the dispersion of the masterless host (ver. 17). We must hasten over the sublime imagery under which Micaiah declared the eternal truth that they who will be deceived shall be deceived, entangled in a network of lies, to their ruin. The pre-doomed monarch, "given up to strong delusion," perseveres in the expedition, accompanied, though doubtless not without many misgivings, by Jehoshaphat. Arrived at Ramoth-gilead, Ahab enters the battle in disguise, to escape the attacks of Benhadad's officers, who, he heard, had received orders to make him their chief object of assault. But vain are all man's precautions to elude the vengeance of the Almighty. A random arrow, shot at a venture, as was afterwards reported, by Naaman the Syrian, pierced the joints of Ahab's armour, and inflicted a deadly wound. Borne out of the host, that his wound might be bound up, he returned to the field of battle, and though his increasing weakness compelled him to be supported by his attendants, he held on with right royal courage through the day, that the absence of their leader might not dispirit his troops. His life-blood slowly ebbed away as the tide of battle rose, forming a pool in the bottom of the chariot. At last, towards sunset, the king sank down dead. The fatal event could no longer be concealed. It at once broke up the army, and put an end to the expedition. The proclamation went forth as the sun went down, "Every man to his city, and every man to his own country" (ver. 36), and as the shades of evening deepened the forces were "scattered upon the hills" of Israel, as they had been seen by Micaiah in vision, "as sheep that have not a shepherd."

Another prophetic word was still to be accomplished. Ahab's body was brought to Samaria, and buried with the honours due to a monarch who had fallen at the head of his army. But the blood-stained chariot and armour were washed in a tank outside the walls of the city, and the thirsty dogs, lapping the gory water, fulfilled the awful threat of Elijah, as "dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." It was to receive a still more exact fulfilment hereafter, when the body of his son Joram was flung, at Jehu's bidding, "in the portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite," to be devoured by packs of dogs, the foul scavengers of the East (2 Kings ix. 25, 26). "The mill of God grinds slowly, but it grinds to powder."

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

III. THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

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THE Apostle Paul remained in Corinth for "a year and six months;"[1] and it was undoubtedly during the latter part of this time that he addressed to the Thessalonians his Second Epistle. Silas and Timothy were still in his company (chap. i. 1); the former for the last time, as we may conclude from the silence of the history. Communications would naturally have passed meanwhile between himself and the Church in Thessalonica. He would have heard concerning the reception of his former Epistle—how far it had produced its effect, where it had been misconstrued, and where it had failed. The effect of such tidings is very apparent in this second letter, although possibly[2] no

[1] Acts xviii. 11.

[2] See below, § 2. There is perhaps such a reference in chap. ii. 15.

explicit reference is made in it to the first. From this lack of allusion, indeed, as well as from the fact that the Apostle speaks of his life in Thessalonica as recent and familiar,[1] it has been maintained that this "Second Epistle" really preceded the other.[2] The arguments alleged certainly do not support this conclusion; while the references in the First Epistle to the conversion of the Thessalonians, and to St. Paul's intercourse with them, make it impossible to suppose that a letter had already intervened.

2. The Epistle, plainly, was written with a twofold intent. In the first place, the anticipation of the Lord's second Advent, aroused by the teaching and former letter of the Apostle, had been stimulated to an unhealthy activity by fanatical or designing teachers, who had even forged a letter in the name of St. Paul, and had filled the church with anxiety and alarm. This state of feeling has indeed been supposed by some critics, Paley among them, to have been occasioned simply by the misunderstanding of the Apostle's former letter. Not to speak, however, of the unlikelihood that the calm prophetic words in which he had enjoined "the patience of hope" in reference to this great event, should so have been perverted, his own language (chap. ii. 2) seems to show decisively that he refers to a supposititious letter. "Neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter—as by us." The three things are distinctly parallel. *Spirit* refers to a pretended prophecy; *word*, to a pretended saying on inspired authority; *letter*, therefore, would similarly mean a pretended epistle. Moreover, the word *as*, in the phrase "as by us," would scarcely have been used by the writer, had he intended to indicate his own letter. We therefore conclude that an imposture had been practised on the Thessalonians, advantage, no doubt, having been taken of what the Apostle had actually said and written. To prevent such imposition for the future, he now expressly states that his own signature and "salutation" would henceforth authenticate all his Epistles."[3]

The second circumstance which occasioned the writing of this letter, was the disregard of one most important injunction of the former Epistle — there laid down briefly, almost with an apology, as though a hint, in a matter so obvious, would be sufficient: "That ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands."[4] But this gentle suggestion of Christian duty had proved inadequate. In the Thessalonian church there were some who—influenced, perhaps, by the anticipation of an immediate catastrophe in the world's affairs, neglected the ordinary duties of life—"working at no business, but being busybodies."[5] Thus early did religious fanaticism produce its natural fruit in selfish indolence; and the loftiest hopes of the Church were perverted into a plea for the most ignoble mendicancy.[6] For such offences the fitting remedy, sharp and stern, was excommunication; while yet, as if to acknowledge the nobleness of the truth which had been so misread and degraded, the offender is to be dealt with tenderly, in the hope that he might learn to apprehend it aright. "Have no company with him . . . . yet admonish him as a brother."

3. The two points above stated form the main division of the Epistle, which is, after the Apostle's wont, prefaced (I.) by an Introduction (chap. i.) in which he still congratulates the Thessalonians on their faith and love, and expresses his holiest wishes on their behalf.

II. Passing thence to his first and main topic, he warns them (chap. ii. 1—12) against the delusion which had been practised upon them, in the declaration, as by apostolic authority, that "the day of the Lord" had already dawned upon the world.[7] To remove this notion, he delivers a momentous prophecy of what shall be before that consummation.

It is not possible, within the compass of the present *Introduction*, to do more than to indicate in the briefest possible manner the outline of this great prophecy, its connection with other parts of Scripture, and the various schemes of interpretation proposed. The main declaration is clear: that before the final victorious manifestation of the Son of God there will be a revelation of the spirit of Evil, in some form of power and fascination which only He can overcome. The "Man of Sin," "the mystery of lawlessness," of this Epistle is evidently the Antichrist of St. John:[8] although not probably to be identified with either "Beast" of the Apocalypse.[9] Many features of the description correspond with that of Antiochus Epiphanes in Dan. xi. 36. The varying forms of impiety have a common kindredship.

(*a*) His manifestation is "the Apostacy" (ii. 3)—not simply, as in E. V., "a falling away," but the well-known clearly defined event so denominated. The rise of the evil is therefore *from within* the Church of Christ, not from without—the result of perversion rather than of mere antagonism.

(*b*) A place is claimed by the Antichrist "in the temple of God" (ii. 4). This must either be taken literally for the Temple in Jerusalem, or symbolically for the Church. The student of the Apostle's writings will scarcely doubt which is the preferable interpretation. Together with this place in the Temple, divine prerogatives are asserted, with a lordly repudiation of every so-called deity, or object of worship (σέβασμα). The assumption is supported by the claim to miraculous power (ver. 9); but the miracles are false—"power and signs and wonders of falsehood" (ver. 9).

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[1] Chap. iii. 7—10.

[2] Grotius, Ewald, Dr. Davidson (*Introduction* of 1868). The theory of Grotius is influenced by his belief that the "Man of Sin" was Caligula, who attempted to have his statue set up in the Temple at Jerusalem, A.D. 40; a singular anachronism.

[3] Chap. iii. 17. See introductory paper, p. 268.

[4] 1 Thess. iv. 11.

[5] Chap. iii. 11. Alford's translation, which preserves so far as possible the alliteration of the original, μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους.

[6] See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 272, "Local Colouring of St. Paul's Epistles."

[7] So Alford, Ellicott. The verb ἐνίστημι elsewhere always denotes the present in distinction from the future (Rom. viii. 38; 1 Cor. iii. 22; vii. 26; Gal. i. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 1; Heb. ix. 9).

[8] 1 John ii. 18.

[9] Rev. xiii.

(*c*) The power of this enemy to God was already secretly at work in the Apostle's time (ver. 7). The statement here is parallel with that of St. John, "As ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists." Such representations lead to the inference that the evil power is rather a succession than an individual—perhaps a principle that may be embodied in many forms.

(*d*) The full development of this principle, or, in other words, the manifestation of Antichrist, was hindered, in the Apostle's time, by a power, clearly defined, well known to St. Paul himself and to the Thessalonians; and yet, for some reason or other, not to be expressly mentioned in writing. "Ye know *what* restraineth"—here the power or influence is spoken of in the neuter gender; "*He who* now restraineth will restrain"—here it is masculine. This alternation of the personal with the impersonal seems again to point to a succession rather than to any one being.

(*e*) The outline of the prophecy is then as follows:—An evil principle already at work in the Church is at present kept back by a restraining influence; this influence will be removed, the evil will then attain full form and shape, and, having risen to commanding power, will be destroyed by the Lord "with the spirit of His mouth, and the brightness of His coming."

The first question for the interpreter, therefore, relates to the event described as the "coming of the Lord." This must be understood either of the destruction of Jerusalem and the passing away of the Jewish economy, or of that consummation, still future, which shall crown the Redeemer's work and fulfil the hopes of the Church.

(1) Those who adopt the former (or "præterist") view regard the "man of sin" as either *Judaic* or *Heathen*. In the first case "the apostacy" denotes the revolt of the Jews from the *Romans*, or from the *faith*; and the restraining influence must be either *secular* (as the policy of the Emperor Claudius) or *divine* (the apostolic preaching, the character of the Christian Jews, or, generally, the purpose of God). According to the second supposition, the man of sin was either *Caligula*, restrained by *Vitellius*, pro-consul of Syria, in his purpose of placing his statue in the Temple (an obvious anachronism, as before pointed out); or *Simon Magus*, the spread of whose false doctrines was restrained by *apostolic teaching*; or *Titus*, restrained by *Nero*, inasmuch as Vespasian, father of Titus, could not reign until after Nero's death.[1]

(2) The interpretations of the prophecy as future may again be classed under two heads:—

α. *Wholly future.* Antichrist, according to this view, will be a *person*, combining in himself the above-noted characters of evil; and the restraining influence is either the force of *social order*, the power of the *Christian Church*, or the *purpose of God*.[2]

β. *Present, but with a future consummation.* In this view "the Apostacy" is a succession of antichristian influences, working deadly peril to the Church: the prediction being fulfilled either in *the whole chain* of such influences, including Judaism, Gnosticism, with every subsequent departure from the truth to the end; or else in some *particular form* of error and spiritual despotism; according to the Reformers and many Protestant interpreters, in the Papal Church. To support this general interpretation, it is urged with great force that, by the almost unanimous consent of the Fathers, the restraining influence is the *Roman Empire*. According to this view, the reason of the Apostle's reserve concerning "the hindrance" is fully seen. It would not be discreet or safe to speak openly of the downfall of the Empire while its power yet remained. But the Thessalonians would understand what was meant, and tradition would hand down the explanation. The vanishing of power from the Roman Empire, it is obvious to remark, was gradual: on its ruins a spiritual despotism arose, which had its commencement and prefiguration in apostolic times, and it may be that this shall develop into yet more portentous forms of evil before the final triumphs of righteousness and love.[3] Of what precise nature that triumph may be it is not for us to conjecture. We know at least that "the spirit of Christ's mouth" is felt wherever the Gospel is proclaimed, and where there is the revelation of His truth "the brightness of His coming" is beheld. These forces may work silently until they have destroyed every adverse influence, or may be gathered up at last into some sudden glorious display. We cannot tell, but only know that before the CHRIST of God, all Antichrists will disappear.[4]

III. St. Paul's second main topic of exhortation has respect to the duty of industry and soberness. Here the Apostle repeats with a more impressive earnestness, as well as in greater detail, the injunctions of his former Epistle; appealing again to his own course of life in Thessalonica—a course which he was most probably still pursuing in Corinth while he wrote (Acts xviii. 3; compare especially chap. iii. 7—10 with 1 Thess. ii.

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[1] Those who are desirous of pursuing these unprofitable speculations further may consult Newton *On the Prophecies*, Diss. xxii., or Gloag's *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, p. 128.

[2] The chief advocate of this view is Olshausen, who is followed among English expositors by Dean Alford and Bishop Ellicott. The restraining influence, according to *Olshausen*, is "the whole rightly-ordered political system;" according to *Alford*, "the fabric of human polity, and those who rule that polity;" according to *Ellicott*, "the power of well-ordered human rule, the principle of legality as opposed to ἀνομία, of which the Roman Empire was the then embodiment and manifestation." See further some remarkable lectures by Dr. Newman on "The Patristical Idea of Antichrist;" *Discussions and Arguments*, pp. 44—108.

[3] The temptation to find "the mystery of lawlessness" in rival churches or religions is undoubtedly great, and should make an expositor pause before giving a specific application to the prophecy. Thus while Reformers see in it a delineation of the Papacy, the Greek Church interprets it of Mohammedanism; some Roman Catholic interpreters, again, apply it to Luther and the Reformers; and Dr. Newman discerns in it a description of modern Rationalism. For a powerful presentation of the Reformers' view, see Wordsworth's *Greek Testament*, in loc.

[4] Canon Lightfoot powerfully argues that the Antichrist of St. Paul's own day was unbelieving Judaism, against which he more than once had to invoke the protection of the Roman power. But this would not exclude other and successive forms of evil, in which the same spirit would be manifest.

9). The reference to church discipline against offenders is peculiar to the present epistle (chap. iii. 6, 14, where the reading in the margin is not to be preferred).

IV. The Epistle ends with a special attestation, and the usual benediction, thrice repeated. It is very observable how every part of this letter is closed with a prayer. The *introduction* (chap. i. 11, 12); the *prophecy* (chap. ii. 16, 17; iii. 5); and now the final *exhortation*, with a blessing which is itself a prayer. Between the prophecy and the exhortation also, the Apostle makes an earnest appeal to the Thessalonians to pray *for him* (chap. iii. 1, 2). Surrounded in Corinth by enemies of the truth, by those to whom Christ crucified was "a stumbling-block," and those to whom He was "foolishness" (1 Cor. i. 23), he threw himself upon the sympathy of those who had received the Gospel so simply as "the word of God" (1 Thess. ii. 13). Sorrowfully he exclaims, "All men have not the faith," and contrasts his difficulties among the Corinthians with the ready access he had found to the unsophisticated men of Macedonia; longing for a repetition of those old days when the word of the Lord so "swiftly spread, and was glorified." The phrase of St. Paul in chap. iii. 1, "even as *it is*"—more strictly "as *it was* with you"—gives us a glimpse into his heart, and explains the tone of sadness which mingles with the energy and intensity of this Epistle. We understand it all the better when we think of it as written from among the men of Corinth to the men of Thessalonica.[1]

[1] See further on this point, BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 273, "Local Colouring of St. Paul's Epistles."

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. LUKE.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

"This cup [is] the new testament [or covenant] in my blood, which is shed for you."—LUKE xxii. 20.

IN the corresponding passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew (xxvi. 28) the word "new" is wanting, both in the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, and it would seem to be more difficult to account for its omission than for its insertion in that place. The balance of authority is also against the genuineness of the same word in the parallel passage of St. Mark's Gospel (xiv. 24). In the passage under consideration, however, there can be little or no doubt of its genuineness, as also in the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. xi. 23—27, which, as it has often been observed, agrees, in a very remarkable manner, with that contained in the Gospel of St. Luke, and, in regard to the former clause of this passage, corresponds with it *verbatim*, with the exception of the insertion by St. Paul of the substantive verb "is" (ἐστὶν), which is not found in this place in the Gospel. A comparison of these words with Jer. xxxi. 31—35, and also with Heb. viii. 8—12, and x. 16, 17, where the prophecy of Jeremiah is quoted, will suffice, we think, to establish the identity of the "covenant" or "testament" spoken of in these three places—a covenant which is described in the Greek version of Jer. xxxi. 31 as "a new covenant" (διαθήκη καινή), and in St. Luke, no longer, indeed, indefinitely, but in express reference, as it should seem, to the prophecy of Jeremiah, as "*the* new covenant" (ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη), viz., that which had been foretold by the mouth of the prophet.

The two points which call for explanation in this passage are—(1) In what sense are we to understand the word which is rendered "covenant" in the prophecy of Jeremiah, and in the quotations in Heb. viii. and x., and which is rendered "testament" in the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in the Gospels, and in 1 Cor. xi., and also in other passages in the New Testament,[1] more especially in Heb. ix.; and (2) in what sense are we to understand the "cup" given by our Lord to His disciples as being this new "covenant" or "testament" in His blood?

I. We must observe that the word διαθήκη in the LXX.,[2] and in the quotations found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is a translation of the Hebrew word, ברית (*berith*), which is rendered in the Old Testament "covenant." This word is supposed to be derived from a verb (not used in Hebrew in that signification) which means to *cut;* hence the phrase commonly used in the Old Testament to denote the making a covenant is, literally, *to cut a covenant*, in allusion to the custom of sacrificing victims on such occasions; and we find corresponding phrases in other languages, as, *e.g.*, ὅρκια πιστὰ ταμεῖν [to conclude (lit. *cut*) a binding treaty], fœdus *ferire, icisse* fœdus, "to *strike* a bargain." The meaning commonly assigned to the word "covenant" is an agreement made between two or more parties. Such, however, is not the sense in which the word is used in many places in the Old Testament. There is, undoubtedly, a relationship, but not always a *mutual* relationship, in the sense of engagement, implied in the word *berith*. Thus, in the first place in which it occurs, viz., Gen. vi. 18, and again in Gen. ix. 11, in reference to God's "covenant" with Noah, although it may be said that that "covenant" was confirmed by the sacrifice mentioned in Gen. viii. 20, nevertheless, the word

[1] Meyer holds that in all Pauline passages the word διαθηκη bears the sense of *covenant*, not of *testament*. Professor Eadie, as well as the late Professor Scholefield, holds that Heb. ix. 15, 17 forms no exception to the "constant meaning" of this word in the Septuagint, and to its "uniform use" in the New Testament.

[2] The LXX. occasionally, but very rarely, render *berith* by some other word, as in Deut. ix. 15 and 1 Kings xi. 11.

clearly denotes rather a solemn promise or engagement made on the part of God to Noah and his descendants, than a "covenant," in the ordinary sense of the term, made between God and Noah. More particularly the word *berith* is used to denote a solemn vow or promise, confirmed in some cases by an oath, as, *e.g.*, Deut. iv. 31; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31; Jer. xi. 3, compared with ver. 5; or ordinance, which may be forsaken or broken, as Jer. xi. 4; xxii. 9. No passage, however, of the Old Testament can be adduced in proof that the word *berith* ever has the sense of *testament*, in the sense of a disposition of a man's possessions, which is to take effect after his death; an idea which, however familiar to Western nations, was alien from the conceptions of a Jew. Throughout the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and *generally* in the Epistles—whether in Heb. ix. 15, 17, the word be properly rendered "testament" or not—wherever the word διαθήκη occurs it appears to be used in the sense in which *berith* is used in the Old Testament. As the Mosaic covenant was ratified, at its first institution, by the blood of slain oxen (Exod. xxiv. 5—8), and, year by year, with the blood of calves and goats (Lev. xvi. 5, 6; Heb. ix. 19), so the blood of the new and better covenant needed to be ratified, not "by the blood of goats and calves," but by the better blood of Him "who, through the Eternal Spirit, offered Himself without spot to God." It was thus that Christ, "by the one oblation of Himself once offered," became the Mediator of that "new covenant" which Jehovah, by His prophet Jeremiah, had declared that He would hereafter make with His people, saying, "I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them; and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more."

II. In order to obtain a reply to the second inquiry proposed for consideration—viz., in what sense the cup which our Lord gave to His disciples is said to be "the new covenant"—we must refer to the manner in which other signs and pledges of God's covenants are spoken of in Holy Scripture.

In the first recorded instance—viz., that of the covenant made with Noah—the bow "set in the cloud" is distinctly and repeatedly declared to be the "token," or sign, of the covenant (Gen. ix. 12, 13, 17). The relation between the bow, thus set in the clouds, to the promise of which it was thenceforth to be a pledge and assurance, having been thus clearly expressed, the language employed in other cases is less distinct. Thus, in regard to circumcision, which was made the sign or pledge of the Abrahamic covenant, it is said, "This is my covenant [*i.e.*, a sign of the covenant], . . . Every man child among you shall be circumcised" (Gen. xvii. 10); and, again, "My covenant [*i.e.*, the sign and pledge of my covenant] shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant" (Gen. xvii. 13). Again, the sabbath, which was given to the Jews as the sign or pledge of the Mosaic covenant, is described in Exod. xxxi. 16 as the covenant itself: "Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, *for* a perpetual covenant" [literally, *a perpetual covenant*]; whereas the sabbath was not itself the covenant, but, as we read in Ezek. xx. 12, 20, "a sign" between God and the people.

In the New Testament, in like manner, the same or similar phraseology is employed; and the substantive verb, whether expressed or understood, is constantly used as the copula of symbolical relationship. Thus, in His parabolical teaching, our Lord represents Himself as the "door," and the "vine;" the "good seed" as the "children of the kingdom," and the "tares" as the "children of the wicked one." And so, in the institution of the Last Supper, not only is the bread symbolically represented as the body of the Lord, but—as if to supply a key to the meaning of His words which could not be misunderstood—while the cup, or that which it contained, is described in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark as the blood of the Lord, the same cup is described in the records of St. Luke and St. Paul as being—*i.e.*, as representing, or as the token and pledge of—the new covenant in the blood of Him by whom that covenant was ratified: "This cup [is] the New Testament [or covenant] in my blood, which is shed for you."

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

III.—THE JORDAN VALLEY FROM THE SEA OF GALILEE TO THE DEAD SEA.

IN the Authorised Version of the Bible, the Hebrew name, *Arabah*, of the Jordan valley is translated "plain," but in the original the word is always accompanied by the article, and the plain called *the* Arabah, that is, "the desert." In Josh. xi. 2; xii. 3; and Deut. iii. 17, the Arabah is mentioned in connection with the Sea of Galilee, and in Deut. i. 1; ii. 8, with the Red Sea and Elath; so that the term would appear to have been applied to the whole depression between the Sea of Galilee and the Red Sea, though at the present day the southern portion alone is known under its ancient name as Wady el-Arabah. To the Greeks and Romans the valley was known as the Aulon, and it is now called by the Arabs el-Ghor, *i.e.*, "a long valley between mountains," a name which it will be convenient to adopt in the following remarks. Other names are applied in the Bible to particular portions of the Jordan valley, such as the *ciccars* or "circuits" of Jordan, near Jericho (Gen. xiii. 12), and between Succoth and Zeredathah

(2 Chron. iv. 17); the *emeks* or plains of Succoth (Ps. lx. 6; cviii. 7) and Keziz (Josh. xviii. 21); the *bikah* of Jericho (Deut. xxxiv. 3); and the *abel* or meadow of Shittim (Numb. xxxiii. 49).

From the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea there is one deep depression, filled up to a certain level with alluvial deposit, forming what is often called the "upper plain" of the Jordan valley; and in this the river has hollowed out for itself, during the course of long ages, a "lower plain," varying in width from a quarter of a mile to a mile, and from 50 to 100 feet below the general level of the valley. The banks of the "upper plain" are ragged and irregular, and wherever tributaries join the Jordan, they present a most curious appearance; this is especially the case in the lower portion of the valley, where streams not six feet wide have washed out for themselves beds nearly a mile in width, and left in their irregular course quaint isolated hills to mark the existence and level of the original plain. There are thus two distinct and well-defined plains in the Jordan valley: the "upper," generally sterile and only capable of cultivation in those places where springs or perennial streams afford the means of copious irrigation; and the "lower," through which the river pursues its tortuous course, keeping by its occasional overflows certain small tracts under cultivation.

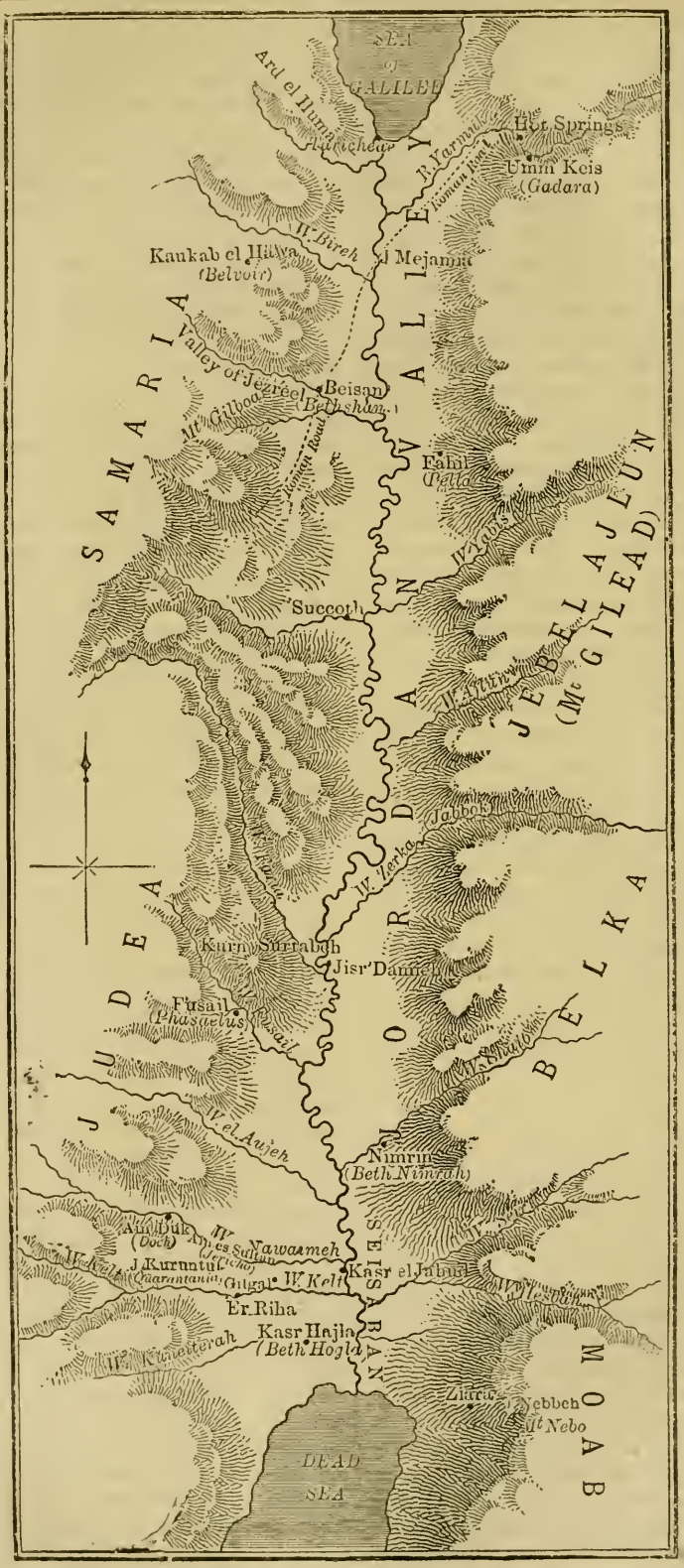
In January, February, and March there are frequently heavy falls of rain, and then for a brief period the plain is clothed in scarlet and green, and is covered with a profusion of wild flowers only equalled on the great prairies of America; soon, however, the hot breath of the south wind passes over it, scorching and withering all vegetation, and leaving nothing but a barren waste behind. The temperature of the valley varies with the direction of the wind; during the winter months the north wind often brings intense cold, and there is a great difference between the night and day temperature; whilst with a south wind the heat becomes almost insupportable, and the sun's rays strike down into the deep chasm with a force and power hardly equalled in any part of the world.

On either side of the Jordan are a number of artificial mounds or "tells," oval in shape, from 100 to 150 feet long, 50 to 100 feet broad, and about 50 feet high, which have frequently attracted the notice of travellers. The mounds are for the most part isolated, and, if we may judge from their position, at the foot of mountain passes, were erected for purposes of defence. Some of the mounds near Jericho were excavated for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Captain Warren, R.E., but the results he obtained did not give any clear indication of the object for which they were made.

Before proceeding to a detailed account of the Jordan valley, we must briefly notice three remarkable attempts during the present century to explore the river between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. The first was in 1835, by Mr. Costigan, who succeeded in descending the Jordan in a small boat, and in reaching the southern end of the Dead Sea, but who died soon afterwards at Jerusalem; the second was in 1847, by Lieutenant Molyneux, R.N., who was also successful in accomplishing his object, but died soon after his return to his ship; the third was in 1848, by the American Government expedition, under Lieutenant Lynch, U.S.N., who descended the river with two boats, and spent some time in making a survey of the Dead Sea. To the last expedition we owed, till quite recently, most of our knowledge of the Jordan valley; but in 1868, Captain Warren, R.E., made an important journey up the western bank of the Jordan, which produced valuable results; and during the winter of 1873-74 a complete survey of this part of the country has been made by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., for the Palestine Exploration Fund.

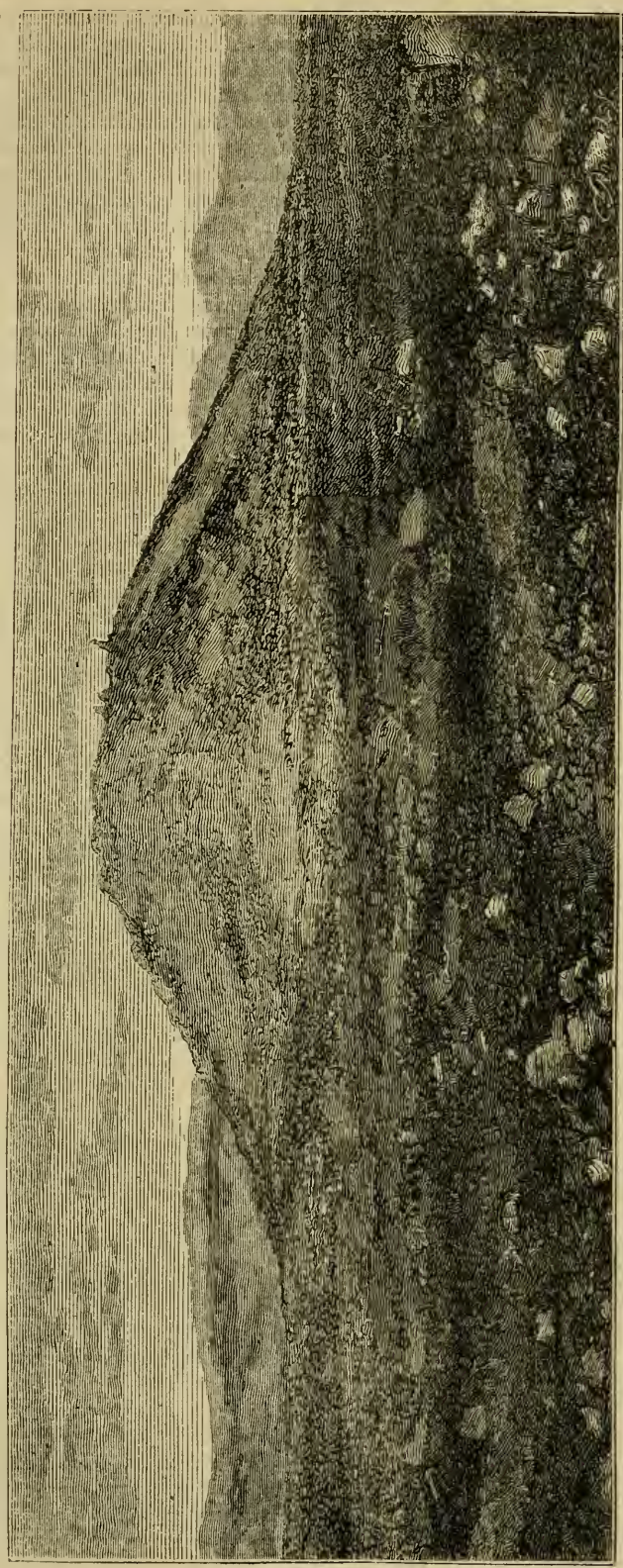
The right or western bank of Jordan.—The Jordan commences its course like no ordinary river, for on leaving the lake it runs in an opposite direction to that which it has ultimately to follow; this is partially caused by the silting up of the stream under the old Roman bridge at Taricheæ, which throws the river so much to the south as to leave the greater portion of the bridge high and dry. A little lower down are the remains of a second and third bridge, and nearly opposite the latter is the mouth of the valley that drains the plain Ard el-Huma, behind Tiberias. About six miles below the Sea of Galilee is the Jisr Mejamia, a bridge with one large pointed arch and three smaller ones, in good preservation, over which ran the great road from Bethshan through Gadara to Damascus. A little south of the bridge, the Wady Bireh, which drains the country south and east of Mount Tabor, descends into the Jordan valley, and on the brow of the hills above, commanding a magnificent view for many miles in every direction, are the ruins of the old Crusading fortress of Belvoir or Belvedere, now called Kaukab el-Hawa, which was captured by Saladin in 1188 A.D. From the lake to Jisr Mejamia the Jordan valley presents the appearance of a broad open plain, and from thence to Beisan, the next point of interest, about eight miles, the valley is some three miles wide. Beisan, the Bethshan of the Bible, was one of those towns from which the Canaanites were never driven out, and after the fatal battle of Mount Gilboa, the corpses of Saul and his sons were fastened to its walls, whence they were stolen by the "valiant men" of Jabesh. Under the Greek dominion, after the Captivity, the place was called Scythopolis, a name perhaps derived from the incursions of the Scythians or nomads of the north in the reign of King Josiah. Beisan is prettily situated on the brow of the descent by which the beautiful meadow-like plain of the valley of Jezreel falls to the lower level of the Ghor, and the town itself, well watered by springs and the streams from Ain Jalud and its tributaries, and intersected by deep ravines, must have been extremely picturesque. The ruins cover a large area, but they are not of much importance; the principal are those of two theatres, one with vomitories and passages in a perfect state, a temple, a city gateway, several bridges over the stream, fragments of the city wall, and the acropolis which rises in the centre and forms a con-

spicuous object in the landscape. The road from Gadara passed through the middle of the town, and as at Samaria, Gadara, Gerasa, and other towns, it was bordered on either side by lofty columns which now lie prostrate and almost concealed by the tangled mass of vegetation that has grown over them. Proceeding southwards from Beisan, the Ghor is from eight to nine miles wide until we reach Tell Sakút, a distance of about eight miles, where it begins to contract. This section of the valley is abundantly watered by springs and by streams running down from the mountains; but they are nearly all slightly brackish, and in places spread out so as to form large tracts of marshy ground. Tell Sakút, an artificial mound about three-quarters of a mile from the Jordan, has been supposed by some writers to be the Succoth mentioned in the account of Jacob's return from Haran to Shechem, but it is somewhat out of the direct road from the Zerka (Jabbok) to Nablus (Shechem), and the position answers better to that of the Succoth mentioned in connection with Gideon's pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna (Judg. viii. 5—17). On the surface of the mound are a few rude foundations, and at its foot a fine spring. South of Tell Sakút, the Wady Malih, which rises in the neighbourhood of Teyasir south of Mount Gilboa, reaches the Jordan, and here the long fertile plain of the upper Ghor terminates; the mountains throw out spurs towards the river, and for six miles the Jordan passes through a gorge hardly a mile wide. Below this the valley again opens out in the rich luxuriant tract at the mouth of Wady Faria, which extends to Kurn Surtabeh with a width of about ten miles. The Wady Faria drains the plain of Mukhna, near Nablus, as well as that of Tubez or Thebez to the north, and is exceedingly rich and beautiful, well watered by a fine stream fringed with oleanders, and partially cultivated. Down the valley ran the road connecting Nablus with Gilead and Bashan, and several of the arches of the old Roman bridge by which it crossed the Jordan still remain, and are called Jisr Damieh; at the present day the road from Nablus to Es Salt crosses the Jordan at a ford near the bridge, where a ferry has been established for use when the



MAP OF THE JORDAN VALLEY.

water is high. At Kurn Surtabeh, a peculiarly shaped mountain, stretching out into the Ghor, the valley is contracted to seven miles, but thence to the Dead Sea its average width is about twelve miles. There are a few ruins on the summit of Kurn Surtabeh, and it is mentioned in the Talmud as one of the stations where signal torches were lighted and waved to announce the appearance of the new moon. South of this mountain the plain becomes a parched desert, except where it is watered by the copious springs at the foot of the mountains: the first of these is Ain Fusail in the Wady Fusail, which probably derived its name from the city of Phasaelus near its mouth, of which there are traces in the ruins of Khirbet Fusail. Phasaelus was built by Herod the Great, and given by him to his sister Salome, who afterwards conveyed it to Livia, the wife of the Emperor Augustus. The immediate district around appears to have been richly cultivated, for the palm-gardens of Phasaelus are specially mentioned in Salome's will. Below Fusail the deep gorge of Wady el-Aujeh enters the Ghor; and south of this are the ruins of Es-Sumrah, which have been identified with Shamor on Mount Zemaraim, whence Abijah summoned his armies to meet Jeroboam. A little further to the south the Wady Nawaimeh descends from the heights above Beitin (Bethel), and affords a ready means of access to the mountain district; it was up this valley that Joshua passed to attack and capture Ai, and again, on another memorable occasion, when he "went up from Gilgal all night" to lend his powerful aid to the men of Gibeon. On the south bank of Wady Nawaimeh, within a mile of the point at which it issues from the mountains, are the fountains of Ain Duk; the largest source springs up at the foot of a fine Dom tree, and its waters are led off by an aqueduct to irrigate portions of the plain on the south, whilst the waters of the remaining springs follow their natural course down the valley. The position of Ain Duk at the foot of the pass to Bethel, with its abundant supply of water, was too important to be overlooked during the stormy history of Palestine, and we accordingly find that from an early period it was chosen as a suitable site for a castle or fortress. In the castle of Doch or Docus, Ptolemeus treacherously murdered his father-in-law, Simon Maccabæus, with his two sons, after entertaining them at a banquet; and under its present name of Duk it is mentioned as a



MOUND AT AIN ES-SULTAN, JERICHO. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

fortress of the Knights Templars between Jericho and Bethel. South of Ain Duk the great plain of Jericho extends to the margin of the Dead Sea; but before examining the many interesting questions connected with it, we must briefly notice the remaining valley on the western side of the Jordan; this is the wild glen of Wady Kelt, which by its many branches, including Wadies Suweinit and Farah, drains a large tract of country east and north of Jerusalem. The stream in Wady Kelt is without doubt the "river" mentioned in the Bible in connection with the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xvi. 1), and Dr. Robinson has identified it with the brook Cherith, on the banks of which Elijah hid himself during part of the three years' famine, and was fed by ravens (1 Kings xvii. 3—5). As, however, the Bible gives no clue to the position of Cherith, except that it was eastward of Samaria and faced the Jordan, we can hardly accept the identification. Eusebius and Jerome place Cherith east of the Jordan, and this would seem the more probable situation, for Elijah would then have been in a manner in his own country, and more out of the way of Ahab. Along the southern side of the valley runs for some distance the road from Jericho to Jerusalem, and near the ruins of Khan Hudhur we have little difficulty in recognising the ascent of Adummim. At the foot of a mound on the northern side of Wady Kelt, about a mile from the base of the mountains, a fine fountain of clear sweet water bursts forth, which there is every reason to believe is the scene of Elisha's miracle (2 Kings ii. 19—22) and the site of ancient Jericho. Except in the immediate neighbourhood, there are no other springs, and it is the only natural site for a city in the surrounding country. The spring seems once to have been enclosed by a sort of reservoir of hewn stones, but this is now broken, and the water finds its way at random over the plain, covered here with a dense thicket of *Zakkum* and *Spina Christi*. The ruin at the spring appears to be that of a small Roman temple; but there are other ruins to the north, and in the thorny copse below are many foundations, low mounds, &c., which may have been connected with the ancient city. There are a large number of mounds in the neighbourhood, especially towards the south, the most important of which were opened by Captain Warren, R.E., without, however, giving any definite results. Rude foundations of stone and brick and pottery were found in all, but no clue was obtained to the object for which they were erected. Two, one on either side of Wady Kelt, near the mouth of the pass from Beit Jabr, may represent the forts of Thrax and Taurus, mentioned by Strabo as standing at the entrance to Jericho; and one, Tell el-Matlab, is said by the natives of Er Riha to mark the site of ancient Jericho, a distorted legend of the capture of the city being attached to it.

The site of Ain es-Sultan, in close proximity to Jebel Kuruntul (Quarantania), where the spies may have taken refuge, meets all the requirements of the Biblical Jericho, and we can only account for the displacement of the city by the perpetual curse laid upon him who should attempt to rebuild its walls. On the southern side of Wady Kelt stood the Roman city of Jericho, but it has entirely disappeared with the exception of a few mounds, and the fine reservoir, Birket Musa, 190 yards long and 160 wide, which was fed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountain-springs. Nothing is more extraordinary than the total disappearance of Jericho, which in the time of Herod was an important city, containing an amphitheatre in which Herod shut up the principal men of the Jews with the view of having them killed at his death, and so ensuring a general mourning of the nation; in the same place also Salome, after dismissing those who were shut up, announced Herod's death to the assembled soldiers and people, and exhorted them to receive Archelaus as king. It was at the Jericho of Herod that our Lord accepted the hospitality of Zaccheus the publican; and it was in its vicinity that He restored sight to the blind (Matt. xx. 30; Mark x. 46; Luke xviii. 35). At the ford across the river in front tradition places the scene of our Lord's baptism, and in the mountain behind that of His temptation; whilst Khan Hudhur, on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem, is pointed out as the scene of the story of the good Samaritan. The fertility of the plain round Jericho was unexampled; palms of various kinds, as well as opobalsamum, myrobalsamum, and other valuable trees and shrubs throve there, producing large revenues, which were rented by Herod from Cleopatra, to whom Antony had given them. Even during the existence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the plain was extensively cultivated and laid out in vineyards and gardens; now all is desolate, and, with one solitary exception near Er Riha, the palms which once gave Jericho its title, "the City of Palms," have long since disappeared. The remains, however, of the network of aqueducts which distributed the waters of six large fountains, including Ain Aujeh, six miles to the north, over the plain, show the care once bestowed on its cultivation, and the series of arches by which they cross Wady Kelt form not the least picturesque and interesting of the ruins round Jericho. The village of Er Riha, the modern representative of Jericho, consists only of a number of wretched mud huts gathered round a castle built by the Crusaders, which is now pointed out as the house in which Zaccheus entertained our Lord. A Christian settlement appears to have taken root at Jericho and in its vicinity at a very early date; under Constantine, baptism in the Jordan became the fashion of the day; and soon afterwards colonies of anchorites installed themselves in the caves of Kuruntul, the traditional Mount of Temptation (Mons Quarantania), and monastic buildings commenced to rise on the plain. In the precipitous rocky face of Kuruntul is a labyrinth of rock-hewn caverns and chapels, connected by galleries or staircases, and sometimes ornamented with quaint rude frescoes; on the summit of the mountain are the ruins of a small chapel and fortress. Of the numerous monasteries there are many remains; at Kasr el-Jahud, on the banks of the

Jordan, are the ruins of that of St. John the Baptist, erected by Justinian, with a great cistern, once fed by an aqueduct from Ain es-Sultan, and the apse of the church mentioned by Arculf; at Kasr Hajla, the ancient Beth-Hogla, those of a large monastery with a chapel and defaced frescoes; and there are others near Er Riha and in Wady Kelt, the buildings of the latter monastery clinging to the precipitous sides of the ravine like those of the great convent of Mar Saba in the lower part of the Kedron valley.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

LARGER MEASURES OF TIME (*continued*).

II.—COINCIDENT MODES OF RECKONING.

BEFORE speaking of any reckoning anterior to the Exodus, it is desirable to refer to those various lines of contemporary history which are more or less distinctly connected with the history of the Bible. We have given an account of the materials for constructing the sacred chronology: it is important to glance at those which are of value for its control and verification.

These subsidiary modes of reckoning are of two kinds: they are either astronomical or historical.

We have already referred to the years of the City of Rome, to the years of the Seleucidæ, and to those of the Persian and Babylonian kings. A long-lost source of perfectly accurate information has lately been discovered in the burnt-clay records of Assyria.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, and the scholars to whose labours this important discovery has given a stimulus, have deciphered the records of nearly three centuries of Assyrian history. The dates of the accession of fifteen kings, and references to the principal events of their reigns, are contained in the clay tablets now in the British Museum; and the whole series is accurately referred to historic time by the account of an eclipse of the sun which occurred in the eighth year of King Ashur-dan, which coincided with the thirty-eighth year of Uzziah, king of Judah. The exact coincidence of the third year of Sennacherib with the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, and of this doubly ascertained date with the sixth year of the septennate, may be taken as an absolute determination of date.

To some of the ancient manuscripts of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy is appended a chronological list of the kings of the Assyrians, of the kings of Persia, and of the Roman emperors after Augustus. It is known by the name of the Regal Canon, and comes down to the death, A.D. 160, of Antoninus, during whose reign the great astronomer and geographer, Claudius Ptolemy, flourished. The accuracy of this list is verified by the dates of numerous eclipses of the moon, which are described and referred to this system of reckoning in the *Almagest*.

The fifth year of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, is one of those fixed by an eclipse. The length of this king's reign is stated at twenty-one years in the Canon, and at twenty-nine years by Berosus, the Chaldean historian.[1] Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabokollasar, reigned for forty-three years. But it is from the second era, or that determined by Berosus for the death of Nabopolassar, that the years of Nebuchadnezzar cited by the prophet Jeremiah date. To refer this to the earlier epoch disturbs all the exact coincidences of Jewish, Assyrian, and Egyptian history. It is stated by Berosus that Nebuchadnezzar was in command of the Assyrian army during his father's lifetime; and this may explain the attribution of the eight years in question to the two kings. The year 151 of the Canon, being the twenty-ninth from the accession of Nabopolassar, was, at all events, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine;[2] and this was the fourth year of Jehoiakim. This date is independently fixed by Egyptian chronology, and by the death of Necho II. There is a difference of a year, in the computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar, between the Second Book of Kings and the Book of the prophet Jeremiah, which probably arises from the different days on which the Chaldean and the Jewish regnal year began. The first year of Evil-merodach, the Ilvarodamus of the Regal Canon, dated from January 4 (of our present reckoning), 186 Nabonassar. In that same year, the 25th day of Adar fell on February 22, and the first day of the Nisan following fell on March 21. Thus the two modes of reckoning only coincide during a part of the year. Thirty-seven years, counting back from this date, fall on the year of the death of King Josiah, which was the actual fall of the Jewish monarchy, from which the prophet appears, in this place, to reckon.

The seventy prophetic years of servitude are determined, by the distinct references made by the prophets Jeremiah and Zechariah, to extend from the eighth year of Jehoiakim, which was four years after the defeat of Necho at Carchemish, in 157 Nab., to the second year of Darius, or 227 Nabonassar. The sacred writer of the Book of Kings passes hastily over this mournful period, but indicates three years of tribute before the assertion of independence, or rebellion, of the king of Judah. The succeeding year was thus the eighth of Jehoiakim, in which the yoke of the king of Babylon, who made three several deportations of the Jews, in the eighth, nineteenth, and twenty-fourth years of his power in Palestine, was finally imposed upon Jerusalem.[3]

Equal, if not superior, in their monumental importance, to the Assyrian and Babylonian records, are those of Egypt. Coincidences between the history of Palestine

[1] Fl. Josephus *Contra Apion*, i. 19.

[2] Jer. xxv. 1.

[3] Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10; Zech. i. 1, 12.

and that of Egypt occur at distinct epochs, and the chronological value of the synchronism, or identity of date, thus arrived at is of the first order. For Egyptian dates the chronology of Brugsch has been followed with much confidence. The reckonings of Lepsius and of Bunsen are not very different from those of Brugsch; but the difference that exists is attributable to the superior care and accuracy of the latter scholar. Had the same patient study been applied to Hebrew that has been given to Egyptian chronology, we should not witness the extraordinary anachronisms that are now brought before the world.

It is true that a system which, though vague and undetermined, is some 150 years shorter than that of Brugsch (if we go back only as far as the eighteenth Theban Dynasty in Egypt), has found favour in this country. The only argument which one of our most accomplished Egyptian scholars has assigned for the anomaly of the relations which thus are indicated between the two chronologies, is one to the effect that the treasure city, Raamses (to which the LXX. adds, "and On, which is Heliopolis"), would not have been built, under that name, before the accession of the nineteenth, or Ramesid, dynasty. It is a conclusive reply to this argument that the land of Rameses is mentioned, 430 years before the date of the Exodus, in the Book of Genesis.[1]

In each instance where the same events are dated in the Hebrew Sacred Books, and in the Egyptian records, the accordance between the two perfectly independent systems, that which we are explaining and that of Brugsch, is absolute.

The Talmud does not supply that direct information, as to dates, which has proved so valuable as to other parts of metrology. But its testimony is, nevertheless, of great value on the subject. An approximate chronology is to be derived from the succession of the series of heads of the Sanhedrin and other doctors of the Mishna, by which the progress of legislative decision on certain points in controversy is made clear. A few comparative dates are given by the Ghemarists; and these have the more value from the fact that the striking coincidences with other modes of reckoning which they present have not hitherto been pointed out. Above all, the study of the Oral Law has a positive chronological value, as showing how impossible it was for the course of the septennial calculation at any time to have been broken or lost; as well as by proving that the year of Jubilee, which commenced neither on the first day of the sacred, nor on that of the civil year, but on a date peculiar to itself, could never have caused any disturbance of the regular septennial order. The Romish attempt to introduce a fiftieth year, so as to bring the cycle to a decennial, instead of a septennial, reckoning, is like an argument that the days of the week should be shifted annually, because the day of Pentecost was on a fiftieth day.

The verification to be derived from Josephus is not to be sought in those passages in which he gives the most distinct determination of historical cycles. There is every reason to suppose that these passages have been corrupted by transcribers. As they stand, no two of them agree; a discrepancy which we can hardly imagine that a great writer would have allowed to exist. But there are numerous periods cited, to which we shall refer, the application of which to the through reckoning could hardly have been within the comprehension of the transcribers. There would, therefore, have been no conceivable inducement to make supposed corrections. These passages exactly concur with the restoration of the sacred reckoning now brought forward.

The astronomical coincidences which have a direct bearing upon the chronology of the Bible are of the highest importance. First, there is the vague Egyptian year. The slow change, in the relation of this year to the equinox, gives extreme value to any determination which can be referred to a day of an Egyptian month. Josephus[2] states that the Exodus, which took place in the month called Abib by the Hebrews, and Xanthicus by the Greeks, occurred in the Egyptian month Pharmuthi. This coincidence existed in the year B.C. 1541, in which the restored sacred reckoning places the Exodus. In that year the 1st of Nisan fell on the 14th of Pharmuthi.

The relations of the lunar month to the equinoctial year on the one hand, and to the days of the week on the other, give a number of coincidences which require a special series of tables for immediate verification. The great point here to bear in mind is, that the institutions of the Law were such as to prevent the possibility of any accumulating error in lunar dates. On any month, indeed, according to the regulations *De novæ Lunæ initiando*, a question might arise whether the first or the second day after the conjunction was hallowed as the first of the month. Once every three or four years, a doubt might occur as to the intercalation of the thirteenth month, and the consequent date of the ensuing Passover. But with these limits, which cease to perplex when they are perfectly understood, accuracy is absolute.

A remarkable instance of this astronomical coincidence occurs in the Book of Ezekiel.[3] The dates of that book run from 159 Nabonassar, as is evident from the statement that the overthrow of the city was in the twelfth year. The year in which the first chapter of the book is dated,[4] thirty years from the great Passover, is therefore 164 Nabonassar. That year is one of those as to which a doubt is possible whether it contained twelve or thirteen months, as the first day of the moon of the vernal equinox fell at the earliest limit prescribed by the rules of the Law. From the twelfth day of Tammuz, the fourth month, Ezekiel was under a prophetic sequestration for 430 days. On the fifth day of

[1] Gen. xlvii. 11.

[2] *Ant.* ii. 14, § 6; 15, § 2. The British Museum chronology will bring the Exodus into the month Mecheir, in contradiction to Josephus.

[3] Ezek. xxxiii. 21.

[4] The eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine, thirty years from the great Passover of King Josiah.

Elul, the sixth month, in the following year, another vision is dated. If the year in question had contained only twelve months, the second vision would have fallen three weeks within the period of 430 days denoted for the term of retirement. We thus have the indication of the proper intercalation of the embolismic, or thirteenth month.

Of the coincidence of days of the moon and days of the week the instances are numerous; the most complete being found in the Book of Ezra,[1] where six days of the week, necessarily excluding the Sabbath, can be correctly identified by the calendar. The value of this mode of verifying dates, and of thus ascertaining the original authenticity of the records which involve dates that they do not distinctly express, is capital.

Another instance of the value of astronomical coincidence may be cited. Dean Stanley[2] quotes a tradition that the high priest Zechariah was murdered on the Day of Atonement, which fell, on that occasion, on the Sabbath. The chronology of the Book of Chronicles[3] places the murder in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Joash. In this year such a coincidence of dates actually occurred. Not only so, but a like coincidence occurred forty years previously, on the occasion of the murder of Athaliah by the high priest Jehoiada, the father of Zechariah.

We have explained the principles on which the original chronology of the Sacred Books is to be recovered from their direct testimony. We have enumerated some of those monumental records which, while not adequate by themselves to allow of the reconstruction of the sacred reckoning from their dates, are definite and positive as means of verification. These are, the astronomically determined Canon of Ptolemy, the clay tablets of Nineveh, the monuments and papyri of Egypt, the latent references in Josephus, the course of the septennial reckoning, that of the vague Egyptian year, that of the moon, that of the week, and that of the courses of the priests. To these has to be added, that of the prophetic reckoning, which Origen regarded as sufficiently definite to be constructive. Before entering, however, on this inquiry, we must see how far the systematic chronology of the Pentateuch can be carried back through the period preceding the Exodus, and examine the definite account of the establishment of the septennial reckoning.

III.—THE THROUGH RECKONING OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

All ancient systems of chronology commence with a divine or mythical period; the rule of the gods, or the reigns and long lives of the heroes. The history of the Jewish people, strictly so called, begins with the departure of their forefather Abraham from Mesopotamia. The records of the Chaldean astronomers, which perished in the conflagration of the great library at Alexandria, but which were accessible to, and fully quoted by, the great philosopher, Claudius Ptolemy, in the second century A.D., reached back to the very year of this departure, which is thus shown to be not unconnected with political revolution in Babylon. But before this date we find a number of periods, amounting in all to 2624 years, cited in the Book of Genesis.

We have no intention to treat that most venerable record with less reverence than was prescribed by the doctors of the Law. As to the character of these early chapters, whether allegorical, prophetical, or monumental of the outlines of certain events of which the body has been altogether lost, we shall not now inquire. The point of view from which we have exclusively to regard them, is that of their relation to chronology.

Whatever be the explanation of the terms of life allotted to the earliest names in the Book of Genesis, this much is sure. They form elements in a dead reckoning from a given point; in fact, from the Mundane Era of the Jews. It is necessary to see whether the period, which is thus prefixed to the detailed history, gives such a form to the entire system as to render it desirable to commence our notation from that point. In order to do that, we must examine the different readings that occur in the various versions of the Book of Genesis.

The length of time which the Hebrew text, in its existing state, reckons from the Mundane Era to the birth of Arphaxad, is 1658 years. In the Septuagint the term is 600 years longer, and there is a regularity in the sequence of the several periods, which is curiously interrupted in the Hebrew. In the Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch[4] the period is 349 years less than the Hebrew. By Josephus the reckoning of the LXX. appears to have been adopted, although the various passages are sadly corrupted. The elements of the calculation, the individual terms, amount to 1658. The sum is set down at 2658, which looks like a correction followed by a re-correction. The epigraph of the first book of the *Antiquities* gives an interval of 3833 years from the Creation to the birth of Isaac. Taking one thousand years as a clerical error, the determination is within four years of that we have to show. But the passage which may be taken as most conclusive as to the original chronology occurs in the preface, in which Josephus says that the sacred books contain the history of 5000 years. This statement, which is reiterated in the first book against Apion, is altogether inconsistent with the removal of the 600 years in debate.

The same kind of confusion attends the determination of the period between the birth of Arphaxad and that of Abraham. Josephus[5] is in exact accordance with the Hebrew text in stating the time as 290 years. But the details of the lives, in the existing copies of the *Antiquities*, amount to some 600 years more; the period abstracted from the previous period by one corrector having been apparently here inserted by another. The details of the LXX. agree with those of Josephus, with the insertion of an additional name, and period of 130 years. But the regularity of period, and

[1] Ezra vii. 8, 9; viii. 31, 32, 33; x. 9, 16.
[2] *Lectures*, part ii., p. 402.
[3] 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 23.
[4] The *Chrono-Astrolabe*, p. 145.
[5] *Ant.* i. 6, § 5.

proportion between the times of birth and length of life in each instance, which are in favour of the Greek text in the first place, are in favour of the Hebrew in the second. As to this, however, the 17th verse of the 17th chapter may be taken as conclusive. The birth of a son to Abraham at 100 years of age, could not have appeared matter of wonder to a man born when his own father was 170, and whose seven preceding ancestors each had issue at about 130.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to say any more on this question of conflicting versions. The only aim with which we have undertaken the inquiry is to see whether, by any simple reading of either authority, we can obtain the dead reckoning for the migration of Abraham, which was subsequently employed either by historical or by prophetical writers. We find that, by taking the original dates, without omitting the 600 years that appear to have been dealt with by conflicting transcribers in different modes, we not only come most closely to the time of 5000 years mentioned in the preface to the *Antiquities*, but find ourselves in the presence of a dead reckoning which possesses a remarkable combination of chronometric advantages.

From the birth of Abraham to the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, no hesitation arises as to reckoning. As to the period of 430 years between this date and the Exodus, the insertion of the words, "and in the land of Canaan," in the LXX. version,[1] has led some writers to reduce the period of the sojourn in Egypt to about half its real length. Two considerations, however, appear to be fully adequate to support the authority of the Hebrew text. The arrival in Egypt was on a definite date. But none such can be attached to the arrival of Abraham in Palestine, as no locality is mentioned. And it is a remarkable coincidence, that the 15th of Abib, on each of the years we have determined, fell on the same day of the week, in accordance with the expression, "the self-same day."[2] The second proof is the fact that the Bible contains the genealogies of Kohath, of Gershom, of Pharez, of Ephraim, and of Bela, the son of Benjamin, in each of which fourteen generations occur from Abraham to the time of Moses. This allows forty years for a generation, a period that is fully coincident with genealogical requirements. The Greek reckoning would reduce the length of life to that which obtained at a much later period of history.

From the Era of the Exodus, when the first year of the septennial reckoning coincided with the first year of the migration, down to the fourth year of the reign of Solomon, the only question that arises is as to the exact year on which the *tsath*, or migration, was held to have concluded. This the Book of Joshua appears to determine as the fifty-fifth year from leaving Egypt, which was the first Rest, or Sabbatic year, after the settlement of Canaan.[3] Only from this time could the observance of the special duties of the third and sixth years, in which the second tithe was given to the poor, and of the fourth and seventh years, in which a portion, or the whole, of the product of the soil was sacred or untilled, have been regularly maintained. The date of the war with the king of Ammon, 300 years after the conquest of Basan, supplies the key for the further division of this period, in which the only remaining difficulty is as to the substitution of eighty years for eight after the death of Eglon.[4] The longer period is inconsistent with the remark of Josephus as to the brief time that elapsed before the conquest by Jabin,[5] and the correction is verified by the insertion of the longer period, in the time of Jephthah.

From the reign of Solomon to that of Zedekiah, the reckoning of the regnal years is plain. The accordance of the Jewish dates with those of profane history is fixed by the eclipse of the sun in the eighth year of Ashur-dan, and by the coincidence of the third year of Sennacherib with the fourteenth year of Hezekiah.

A double reckoning of the dates of Nebuchadnezzar may be traced in the Bible, as well as in Josephus. The dates of the Book of Ezekiel are referred, first to the great Passover in the reign of Josiah, and then to the years of the *Galuth*, or exile. These are checked by the reference to the destruction of the city, in the twelfth year.[6] But on one occasion,[7] in a prediction referring to Nebuchadnezzar, the twenty-seventh year is given as the date. The twenty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Ptolemy, coincided with the tenth year of Ezekiel's reckoning, excepting that the Babylonian year begun, at that time, on the 8th of January, Gregorian time (2 Jan., Julian time), and the Jewish year began with the lunar month of the vernal equinox.

The date of the accession of Evil-merodach is known by the Regal Canon. It is mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah (and also in the Book of Kings) as occurring in the thirty-seventh year of the *Galuth*. This exactly corresponds with the dates of Ezekiel, and dates from the year following the battle of Megiddo, and the virtual extinction of the Jewish monarchy, five years before the death of Necho II., in the sixth year after the fall of Nineveh.

Perfect accord thus exists between the monumental canons of Nineveh and of Babylon, and the chronology of the sacred writers. It is necessary further to remark the existence of two separate methods of reckoning, which start from different dates, although, when these dates are duly noted, perfect harmony is the result.

The first of these comprises the dates given in terms of the years of Nebuchadnezzar. It is clear, from the several passages, that the reign of this monarch in Palestine is dated from the overthrow of Necho II. at the battle of Carchemish. That event took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, king of Judah,[8] which was called in Palestine the first year of Nebu-

[1] Exod. xii. 40. [2] Exod. xii. 41.
[3] Josh. xxi. 44; xxii. 6.

[4] Judg. iii. 30. [5] *Ant.* v. 4, § 3. See note by Whiston.
[6] Ezek. xxxiii. 21. [7] Ezek. xxix. 17. [8] Jer. xlvi. 2.

chadnezzar.[1] The capture of Jeconiah, that of Zedekiah, and that of 745 persons, are dated in the seventh, eighteenth, and twenty-third years from that date,[2] or in the eighth, nineteenth,[3] and twenty-fourth years of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine. This notation is consistent with that which ascribes the same events to the eighteenth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-fourth years from the capture of Nineveh, from which date the forty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the *Galuth*, is dated.

The second calculation referred to is that of the seventy years of desolation, which terminated in the second year of Darius,[4] which were predicted in the fourth year of Jehoiakim,[5] and which commenced in the eighth year of that king.[6] The fourth year of this affliction fell, accordingly, on the first year of Zedekiah, as referred to by the prophet Jeremiah.[7] These passages, which have hitherto been regarded as unintelligible or contradictory, thus prove to be in exact chronological harmony, at the same time that they indicate the four different eras—of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to the throne; of his victory over Necho; of the overthrow of the Hebrew monarchy; and of the commencement of the Chaldean oppression, after the revolt of Jehoiakim. The whole series of events is thus bound together according to astronomical time, and in consistency with the course of the septennate.

For such further chronological indications as space will allow us to give, the reader is referred to the tables which follow. These, although only extracts from a complete set of chronological and astronomical tables, will enable the reader of the Bible, for the first time, to ascertain with accuracy the date to which any event recorded in Scripture is referred by the sacred writers.

We must regard the tables thus presented as containing a system of through reckoning as well as denoting the dates of special events.

In the first place, it will be seen that the chronology exactly corresponds to the prophetic reckoning of the Book of Daniel, by placing the Crucifixion at 490 years, or seven weeks, from the Edict of the sixth year of Artaxerxes, which was issued at the close of the sixty-second week, *anno* 4349 of the sacred reckoning. To base a system upon such a coincidence, as Origen did, is not the part of a chronologist. But the import of such a coincidence can hardly be mistaken.

Next, it will be found that the through reckoning now determined has nearly all the advantages of the Julian Period, together with some peculiar to itself. It should be observed that the first year of the tables is the year 0, so that each decade, and each century, ends with the number 9. As matter of notation, this method of arrangement affords important advantages over tables that commence with 1 and terminate with 10. The sacred year commences with the vernal equinox; not at the solstice.

[1] Jer. xxv. 1; cf. xxxii. 1. [2] Jer. lii. 28, 29, 30.
[3] 2 Kings xxv. 8. [4] Zech. i. 1, 12; cf. Jer. xxv. 1.
[5] Jer. xxv. 1, 11. [6] 2 Kings xxiv. 12. [7] Jer. xxviii. 1.

The chief cycles referred to in history are of this mode of reckoning, as follows:—

Every number exactly divisible by 7 is the first year of a septennate.

Every number exactly divisible by 4 is a bissextile year, with the exception of three years in each four centuries (except *anno* 2408), as arranged in the Gregorian calendar. A single table of 400 years will thus give the day of the week on which March 25 falls, from the very commencement of the Mundane Era.

Every number exactly divisible by 19 is a year corresponding to our present Golden Number 18. In a period of twelve Metonic cycles, or 228 years, the course of the moon has gained a day on that of the sun. By reckoning back from *Anno Domini* 1804, allowing a day to be thus gained in every 228 years, the first of Nisan for any year may be ascertained, with an accuracy quite equal to that of its actual "consecration" by view of the moon. The years of various eras, the Olympiads, the Chinese Cycle of sixty years, and the Prophetic Periods of 360, 1260, and 2300 years, are all easily referable to the through tabulation.

Lastly, this investigation renders it probable that, as is supposed by the modern Jews, the septennial reckoning has been used by the sacred writers, not only from the Exodus, but from the commencement of the Mundane Era. The seven years of Jacob's servitude terminate in the year 2792. The year 2793 is divisible by 7, and would therefore have been the first year of a week, if that system were then in use. Again, the expression "after two years of days," which occurs in Gen. xli. 1, is that ordinarily used to denote the second year of the septennate. The year in question, *anno* 2829 of the sacred reckoning, is actually the second year of seven, defined as before. Some twenty other references to the septennial reckoning occur in the Sacred Books, and in the writings of Josephus, all of which accurately correspond with the decennial reckoning. The coinage of the Temple money appears to be referred, in many distinct types, to the same system of measurement of time.

We subjoin a table showing the chief links in the chain of sacred reckoning, corresponding to the seventy weeks of the Book of Daniel.

CHAIN OF SACRED RECKONING.

Reference.	A.S.	Events.
Gen. xi. 10 ...	2259	Birth of Arphaxad.
Gen. xxi. 5 ...	2649	Birth of Isaac.
Gen. xlvii. 9 .	2839	Descent into Egypt. Abib 15 fell on 6th day of week.
Exod. xii. 41 .	3269	Exodus. Abib 15 fell on Pharmouthi 28, and on Friday, April 9, of our present reckoning.
Josh. xxi. 43 .	3324	Rest. Sabbatic year after division of land.
1 Kings vi. 1...	3803	*An.* 4, Solomon. Commencement of Temple, 480 years from *an.* 25 Joshua.
Ant. x. 6, § 1 .	4219	Invasion. *An.* 8 Jehoiakim (Jer. xxix. 6, 10). Seventy years begin.
Zech. i. 12 ...	4289	*An.* 2 Darius (Ezra iv. 24). End of seventy years' affliction.
Ezra vii. 9 ...	4349	Ezra made Governor. *An.* 6 Artaxerxes.
Dan. ix. 26 ...	4839	Messiah cut off. *An.* 17 Tiberius.
	4909	Vision sealed. *An.* 3 Trajan.
	6699	Seventy great Weeks. A.D. 1890.

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

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CHAPTER XVI.

CRUELTIES OF HEROD.

HEROD'S return to his capital was the signal for fresh cruelties. The secret orders entrusted to the guardian of Mariamne had been a second time divulged; she persisted in refusing the monarch's affection, and reproached him bitterly with his cruelty towards her family. His sister Salome, and his mother Cypros, were not behindhand in fanning the flame of mutual irritation. At length, carried away by rage and jealousy, Herod executed[1] not only Mariamne's guardian Soemus, but his queen herself. Mariamne submitted to the axe of the executioner with calmness and intrepidity, B.C. 29, and showed herself in death worthy of the noble race of which she came.[2]

But the death of the beautiful princess of the Asmonean house was the occasion of a terrible reaction. The tyrant had no sooner completed the murder than he became the victim of the most fearful anguish and remorse.[3] The horrible reality of the deed, and a sense of his own loss, wrung his spirit to madness. Do what he would, go where he might, the image of the murdered queen followed him. His cries re-echoed through his palace. He sought, it was said, by resorting to magical incantations, to recall her spirit from the shades. No diversion he could try—banquets, revels, or the excitements of the chase—availed to restore tranquillity to his mind. It was long before he recovered fully from the mental derangement which now came on. But no sooner did he hear that Alexandra was scheming to secure the succession for the sons of the daughter he had put to death, than the "tiger in him awoke from its deadly sleep. Hastily collecting his strength, as though the inward ease he had hoped for had brought back all his energy, he executed not only his mother-in-law, but along with her other distinguished persons,[4] on whom the slightest suspicion rested."[5]

At last he was enabled to appear in public again. Ever since the day that Octavius had placed the diadem upon his brow, and bade him reign over his Jewish kingdom, he had sought by every possible compliance to win his favour and secure his regard.

An opportunity of again displaying this was now afforded him. The senate of Rome had conferred upon his patron the title of "Augustus."[6] Though never given to man, the title had ever been applied to things most noble, most venerable, most divine. "The rites of the gods were called *august*, the temples were *august*. The word itself was derived from the holy *auguries*, by which the divine will was revealed; it was connected with the favour and *authority* of Jove himself."[7] This adjunct was now applied to the Emperor, and temples began to arise in every part of the empire in honour of his divinity. Herod determined not to be behindhand in paying homage to his patron. By the tribute he paid to Rome year by year he acknowledged the tenure on which he held his power. He filled Jerusalem with edifices built in the Greek taste. He inaugurated public exhibitions, and spectacles of all kinds. A theatre rose within, an amphitheatre without, the walls of Jerusalem. Quinquennial games were celebrated on a scale of the utmost magnificence. Shows of gladiators and combats of wild beasts were exhibited within the City of David itself.

The stricter Jews regarded all these innovations with horror. A century and a half before, things infinitely less had sufficed to kindle the great Maccabean war. On the present occasion, ten men[8] formed a conspiracy to assassinate the king as he entered the theatre. The plot was discovered, and the ten patriots were put to death with the most cruel tortures.[9] Sympathising with their sufferings, the people seized the informer, and tearing him to pieces, flung his flesh to the dogs. The king was now resolved to retaliate in his turn, and seizing the ringleaders, he put them to death, together with their families.

But these domestic calamities did not in any degree affect the splendour, either external or internal, of his administration. While cultivating the friendship of Octavius and his great minister Agrippa, and always rendering the very services they might require, he gave his attention to many measures calculated to advance the strength of his own kingdom. He had already built two castles in the southern part of Jerusalem, erected a palace on the impregnable hill of Sion, restored and enlarged the Baris, and called it Antonia, in memory of his former patron. He now converted other places into strong fortresses. South-western Galilee needed a defence against Phœnicia, and his kingdom required a naval harbour and a maritime city. Thirty miles south of Mount Carmel a convenient point offered itself for the latter purpose, at a spot called Strato's Tower. This he converted into a magnificent city, called Cæsarea,[10] with a harbour equal in size to

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[1] "After a trial before a tribunal of judges who were too much in dread of his power not to pass sentence of death." (Milman, ii. 69; Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 329.)

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, § 5. [3] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, § 7; Milman, ii. 70.

[4] Amongst these were Costobarus, an Idumean, the husband of his sister Salome.

[5] Ewald, v. 629. [6] Livy, *Epist.* cxxxiv.; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 587.

[7] Merivale's *Romans*, iii. 416.

[8] Compare the banding together of more than forty men to take the life of St. Paul (Acts xxiii. 12, 13).

[9] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8, §§ 3, 4.

[10] Built on the Greek model, with a forum and an amphitheatre. Upwards of twelve years (B.C. 21—12) were spent in its erection. For its importance afterwards, compare Acts viii. 40; ix. 30; x. 1, 24; xi. 11; xii. 19; xviii. 22; xxi. 8, 16; xxiii. 23, 33; xxv. 1, 4, 6, 13. Tacitus called it "Judææ caput" (*Hist.* ii. 79). Its full name was Καισάρεια Σεβαστή (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 1). It became the official residence of the Herodian kings, as also of Festus, Felix, and other Roman procurators.

the Piræus at Athens. West of Mount Tabor he built Gabatha; east of the Jordan he fortified the ancient Heshbon; while Samaria, which had been destroyed by John Hyrcanus, rose once more from its ruins, not only considerably increased, but also adorned with a new and magnificent temple, and called *Sebaste* or *Augusta*, in honour of the Roman Emperor.[1]

While thus rebuilding the ruined cities of his kingdom, Herod repeatedly endeavoured, by acts of munificence and liberality, to conciliate the goodwill of his subjects. Thus, when in B.C. 24, the crops in Palestine failed for the second time, he not only opened his own private stores, but sent to Petronius, the Roman governor of Egypt, a personal friend, and obtained permission to export corn from that country, with which he not only supplied the wants of his own people, but was even able to send seed into Syria.[2] In this way, and by remitting more than once a great part of the heavy taxation, he earned for himself general gratitude, both from his heathen and Jewish subjects.[3]

CHAPTER XVII.

HEROD REBUILDS THE TEMPLE.

"THUS, terrible to his adversaries, and bounteous in time of necessity to his own people," the Idumean monarch, instead of being the head of a Hebrew religious republic, became more and more on a level with the other vassal kings of Rome.[4] It was a saying that Augustus assigned to him the next place in his favour after Agrippa, while Agrippa esteemed him higher than any of his friends, except Augustus.[5] Neither the Emperor nor his minister ever visited the East without finding Herod the first to pay them his homage. Thus he sailed to Mytilene[6] to see Agrippa, and entertained Augustus himself in Syria.

These attentions were not lost upon his great patrons. When Herod sent his two sons by Mariamne to Rome to receive their education, they were admitted into the palace and treated with the utmost attention. Moreover, his dominions were considerably enlarged. Besides the large additions he had already received, he now received the district east of the Sea of Galilee and called Trachonitis, with Batanæa and Auranitis.[7] A tetrarchy was also conferred on his brother Pherôras, and he himself was appointed procurator of Syria, with such plenary powers that his colleague could take no single step without his concurrence.[8] In memory of these concessions, the Idumean king erected at Panium,[9] near the southern base of Mount Hermon and the sources of the Jordan, a magnificent temple, and dedicated it to his benefactor.[10]

But the higher he rose in the esteem of his Roman patrons, the lower he sank in that of his Jewish subjects. They could not rid themselves of the suspicion that he had a fixed design of heathenising the national character. They saw him observing the feasts of Purim and the Passover, and yet at Sebaste and Cæsarea going up to the temples of Zeus and Artemis. "The people knew all his ways. They told each other in the gateway, that the prince whom many Jews called their Messiah, had raised a shrine to Apollo in the isle of Rhodes, and in the city of Antioch had revived the Olympic games; and they learned to curse him in their hearts, as a man who put strangers on a level with the holy race."[11]

At length he resolved to take a step which should ingratiate himself with all classes. He determined to rival Solomon, and rebuild the Temple. Since the restoration of the second Temple by Zorobabel, that structure had fallen in many places into ruin, and had suffered much during the recent wars. He announced his intention, about the year B.C. 20, on the occasion of the Feast of the Passover. But his proposition roused the greatest mistrust, and he found himself obliged to proceed with the utmost caution,[12] and to use every means to allay suspicion. Two years were spent in bringing together the materials, and vast preparations were made before a single stone of the old building was touched. At last, in the year B.C. 18, the foundations of the Temple of Zorobabel were removed, and on those laid centuries before by Solomon, the new pile arose, built of hard white stones of enormous size. Eighteen months were spent in building the Porch, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies.[13] Eight years more elapsed before the courts and cloisters and other extensive and splendid buildings round the sacred structure were completed.[14]

As the Temple of Zorobabel had been a copy of that of Solomon, so was the Temple of Herod a copy of that of Zorobabel, except that it was larger in size, of nobler material, and higher art, wrought by the hands of the masons of Athens and Antioch.

On the highest level of the rocky platform of Moriah rose the Naos, or Temple proper, erected solely by priestly hands,[15] divided, as in the days of Solomon, into a Holy Place and a Holy of Holies by a veil or curtain of the finest work. "No figures, no sculpture, as in Persian and Egyptian temples, adorned the front.

[1] "It was colonised by 6,000 veterans and others, for whose support a most beautiful and rich district surrounding the city was appropriated." (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 5; 9, § 4. See Smith's *Bib. Dic.*, Art. "Samaria.")

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, § 2; Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 330.

[3] Milman, ii. 73; Ewald, v. 432.

[4] Milman, ii. 75.

[5] Jos. *B. J.* i. 20, § 4.

[6] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 2.

[7] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 2; *B. J.* i. 20, § 4.

[8] Jos. *B. J.* i. 20, § 4.

[9] So called from a remarkable natural grotto dedicated to the god Pan. See Robinson's *Bib. Res.* iii. 404.

[10] The place was afterwards called Cæsarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27) by Herod Philip, who enlarged and embellished it.

[11] Hepworth Dixon's *Holy Land*, i. 20, 3.

[12] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 2.

[13] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 6.

[14] The whole structure was not finally completed till A.D. 65. The building had been going on for forty-six years when our Lord was present at Jerusalem at the Passover, A.D. 29 (John ii. 20). "The expression that it had been in building forty-six years, may mean forty-six years plus or minus by a few months; and if so, the statement would be correct, even if the period be dated, not from the actual commencement of the fabric, but from the preparations for it." (Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*, p. 95.)

[15] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5.

Golden vines and clusters of grapes, the typical plant and fruit of Israel, ran along the wall; and the greater and lesser lights of heaven were wrought into the texture of the veil. The whole façade was covered with plates of gold, which, when the sun shone upon them in the early day, sent back his rays with an added glory, so great that gazers standing on Olivet had to shade their eyes when turning towards the Temple mount."[1]

Twelve steps below from this platform was a second level, occupied by the Court of the Priests, with the great laver, and the altar of burnt-offering. Three flights of stairs led down to a third platform, on which was the Court of the Israelites, or, as it was sometimes called, the Sanctuary, with the houses of the priests, the *Lishcath-ha-Gezitu*, or Hall of the Sanhedrin, and the various offices.

Not being of the priestly order, the Idumean monarch could not enter any of these enclosures; neither the Temple, nor the Court of the Priests, nor the Court of the Israelites. A third flight of fourteen steps, therefore, led down to another court, the Court of the Gentiles, which was hardly regarded as a portion of the Temple, was open to men of all nations, and was held as a kind of exchange or market-place. Here the Jew from Northern or Eastern Palestine could exchange his drachma or stater for the sacred shekel; here those who could not offer a lamb or kid, could purchase a "pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons;" here the seller of sheep and oxen for the sacrifices had his stalls and pens.[2]

The erection of the Sanctuary had been left to the priests. On the Court of the Gentiles, the meeting-place of all nations and languages, Herod lavished all the riches of his taste. Cloisters sustained on double rows of Corinthian columns, exquisitely wrought, "ran round the wall on the inner side, the capitals being ornamented with the acanthus and water-leaf, as in the famous Tower of the Wind. West, north, and east, these columns were in three rows; on the south they were in four. The floor made a shaded walk, like the colonnade in Venice, and the roof an open walk like the gallery of Genoa. The pavement was inlaid with marble of many colours."[3] The most beautiful gateways led into this court, of great height, and ornamented with the utmost skill. One of these, on the eastern side, looking towards the Mount of Olives, was known as "Solomon's Porch;" close by it was another, the pride of the Temple area, as one writer says, "more like the gopura of an Indian temple than anything we are acquainted with in architecture." This, in all probability, was the one called the "Beautiful Gate" in the New Testament.[4]

The Sanctuary was completed in the year B.C. 16, the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, and was celebrated with a magnificent feast and the most lavish sacrifices. Immediately afterwards, Herod undertook a journey to Rome to fetch home his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus. He was received with every mark of attention by Augustus,[5] and returned to his capital about the spring of B.C. 15. Agrippa was now on a visit to Asia, to inspect these provinces of the empire for his master. Herod thereupon invited him to visit Judæa. Agrippa consented, and escorted by Herod, passed through his new cities of Sebaste and Cæsarea, visited his forts at Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hyrcania, and having been received in state by the people at Jerusalem, offered a sacrifice of a hundred oxen in the Temple,[6] and feasted the subjects of his entertainer at a splendid entertainment.

[1] Hepworth Dixon's *Holy Land*, ii. 45.
[2] See Farrar's *Life of Christ*, i. 186.
[3] Hepworth Dixon's *Holy Land*, ii. 48; Raphael's *History of the Jews*, ii. 335, 337.
[4] Acts iii. 2.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HEROD AND THE SONS OF MARIAMNE.

On the approach of winter Agrippa sailed to Ephesus, and thence, B.C. 14, set out to settle the affairs of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. Herod followed him to the Euxine, and overtook him near Sinope,[7] bringing powerful reinforcements to the aid of his patron. On the submission of the Bosphorus he returned through the states of Asia Minor, still accompanied by Herod, who prevailed upon him to confirm the Jews of Asia in their various privileges,[8] and especially in their exemption from service in the legions.[9]

Returning from Asia Minor, Herod landed at his new port of Cæsarea, and proceeding to Jerusalem, recounted the privileges he had secured for the nation, and remitted a fourth of the year's tribute.[10] It might have been hoped that the close of his reign would make some atonement for the atrocities of earlier years; but a scene of bloodshed was now to be enacted far more awful than any which had darkened his reign, as if to show that the "spirit of the injured Mariamne hovered over Herod's devoted house, and, involving the innocent as well as the guilty in the common ruin, designated the dwelling of her murderous husband as the perpetual scene of misery and bloodshed."[11]

On the return of the young princes, Alexander and Aristobulus, whom Herod had brought back from Rome, they were received by the populace with the utmost enthusiasm, in spite of their education in a foreign land. Their grace and beauty, their engaging manners, above all their descent from the ancient Asmonean line, made them objects of hope and joy on the part of the nation. But the keenest hatred of Pherôras and Salome was now aroused, and they began to whisper into Herod's ear that the young men were bent on avenging their

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 1, § 2; *B. J.* i. 23, § 1.
[6] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2, 1, 'Αγρίππας δὲ τῷ Θεῷ μὲν ἑκατόμβην κατέθυσεν, εἰστία δὲ τὸν δῆμον, οὐδενὸς τῶν μεγίστων πλήθει λιπόμενος. (See Merivale's *Romans*, iv. 225.)
[7] Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2, § 2.
[8] Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 338.
[9] "A privilege conceded to a few only of the most fortunate communities, and to no other entire nation except the Jews. So early did this people manifest their aversion to the use of arms, which has been disregarded even in our own times only by the most despotic of rulers." (Merivale, iv. 226.)
[10] Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2, § 4.
[11] Milman, ii. 78.

mother's death. The king had given them in marriage, Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Aristobulus to Mariamne, a daughter of Salome. Proud of the popularity his sons had acquired, Herod for some time refused to attach any credence to these vile insinuations. At length he adopted an expedient which led to the most disastrous results. By an earlier wife, named Doris, he had a son, Antipater. After his alliance with the Asmonean princess he had put Doris away. Now he recalled her and her son, and made the young man a sort of spy over his two step-brothers. Cunning, ambitious, and unscrupulous, Antipater threw himself heart and soul into all the plots of Pherôras and Salome, and continued to make the two princes objects of more and more suspicion to their father. Herod introduced Antipater to Agrippa, and sent him in his suite to Rome. Even there the Idumean, a match for his own father in craft and subtlety, managed to carry on his designs, and in every letter let fall something to the discredit of the sons of Mariamne, concealing his real intentions under a veil of anxiety for Herod's security.

In this way he at length succeeded in inflaming the jealousy of the king to such a pitch, that Herod resolved to arraign both his sons before the tribunal of the emperor. Accordingly he set out for Rome, and Augustus having heard the case, and perceiving that it only rested on hearsay and suspicion, advised a reconciliation, and succeeded in persuading the father to lay aside his apprehensions of any designs upon his life; and the three, together with Antipater, returned to Judæa by way of Cilicia.[1] On reaching Jerusalem Herod convened an assembly of the people, introduced to them his three sons, and formally announced his intention that they should succeed him in the order of their age.

But no sooner had the king thus placed Antipater over the heads of the two sons of Mariamne, than the quarrels in the royal household broke out afresh with redoubled violence.[2] Alexander and Aristobulus, unable to restrain their aversion to Antipater, indulged in the most intemperate language, which that artful designer did not fail to exaggerate and misrepresent to Herod. Filled with suspicion, Herod at last directed that some of the confidential slaves of the young princes should be examined by torture. From the effect of these agonies they made revelations implicating Alexander, and that unfortunate prince was straightway flung into chains.

In the solitude of his confinement the young man had recourse to a strange expedient. He sent four papers to his father, wherein he accused himself of all kinds of treasonable projects, but declared that Pherôras, Salome, and others of the court, were his accomplices. Not knowing what to believe, or whom to trust, Herod attacked all persons and all grades. Some he apprehended, others he executed, others he tortured to force them to confess.

The arrival at Jerusalem of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and father-in-law of Alexander, caused a temporary lull. This monarch succeeded in reinstating the young prince in his father's favour;[3] but the reconciliation was only on the surface. His brother Pherôras, Salome, and, worst of all, Antipater, again filled Herod's mind with apprehensions and suspicions, and he determined once more to seek the advice of Augustus. Accordingly he set out for Rome in B.C. 8, and preferred his complaints against his sons before the emperor. Augustus advised that he should hold a court of arbitration, and recommended Berytus, in Phœnicia, as the place of meeting. There one hundred and fifty princes therefore assembled together, with Saturninus and Volumnius, the prefects of Syria. Before this tribunal Herod laid his complaints, pleaded his cause, and publicly accused his sons. After hearing the charge Saturninus advised that mercy should be extended towards the young men; Volumnius and the majority urged their condemnation, and eventually they were strangled at Samaria, at the very same place where their father had celebrated his marriage with their mother.[4]

But the execution of these unfortunate princes did but little towards removing the elements of discord in Herod's household. Repeated dissensions had arisen between him and his brother Pherôras, who was at length ordered to retire to his own tetrarchy of Peræa. There he sickened and died, and his widow was accused of having poisoned him. The investigation that ensued revealed a new and still more formidable conspiracy, which Antipater and Pherôras had formed against Herod's life. Antipater was absent at Rome, but he was allowed to return to Cæsarea, and on reaching Jerusalem was instantly seized, and brought to trial before the Roman governor of Syria, Quintilius Varus. The charge was proved, and he was condemned to death, but his execution was respited till the will of the emperor could be ascertained.[5]

Herod was now upwards of seventy years of age, and already felt the approach of his last mortal malady. Removing for change of air to Jericho, he resolved to make the final alterations in his will. Passing over Archelaus and Philip, whom Antipater had accused of treachery, he nominated Antipas, a son by Malthace, a Samaritan, his successor in the kingdom; and left magnificent bequests to Cæsar, to Cæsar's wife Julia, to her sons, and to the members of his own family.

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 4, §§ 4—6.

[2] At this time, B.C. 10, Cæsarea was completed, and the occasion was celebrated with shows, games, exhibitions of gladiators, and magnificent entertainments (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 1).

[3] Jos. *B. J.* i. 25.

[4] Ewald, v. 444.

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 5; Ewald, v. 447; Milman, ii. 87.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

IMAGERY FROM NATURE.

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THE close and necessary relation of poetry to the beautiful and the sublime in the visible universe is too obvious to need either statement or proof. Great Nature is the poet's treasury, where he keeps an inexhaustible store of material symbols ready to clothe his emotion or express his thought.

But countries are not all alike furnished with the conditions favourable to poetic excellence. That the imaginative range of a nation's literature may be extensive, it is necessary that the land of its birth and growth be rich in various types of beauty. The climate, the soil, the prevailing forms of animal and vegetable life, the configuration of the land, all have an important influence on the imagination. Where these are tame and featureless, poetry of a high kind has never appeared. Even amid scenes of grandeur and sublimity, but where the landscape is too vast or uniform to allow of the sense of variety and contrast, poetry has not flourished. Its chosen homes have been in lands rich in various symbols for the infinite play of human feeling, and where the changing aspects of earth and sky are in sympathy with the blended light and shade of human life. Such pre-eminently was the land of David and Isaiah. But it has changed. It is no longer "a good land," "a land flowing with milk and honey;" though the astonishing and rapid results, achieved wherever Western industry obtains a footing on the soil, proclaim it still to be a "Land of Promise." In every endeavour, therefore, to connect the outward appearance of the Holy Land with the poetry it nurtured, when the one race found worthy to possess it held it in careful and industrious sway, we must bear in mind the melancholy change which has arrived to fulfil some of the saddest but wisest anticipations of that prophetic song. To appreciate that song, to understand the bearing and tone of Biblical imagery, we must try to transport ourselves from the present depressed and desolate country, to what it was three thousand years ago, when its fields were "thick with corn," and in every valley there was plenty and on every mountain peace.

Let us, then, in imagination, take our stand upon one of the many commanding eminences of Palestine from which the wide prospect, so famous in the sacred history, may be obtained, and try to look upon it with the feeling, and in the spirit of the old Eastern poetry; not, however, unaccompanied by the different associations created by our poets of the West.

But while we are waiting for the sun to flare up from behind the mountain-wall of Moab, and show us the world at our feet, we must notice one characteristic difference between Eastern and Western poetry. We are familiar with lyrics as lovingly and minutely descriptive of natural scenes as our national landscape painting. With one or two exceptions, Hebrew poetry is wanting in these finished pictures. And yet, as has already been said, Palestine abounded in aspects of Nature that might well tempt description, and had many points of scenic effect. Why is it that no poet of Israel has painted the Jordan as Byron has painted the Rhine, or filled us with the local influences of the Judæan hills, as Shakespeare with the scent of the sweet Warwickshire meadows, or Tennyson with the hazy stillness of a high Lincolnshire wold? Many answers might be suggested. The Hebrew mind was wanting in that analytical tendency conspicuous in modern intellectual work, and carried into the observation of natural beauty no less than into the poetry of passion and sentiment. But the principal reason must be sought in the contrast between the Hebrew attitude towards the material universe and the Hellenic spirit which has cultivated the love of beauty for its own sake. The sacred imagery shows a feeling for the beautiful as quick and intense as that of any modern poesy, but its display is brief and momentary. Nature's God, not Nature, is the object of the strength and passion of the poet's worship and love. He apprehends and paints beauty as full of God and revealing God to him in every motion, and it is only through God that it becomes living and intelligible. Hence, as has been truly said,[1] the lyric poetry of Israel, while yielding to none in the brilliancy of its pictures and fire of its language, rises to the height of inspiration, and takes its place in the holy writings from the fulness and reality of its belief in the Divine presence. The one great exception is the "Song of Solomon," which contains many complete and exquisite paintings of life and nature in the garden glades of Lebanon. But this poem stands alone as an instance of what Hebrew poetic genius could do when released from the strict religious purpose which usually controlled it.

But the moment of dawn is at hand. The stars are still burning with their full and brilliant fires; for there is no gradual anticipation of the morning, and they will not "faint and die" slowly, as in our northern skies, but will "withdraw their shining" hastily at the victorious appearance of the lord of day. This want of twilight, the absence of silent preparation for the supreme moment, distinguishes Eastern songs of sunrise from the poetry of the West. There are no musterings "of mute companies of changeful clouds," no *avant-coureurs* of the light, "no grey lines fretting the clouds as messengers of day," no gold and purple curtains hung above the "gateways of the morn" to make a splendid mystery of the monarch's approach and hide him from the eager gaze of men.

Greece personified the dawn as Aurora taking reluc-

[1] See *Psalms Chronologically Arranged*, p. 20.

tant leave each morning of her husband Tithonus, and drawing back the veil from heaven till Phœbus "strides all harnessed for the fiery march." The Eastern imagination also introduced the figure of the curtains or tent and of a hidden spouse awaiting the declining sun, "where he hath a tabernacle to take his rest." But the Oriental image is of the young bridegroom with the joy of the wedding day still on his countenance,[1] the hero leaping forth to his day of conquest and glory.

"And he steppeth like a bridegroom from his chamber,
And boundeth like a giant to run his course."

How different is the suggested feeling of this, from the wistful tenderness of Milton's dawn coming forth,

"With pilgrim steps in amice grey,"

or Shakespeare's "Morn in russet mantle clad," that

"Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill,"

or the same poet's image of morning stealing upon the night and melting the darkness, as in the moral world reason overcomes superstition and error. This suddenness of Eastern sunrise made it a powerful symbol to the Jew.[2] As he watched the mighty luminary flame over the massive limestone range which bounded his prospect on the east, he connected with the advent of day none of that mystery mingled of light and dark, glory and gloom, which is made by our humid atmosphere. It was for him a sharp and sudden division of day from night, distinct and decisive as the separation between joy and sorrow, truth and falsehood, righteousness and sin. And thus the physical light and darkness between which there was no fellowship, became powerful emblems of that side of eternal truth which pronounces the absolute antagonism of good and evil principles. Twilight, that

"Morning's war,
When dying clouds contend with growing light,"

that border-land 'twixt night and day, has lent equally impressive metaphors to the modern intellectual temper which recognises in the complicated world of human action a "twilight of the virtues," "a dusky, debateable land wherein zeal becomes severity, and justice becomes cruelty, and faith superstition, and each and all vanish into gloom." In the same way the hopefulness of the Hebrew, which always anticipated a near and sudden dawn of prosperity, delighted in the figures furnished by his own sunrise.

"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning,
And thine health shall spring forth speedily." (Isa. lviii. 8.)

As we look down on the Land of Promise suddenly revealed to our sight, the first feature in it which strikes us is its narrowness. We are standing on a peak of a mountain ridge fringed with a verdant strip of plain or valley at its extreme edges, and shut in by the shining sea on one side and the mysterious mountain masses of the trans-Jordanic district on the other. We can literally see the whole breadth of the country. Whatever may be the poverty or insignificance of the landscape, it is at once relieved by a glimpse of either of the two boundaries.

"'Two voices are there—one is of the sea,
One of the mountains.

And the close proximity of each—the deep purple shade of the one, and the glittering waters of the other—makes it always possible for one of their two voices to be heard now, as they were by the Psalmist of old: "The strength of the mountains is His also; the sea is His, and He made it."[3]

Of these two most striking features of natural scenery, which have so deeply influenced the imagination of man in all ages, mountains play by far the largest part in the poetic literature of Israel. It could not be otherwise with a people inhabiting a land which is "not only mountainous, but a heap of mountains." It is a direct result from these conditions that the Holy Land is almost universally in sacred literature called "Jehovah's mountain"[4]—that throughout the poetry of the Bible the hills in their lifted majesty are a continual type of God's righteousness, and in their planted firmness of His eternal might—that in times of calamity the people saw in their faithful ramparts assurance of shelter and help, and in times of gladness heard, as the breezes swept over the distant summits, the eager footsteps of the hastening heralds of peace. And if in modern days awakened interest in mountain scenery has multiplied a thousandfold its means of delighting and sanctifying the heart of man, it was from the inspired poets of Israel that the first impulse came. Coleridge's magnificent *Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*, and Wordsworth's rapt visions among his loved Westmoreland hills owe their strength and purifying power to the influence of these Syrian heights of which the Psalmist sang—

"The mountains also shall bring blessing to the people,
And the little hills through righteousness."
(Ps. lxxii. 3.)

One wide and deep influence of mountains on human imagination found in Hebrew poetry an expression exceeding in grandeur and true sublimity anything which other literatures contain. In their solid strength, untouched by visible decay, in their enthroned majesty, defiant of the turbulence and confusion of the world at their feet, mountains have been in all times invoked as the calm and untempted arbiters of right and wrong. The victims of oppression and cruelty have called to them as to some righteous judge, or impartial friend, to hear their cause and do them right.[5] But Hebrew

[1] See Perowne, Ps. xix.

[2] The suddenness of the Oriental sunrise made it an apt image of a maiden who draws aside her veil and beams out in all her beauty upon her lover (Cant. vi. 10). Cf. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*—

"But soft! What light through yonder window breaks?
It is the light, and Juliet is the sun."

The figure was especially striking in a language which spoke of "The eyelids of the morn" (Job iii. 9; xli. 18).

[3] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 114.

[4] Isa. xiv. 25; xi. 9.

[5] Cf. Shelley's *Mont Blanc*—

"Thou hast a voice, great mountain, to repeal
Large codes of fraud and woe; not understood
By all, but which the wise and great and good
Interpret or make felt or deeply feel."

poetry possessed, in the religious veneration in which the sacred heights were held, an element capable of elevating this image to a height of lofty beauty to which no other poetry has been able to attain. Before the spectacle of the prophet Ezekiel (xxxvi. 1, 4, 6) calling to the mountains of Israel to hear the word of the Lord, and be witnesses of his indignation against the heathen, or the "vision of judgment" which Micah saw when the mountains sat as God's assessors (ii. 1, 2), all other poetical invocations of the kind sink into insignificance.

The boundary of Israel's western prospect, the blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea, exercised an influence over the national poetry singularly in contrast with the feelings created in Western minds by the sight and proximity of the ocean. It was of course, as it must always be, in its infinite space and depth, the emblem of eternal strength and wisdom. Nor were the few who made acquaintance with it insensible to the charm which sea-girt people have always experienced from the "music in its roar." Its voice was heard mingling in the great anthem which went up in ceaseless praise to God from wind, and river, and sounding wood.[1] The impressions, too, of a storm at sea have been recorded in a description which for life-like and graphic touch is not surpassed by any sea-piece in ancient or modern literature.[2] But the most lasting feeling awakened in Hebrew minds by the watery limit to their narrow home was one of truly Oriental horror and dread. Its presence was not like that of the mountains, a source of security. Over the treacherous waters ships might bring unexpected foes. All great Hebrew cities were inland. "To have planted the centres of national and religious life on the sea-shore was a thought which never seems to have entered even into the imperial mind of Solomon." Isaiah, in describing the capital as a home of prosperity and security, speaks of it as a place

> "Where shall go no galley with oars,
> Neither shall gallant ship pass by." (Isa. xxxiii. 21.)

The new heavens and new earth of the victorious vision which concludes the Apocalypse are made complete in those elements of happiness and safety which satisfied the Hebrew conception, by the total annihilation of the sea.[3]

The second point that will strike us in our observation is the vast and wonderful variety of the scenery included within the narrow limits of this land. Even in the general aspect assumed by our distant view, this variety is obvious. We can see far to the north the snows which gleam on the lofty head of Hebron. That long soft streak across the southern horizon—the only stain upon the utter clearness of this Eastern sky—is the haze above the Dead Sea, whose exhalations go up "like a smoke for ever and ever."[4] Within this narrow range are exhibited more contrasts of surface, of aspect, of produce, of temperature, than in any other of ten times its area. No matter from what point of the globe a traveller come, he will find something in the natural scenery, in the aspect of the land and the life upon it to remind him of his own. Thus the native poetry of the land found its materials in profusion close at hand; and it has often been remarked, that a literature destined for an endless existence, and for the delight and support of the human mind and the human soul in all regions of the world, could have had its birth only in a district so prepared as to embrace within its range the natural features of every country. Wherever the Bible travels it finds itself at home. Whatever is unintelligible in it, its poetical allusions to nature find a response in the feelings and imagination of every race.[5] And these allusions and images are not only countless in number, but attest their fidelity to sacred truth by the sense of fresh and vivid life with which they animate every page of the sacred volume.

[1] Ps. lxix. 34.

[2] Ps. cvii. 23—32. Addison remarks that he prefers this description of a ship in a storm before any others he had ever met with, and for the same reason for which "Longinus recommends one in Homer, because the poet has not amused himself with little fancies, but has gathered together there circumstances which are the most apt to vivify the imagination, and which really happened in the raging of a tempest." (*Spectator*, No. 489, quoted by Perowne, ii. 240.)

[3] Rev. xxi. 1. The connection of the ocean with the fleets and troops of Rome may have had some influence on the poet's mind. Perhaps too the sea was an emblem of separation, as well as terror. There was no sea in Eden. (See Renan's note, *L'Antechrist*, p. 449.)

[4] Isa. xxxiv. 10; Rev. xiv. 11. "A deep haze veils its southern extremity, and almost gives it the dim horizon of a real sea."

[5] See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 126, 127. "The venerable poet of our own mountain regions used to dwell with genuine emotion on the pleasure he felt in the reflection that the psalmists and prophets dwelt in a mountainous country, and enjoyed its beauty as much as himself."

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

III.—THE JORDAN VALLEY (*continued*).

ON the north side of Wady Kelt, about one and a quarter miles east of Er Riha, are a small reservoir called Birket Jiljuliyeh, a few ruins, and a mound or rather group of small mounds called Tell Jiljul or Tellayat Jiljuliyeh, which have been identified with Gilgal by Herr Zchokke, the chaplain of the Austrian consulate at Jerusalem, who visited them in 1865, and by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., who carefully examined them last winter. The similarity of the name, identical with that given by the Arabs to the Gilgal on the maritime plain, and the position of the ruins, agreeing fairly with that assigned to the place by Josephus, leave little room

for doubt that we have here the site of the great camp of the Israelites at Gilgal, where the twelve stones taken from the bed of Jordan were set up, where the first passover after entering the Promised Land was kept, and where for a long period the chief sanctuary of the Jewish nation was established.

Perhaps the most interesting question connected with this portion of the Jordan valley is that of the site of the "Cities of the Plain," whose terrible fate has made them through long ages "an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly" (2 Pet. ii. 6). There is a very general belief that the cities were submerged, and that they now lie beneath the waters of the Dead Sea, but there is absolutely no ground for this supposition. Recent research has shown that in historic times there has been no great change in the Jordan valley, and that the waters of the Dead Sea formerly covered a much larger area than they do at present; and though the exact nature of the catastrophe which overwhelmed the cities will perhaps never be known, we are expressly told in the Bible that their destruction was effected not by water, but by fire and brimstone rained on them from heaven (Gen. xix. 24; Deut. xxix. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 6; Jude 7). Josephus, Jerome, and the mediæval historians and pilgrims believed that the cities were situated at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and this theory has been adopted by most modern travellers, even Dr. Robinson giving it the sanction of his high authority. There are some grounds for this belief, such as the supposed similarity of the modern names of certain ruins, the existence of the salt mountain at Jebel Usdum, the position assigned to Zoar by Jerome as the "key of Moab," &c.; but these should not lead us to disregard the distinct statements of the Bible narrative, which most certainly indicate a position north of the Lake. In Gen. xiii. 1—12, there is an interesting account of the parting of Abraham and Lot at the camp of the former between Bethel and Hai, now represented by Beitin and a mass of ruins called Et Tell, and in close proximity to these two places there is a hill from which a commanding view of the plain north of the Dead Sea is obtained, and on which are the foundations of a very old church, possibly marking the site of Abraham's altar. The position of Abraham's camp must, at any rate, have been in the immediate neighbourhood; and as it is hardly possible for any one to read the account in Gen. xiii. 10 without feeling that Abraham and Lot were actually looking down on Sodom and Gomorrah when "Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah," it follows that those cities must have been situated on some part of the plain north of the Dead Sea, and visible from the heights east of Bethel. In support of this view we may draw attention to the mention, in verse 10, of "the plain of Jordan," which could not have extended below the point at which the river entered the Dead Sea, and the direct testimony, in verse 11, that Lot journeyed east, a course which would have led him far away from the southern end of the Dead Sea. It has been urged that Abraham would not have been able to see the destruction of the cities from any point near his camp at Mamre, if they had been north of the Dead Sea; but Gen. xix. 28 does not tell us that Sodom and Gomorrah were in sight, only that Abraham looked toward them and "toward all the land of the plain," and saw the "smoke of the country" going up "as the smoke of a furnace," which is a very different matter. Though the plain of Jordan is not visible from the hills east of Hebron, it is quite as near to them as the southern end of the sea, and any smoke rising from the valley would be clearly visible. All traces of the "Cities of the Plain" have long since disappeared, possibly under the *débris* of the western hills, which has been washed down by the winter torrents gradually raising the level of the lower plain, and forming what has been aptly called "a flat expanse of consolidated mud."

The left or western bank of Jordan.—About five miles south of the Sea of Galilee the Yarmuk or Hieromax discharges its waters into the Jordan, draining by its numerous arms the great plain of the Hauran, and issuing from the mountains through a deep gorge where the bright green vegetation along the stream is in striking but not unpleasing contrast to the brilliant white cliffs of chalk and the sombre basalt which caps them. A short distance up the gorge and on the north bank of the river, are the warm springs of Gadara, the most important bubbling up at a temperature of 110° in a large basin partly natural, partly artificial; the taste and smell of the water are equally disagreeable, and a strong sulphurous odour pervades the place. Round the springs are ruins of baths, houses, &c., which may once have been a favourite winter resort of the inhabitants of Gadara when the driving wind and rain made the plateau an uncomfortable place of residence. The springs were held in high esteem by the Romans, and they are not less valued by the Bedawin who flock to them from all parts of the country. The ruins of Gadara itself, now Umm Keis, are on the plateau to the south of the Jarmuk and immediately above the springs; they are very extensive, and partly in good preservation. The most interesting remains are those of the two theatres, one so perfect that if it were not for a little rubbish on the floor, and a few dislodged stones, we might easily believe it to have been in use the night before; the main street, with its basalt paving, still bearing the marks of chariot-wheels, and its grand colonnade lying prostrate on the ground; the quaintly ornamented sarcophagi of black basalt ranged along either side of the road leading from the eastern gate; and the rock-hewn tombs with their entrances closed by heavy stone doors, which still swing on their original socket-hinges. Gadara is not mentioned in the Bible, but it was evidently the chief town of the "country of the Gadarenes" (Mark v. 1; Luke viii. 26). Of the extent of this country or district, one of the five into which Gabinius divided Palestine, we know nothing, but it probably included a large portion of the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Proceeding southwards

TERRACES IN JORDAN VALLEY.
(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

down the Jordan valley we come to Tubukat Fahil or "Terrace of Fahil," standing out in front of the hills, and several hundred feet above the plain below; here, on a mound affording a level area of four or five acres, are considerable ruins, which in all probability mark the site of the ancient city of Pella, to which, as Eusebius informs us, the Christians withdrew, in consequence of a Divine admonition, before the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. A fine fountain bursts forth at the foot of the mound, and much of the ground is cultivated by the Bedawin. About three miles south of Fahil, the Wady Yabis, still bearing the name of the ancient Jabesh-gilead, that stood on its banks, descends to the plain, and below this is the ravine of Wady Ajlun, containing many fine fountains, which Dr. Robinson considers to be Bithron, through which Abner ascended to reach Mahanaim (2 Sam. ii. 29). Still further south, and almost midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, the Nahr Zerka, called in the Bible the "brook" Jabbok, and once the river of Gad (2 Sam. xxiv. 5), breaks through the mountains by a deep wild chasm, and flows off to join the Jordan near the ford of Damieh. The Zerka separates Jebel Ajlun (Mount Gilead) from the Belka, and drains a large portion of the eastern plateau; it receives several tributaries, of which the principal one runs down from the springs at Amman (Rabbath Ammon), and the stream is perennial, swelling so much in winter that it becomes impassable in the lower portion of its course.

The earliest mention of the river is when Jacob "passed over the ford Jabbok" (Gen. xxxii. 22), and after wrestling all night with the angel, received the name of Israel; the Jabbok is also mentioned as the border of the children of Ammon, and afterwards as the boundary between the kingdoms of Og and Bashan, as also between the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh. Lower down the Jordan valley the Wady Shueib falls in, and below this is the mound of Nimrin, the Nimrah or Beth-nimrah of the Bible. Still further to the south the Wady Hesban brings down the drainage of the country round Heshbon, and immediately beyond rises Jebel Nebbeh, the ancient Mount Nebo, whence Moses before his death gazed on the Promised Land which he was forbidden to enter. On the slopes of Jebel Nebbeh Dr. Tristram believes that he has found the site of Zoar in some ruins called Ziara, but these remains, situated 3,000 feet above the valley, can scarcely represent the Zoar to which Lot escaped, as that town was one of the Cities of the Plain, not far from Sodom, and originally intended to share its fate, being only spared on Lot's intercession. On the plain at the foot of Jebel Nebbeh the Israelites camped before passing over Jordan, their tents stretching over the Seisaban and in front of Jericho from Abel-shittim to Beth-jeshimoth; and it was from the heights above that Balaam looked down on the vast encampment, and blessed those whom he had been asked to curse; and there, too, before the "true prophetic light flashed o'er him," he may have

> "Watched till morning's ray
> On lake and meadow lay,
> And willow-shaded streams, that silent sleep
> Around the banner'd lines,
> Where by their several signs
> The desert-wearied tribes in sight of Canaan sleep."

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

LARGER MEASURES OF TIME (*continued*).

THE SEPTENNATE AND THE JUBILEE.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

IN order to furnish the student of the Scriptures with the most convenient method of determining the date of any event recorded by the sacred writers, a table has been prepared, on the data mentioned in the preceding article on the subject. It has been the aim of the author to insert in this table every important event mentioned in the Bible, the Talmud, and the *Wars* and *Antiquities* of Josephus, of which the date is indicated with exactitude. A few leading dates in Egyptian history, which illustrate that of the Old Testament, are added, on the authority of Brugsch. The regnal years of the kings of Babylon have been inserted from the Regal Canon, which also has been relied on for the Persian and Roman dates. The Assyrian dates are those which are contained in the terra-cotta records of the British Museum, and which have been determined, by Sir H. Rawlinson, by an eclipse of the sun, B.C. 763. The Regal Canon has been verified by comparison with the dates of eclipses given in the *Almagest*.

The first column of the table contains the year of the sacred reckoning from the beginning of the Book of Genesis. The second refers to the system of septennates, or weeks of years, and of jubiles, or weeks of such weeks, which was instituted by the Law. The third contains the name of the king or political head of the Jewish nation. During the existence of the kingdom of Israel, in order to economise space, the names of the kings of Judah are printed in small capitals, and those of the kings of Israel in italics. It will be observed that from the time of Nehemiah, who was the Tirshatha, or Pasha, appointed by the Great King, as the king of Persia was styled, no prince of Judah or of Israel is named in history until the time of the Maccabees. It will also be noticed that the list of high priests terminates with Aristobulus, the last hereditary Pontiff.

OUTLINE OF THIRTY-FOUR SEVENS OF SEPTENNATES, CALLED JUBILEES, FROM THE EXODUS, 1541 B.C., TO THE FALL OF BETHER.

Year of Sac. Rec.	Jubilee.	Week.	Year.	Prince.	High Priest.	B.C.	Events.
3264							Accession of Amenhotep III., eighth King of Eighteenth Dynasty, at Thebes.
3269	0	0	1	Moses	Aaron	1541	Exodus; on 15th day of month Xanthicus = 28th Pharmouthi.
3309	0	5	6	Joshua		1501	Crosses Jordan, 10th Nisan, after 400 years' affliction (*Ant.* ii. 9, § 1), from death of Joseph.
3317	0	6	7		Eleazar I.	1493	First Sabbatic year in Palestine (Josh. xiv. 15).
3324	1	0	7			1486	Second Sabbatic year, "Rest" (Josh. xxi. 44).
3333	1	1	2	*d.* Joshua	Phinehas I.	1477	*Ant.* v. 1, § 29.
3409	2	6	1	*d.* Othniel	Abishua	1401	Second Servitude. Eglon (Judg. iii. 14).
3427	3	1	4	*d.* Eglon		1383	Rest for eight years (*Ant.* v. 4, § 3; Note by Whiston).
3435	3	4	6	*d.* Ehud	Bukki	1375	Third Servitude. Jabin (Judg. iv. 3).
3455	3	5	5			1365	Death of Sisera.
3495	4	4	3		Uzzi	1315	Fourth Servitude (Judg. vi. 1).
3502	4	5	3	Gideon		1308	Rest for forty years (Judg. viii. 28).
3542	5	2	1	*d.* Gideon	Zerahiah	1268	Judg. viii. 32.
3545	5	4	3	*d.* Abimelech		1265	Judg. ix. 22.
3568	6	0	5	*d.* Tola	Jotham	1242	Judg. x. 2.
3590	6	3	7	*d.* Jair		1220	Fifth Servitude, 18 an. (Judg. x. 8).
3608	6	6	4	Jephthah	Meraioth	1202	300 years from conquest of Bashan, in 3308 (Judg. xi. 26).
3614	7	0	2	*d.* Jephthah		1196	Judg. xii. 7.
3621	7	1	2	*d.* Ibzan		1189	Judg. xii. 9.
3631	7	2	6	*d.* Elon		1179	Judg. xii. 11.
3639	7	3	7	*d.* Abdon		1171	Sixth Servitude, 40 an. (Judg. xiii. 1).
3659	7	6	6	Samson		1151	Judge "in the days of the Philistines," 20 an. (Judg. xv. 20).
3679	8	2	5	*d.* Samson	Eli	1131	
3700	8	5	2			1110	Twenty-first Dynasty in Egypt—Tanite.
3719	9	1	2	*d.* Eli	*d.* Phinehas II.	1091	1 Sam. iv. 18. Ark taken.
3739	9	4	2	Samuel	Ahitub I.	1071	1 Sam. vii. 2. Ark in Kirjath-jearim.
3745	9	5	1	Ac. Saul	Ahiah	1065	1 Sam. xiii. 1. *Filius unius anni erat Saul.*
3756	9	6	5	*d.* Samuel		1054	1 Sam. xxv. 1.
3759	10	0	1	*d.* Saul	Abiathar	1051	A. Sab. 450 years in Palestine (Acts xiii. 20).
3766	10	1	1	David		1044	Takes Salem (2 Sam. ii. 11).
3775	10	2	3	*b.* Solomon		1035	2 Sam. xii. 25.
3799	10	5	6	*d.* David		1011	
3803	10	6	3		Zadok I.	1007	*Anno* 4 Solomon, Temple founded, 480th year from *an.* 3324 (1 Kings vi. 1).
3830	11	2	2			980	Ac. Sasank. Twentieth Dynasty in Egypt—Bubastite.
3839	11	3	4	*d.* Solomon		971	1 Kings xi. 43.
3840	11	3	4	Ac. *Jeroboam*		970	1 Kings xii. 20.
3844	11	4	2		Ahimaaz	966	Sesonkhosis or Shishak takes Jerusalem (1 Kings xiv. 25).
3856	11	6	7	*d.* Rehoboam	Azariah I.	954	*Anno Sabbatico* (1 Kings xv. 1).
3859	12	0	3	*d.* Abijah	Johanan I.	951	1 Kings xv. 2.
3860	12	0	4	*d.* *Jeroboam*		950	1 Kings xiv. 20.
3861	12	0	5	*d.* *Nadab*		949	1 Kings xv. 25.
3885	12	4	1	*d.* *Baasha*		925	1 Kings xv. 33.
3886	12	4	2	*d.* *Elah*	Azariah II.	924	1 Kings xvi. 8, 15.
				d. *Zimri*			
3887	12	5	6	*d.* *Omri*		923	1 Kings xvi. 28.
3900	12	6	2	*d.* Asa		910	
3901	12	6	3			909	Assyrian Canon commences. Bil. Anir II.
3918	13	1	6	*d.* *Ahab*	Amariah	892	1 Kings xvi. 29.
3919	13	1	7	*d.* *Ahaziah*		891	A.S. (1 Kings xxii. 51).
3921	13	2	2	*Jehoram*		889	Ac. Tiglath Bar.
3924	13	2	5			886	Ac. Ashur Iziv-pal.
3925	13	2	6	*d.* Jehoshaphat		885	1 Kings xxi. 42.
3933	13	3	7	*d.* Jehoram	Ahitub II.	877	2 Kings iii. 1; viii. 17.
				d. *Jehoram*			
3934	13	4	1	*d.* Ahaziah		876	2 Kings ix. 27.
				Jehu			
3940	13	4	7	*d.* Athaliah		870	An. Sab. Day of Atonement fell on Sabbath (2 Kings xi. 4).
3952	13	6	4		Jehoiada I.	858	Ac. Shalmaneser II. (Black Obelisk.)
3959	14	0	5			851	Defeat of forces of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, at Aroer. Sasank III. King of Egypt.
3963	14	1	2	*d.* *Jehu*		847	2 Kings x. 36.
3967	14	1	6	*Jehoahaz*		843	d. Benhadad.
3969	14	2	1			841	War with Hazael, King of Syria.
3978	14	3	3	*d.* *Jehoahaz*	Zechariah I.	832	2 Kings xiii. 1.
3980	14	3	5	*d.* Joash		830	2 Kings xii. 1.
3982	14	3	7		Zadok II.	828	Cycle II. of Assyrian Eponymes.
3987	14	4	5			823	Ac. Shamsi Bil.
3994	14	5	5	*d.* *Jehoash*		816	2 Kings xiii. 13.
4000	14	6	4	*Jeroboam*		810	Ac. Bil Anir III. Ac. Twenty-third Dynasty in Egypt—Tanite.
4009	15	0	6	*d.* Amaziah	Zechariah II.	801	2 Kings xiv. 2.
4015	15	1	5			795	Assyrians in Syria and N. Palestine.
4029	15	3	1			781	Ac. Shalmaneser III.
4033	15	4	2			777	Era of Olympiads. Full moon in Cancer. 4034 on Ol. a. *a.*
					[num		
4035	15	4	4	Interreg-		775	2 Kings xiv. 23.
4038	15	5	7			772	Assyrians in Hamath and Arpad.
4039	15	6	1			771	Ac. Ashur Dan.
4045	15	6	7			765	Assyrians in Hadrach.
4046	15	7	1	Ac. *Zachariah*		764	2 Kings xv. 8.
4047	15	7	2	Ac. *Shallum*		763	Eclipse of sun, June 15, Assyrian records.
				Ac. *Menahem*			
4055	16	0	3		Azariah III.	755	Assyrians in Hamath and Arpad.
4056	16	0	4			754	A.U.C. Era of Rome. City founded, 11th Kal. Maii, 4057.
4057	16	0	5			753	Ac. Ashur Anir.
4058	16	0	6	Ac. *Pekahiah*		752	2 Kings xv. 23.
4061	16	1	2	*d.* Uzziah		749	2 Kings xv. 27.
				Ac. *Pekah*			
4062	16	1	3			748	Era of Nabonassar, Thoth fell on 17th Feb. *anno exeunte.*
4065	16	1	6			745	Ac. Tiglath Pileser II. in Nineveh.

Year of Sac. Rec.	Jubilee.	Week.	Year.	Prince.	High Priest.	B.C.	Events.
4068	16	2	1			742	Campaign in Syria (2 Kings xv. 29).
4076	16	3	3			734	Ac. Nadius, Babylon.
4077	16	3	4	*d.* JOTHAM		733	2 Kings xvi. 1.
4078	16	3	5		Urijah	732	Ac. Chozirus and Porus in Babylon. Campaign in Philistia.
4083	16	4	3			727	Ac. Shalmanezer IV., Nineveh. Ac. Ilulæus, Babylon.
4088	16	5	1			722	Ac. Mardocempadus, Babylon. Ac. Sargon, Nineveh.
4089	16	5	2	Ac. *Hoshea*		721	2 Kings xvii. 1. Two eclipses of moon mentioned in *Almagest*.
4093	16	5	6	*d.* AHAZ		717	2 Kings xvi. 2.
4095	16	6	1		Azariah IV.	715	Ac. Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt (2 Kings xvii. 4, סוֹ, "So, King of Egypt").
4099	16	6	5			711	FALL OF SAMARIA, 300 years' dynasty (2 Kings xviii. 10).
4100	16	6	6			710	Ac. Arkian, Babylon.
4103	17	0	2			707	Ac. Sethos, Egypt.
4105	17	0	4			705	Interregnum, Babylon; Ac. Sennacherib, Nineveh.
4107	17	0	6	14 HEZEKIAH		703	3 Sennacherib. Crop not sown for fear of invasion (2 Kings xix. 29).
4108	17	0	7			702	A.S. Ac. Belibus or Baladan, at Babylon. Date of Bellini Cylinder.
4117	17	2	2			692	Ac. Tarkos or Tirhakah in Egypt, *d.* 4145.
4122	17	3	1	*d.* HEZEKIAH		688	2 Kings xviii. 2.
4129	17	4	1			681	Ac. Esarhaddon at Nineveh, and same year at Babylon (Canon).
4140	17	5	4		Odeas (*Ant.* x. 8, § 6)	670	Manasseh sends to Nineveh (Assyrian record).
4142	17	5	6			668	Ac. Saosduchin, Babylon.
4146	17	6	3			664	Ac. Ashur-bani-pal; a king of Judea tributary (cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11).
4163	18	1	6			647	Ac. Kiniladan at Babylon.
4170	18	2	6			640	Ac. Ashur Ebil-ili, in Nineveh.
4177	18	3	6	*d.* MANASSEH		633	2 Kings xxi. 1.
4179	18	4	1	*d.* AMON	Shallum	631	2 Kings xxi. 19.
4184	18	4	6			626	1 Nabopolassar (Canon).
4196	18	6	4			614	Great Passover.
4199	18	6	7			611	A. S. and A. Jub. 19. 1 Necho II., fifth king of Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
4205	19	0	6			605	1 Nebuchadnezzar, in Assyria. (Canon.)
4210	19	1	4	*d.* JOSIAH		600	Battle of Megiddo (2 Kings xxiii. 29).
				JEHOAHAZ, 3 months			Era of Galuth, used by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
4211	19	1	5	1 JEHOIAKIM	Azariah IV.	599	Siege of Tyre commenced (*Cont. Apion*, 1, 21).
4214	19	2	1			596	Battle of Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2).
4215	19	2	2			595	1 Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine. Death of Necho (Brugsch).
4219	19	2	6			591	ERA OF SEVENTY YEARS' AFFLICTION. "Nebuchadnezzar sends bands" (Jer. xxv. 11; 2 Kings xxiv. 2).
4221	19	3	1	*d.* JEHOIAKIM		589	Captivity of Jeconiah, after three months' reign.
4222	19	3	2	1 ZEDEKIAH		588	First deportation (2 Kings xxiv. 16).
4227	19	3	7			583	A.S. (Jer. xxxiv. 8).
4231	19	4	4			579	11th year of Galuth, and 27th of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon. (Ezek. xxix. 17; xxx. 20.)
4233	19	4	6	Capture of ZEDEKIAH	Seraiah	577	FALL OF JERUSALEM (2 Kings xxv. 8).
4238	19	5	4			572	Third deportation (Jer. lii. 30).
4247	19	6	6			563	Death of Nebuchadnezzar; Jeconiah set free (Jer. lii. 31).
4248	19	6	7			562	A. S. and A. Jub. 21. 1 Evil Merodach. (Canon.)
4250	20	0	2		Josedech	560	1 Nerikassolassar (Canon.)
4254	20	0	6			556	1 Nabonadius. (Canon.)
4271	20	3	2	Sheshbazzar		539	Cyrus takes Babylon. (Canon.)
4273	20	3	4		Jeshua	537	TEMPLE RECOMMENCED (Ezra iii. 8).
4279	20	4	3	Zerobabel		531	1 Kambatt (Cambyses, or Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6).
4284	20	5	1			526	Ac. Persian dynasty (27th) in Egypt.
4288	20	5	5			522	Ac. Darius, son of Hystaspes.
4289	20	5	6			521	END OF SEVENTY YEARS' AFFLICTION (Zech. i. 12). 182½ years from 14 Hezekiah (*Ant.* x., *Epigraph*).
4293	20	6	3			517	Temple finished. 3 Adar (Ezra vi. 15).
4324	21	3	6			486	Ac. Xerxes (Canon). (Ahasuerus of Book of Esther).
4335	21	5	1			475	Feast of Purim established.
4344	21	6	5			466	Ac. Artaxerxes Longimanus. (Canon).
4350	22	0	4	Ezra		460	Ezra made Governor, 1 Ab (Ezra vii. 1, 9).
4363	22	2	3	Nehemiah	Eliashib	447	Tirshatha (Neh. ii. 1).
4375	22	3	1			435	End of Book of Nehemiah.
4376	22	3	2			434	ERA OF METONIC CYCLE. New moon of Skirrophoreon fell on 1st degree of Cancer, 4376.
4386	22	4	3		Joiada II.	424	Ac. Darius II. (Canon.)
4405	23	1	3			405	Ac. Artaxerxes II. (Canon.)
4451	24	0	6			359	Ac. Ochus I. (Canon.)
4472	24	3	6		Jonathan I.	338	Ac. Arogus I. (Canon.)
4474	24	4	1			334	Ac. Darius III. (Canon.)
4477	24	4	4		Jaddua	333	Alexander visits Jerusalem.
4486	24	5	6			324	Death of Alexander. PHILIPPINE ERA, *Anno* 424 Nabonassar, 253 yrs. 5 mths. from destruction of Temple (*Ant.* xi., *Epigraph*).

Year of Sac. Rec.	Jubilee.	Week.	Year.	Prince.	High Priest.	B.C.	Events.
4497	25	0	4			313	ERA OF SELEUCIDÆ. Ac. Seleucus Nicator.
4500	25	0	7		Simon the Just	310	A.S.
4505	25	1	5			305	Ac. Ptolemy I., son of Lagus.
4508	25	2	1			302	Ac. Antiochus (I.) Soter.
4525	25	4	4		Eleasar II.	285	Ac. Ptolemy (II.) Philadelphus. Coins of Eleasar extant.
4533	25	5	5			277	LXX. Version of the Law.
4534	26	5	6		Manasseh.	276	
4547	26	0	5			263	Ac. Antiochus (II.) Theos.
4560	26	2	4		Onias II.	250	Antigonus of Soccho Presid. of Sanhedrin.
4562	26	2	6			248	Ac. Seleucus (II.) Callinicus.
4563	26	2	7			247	Ac. Ptolemy (III.) Evergetes.
4582	26	5	5			228	Ac. Seleucus (III.) Ceraunus.
4585	26	6	1			225	Ac. Antiochus (III.) Magnus. Earthquake
4588	26	6	3			222	Ac. Ptolemy (IV.) Philopater.
4591	26	6	6		Simon II.	219	Ac. Ptolemy (V.) Epiphanes.
4605	27	1	6			205	Joseph farms taxes (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 10).
4611	27	2	5		Onias III.	199	Jose Ben Joasar, Pres. Sanhedrin.
4629	27	5	3			181	Ac. Ptolemy (VI.) Philometor.
4634	27	6	1		Jason	176	Invasion by Antiochus (IV.) Epiphanes.
4636	27	6	3			174	Eclipse of moon, *Almagest*, 7 Philometor.
4638	27	6	5		Menelaus	172	
4640	27	6	7			170	A.S. Antiochus takes Jerusalem without fighting (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 3).
4642	27	0	2			168	Desecration of Temple *post* ii. *annos dierum.* (1 Macc. i. 30.)
4645	27	0	5			165	Restoration of Temple. Feast of Lights (*Ant.* xii. 7, § 7).
4646	28	0	6			164	Ac. Antiochus (V.) Eupator.
4647	28	0	7			163	A.S. Antiochus Eupator takes Jerusalem by fraud, 414 years after capture by Nebuchadnezzar (*Ant.* xx. 10, § 1).
4648	28	1	1			162	Ac. Demetrius, *Seleuci filius.*
4650	28	1	3		d. Alcimos	160	Joshua *Ben Pherakee*, Presid. of Sanhedrin.
4657	28	2	3		Jonathan II.	153	Ac. Alexander Beles *fil. Antiochi Epiph.*
4664	28	3	3			146	Ac. Ptolemy VII., Evergetes II.
4667	28	3	5		1 Simon III.	143	Ethnarch of the Jews (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7).
4671	28	4	3			139	Akra, the Millo of Solomon, taken by Simon.
4672	28	4	4	J. Hyrcanus	Johanan II. or John Hyrcanus	138	Ac. Antiochus Sidetes. Coins of Hyrcanus extant.
4674	28	4	6			136	End of 1st Book of Macc.
4679	28	5	4			131	Demetrius Nicator restored. Judah Tabbei, Pres. San.
4682	28	5	7			128	Ac. Alexander Zebina.
4684	28	6	2			126	Ac. Antiochus Gryphus.
4693	29	0	4			117	Ac. Ptolemy Soter.
4696	29	0	7			114	A.S. Hyrcanus establishes independence.
4699	29	1	3			111	Sadducees obtain supreme power. Talmud date. Blank in Mishna for 36 years.
4705	29	2	2	d. John Hyrcanus	Aristobulus	105	Aristobulus Prince and High Priest (Jos., *Bell.* i. 11, § 1), 471 yrs. 13 mths. from Captivity. Coins extant.
4706	29	2	3	Ac. Alexander I.		104	Prince and High Priest. Coins extant.
4732	29	6	1	Ac. Alexandra	Hyrcanus II.	78	Pharisees recalled to power. Coins extant.
4741	30	0	2	Ac. Hyrcanus II.		69	FALL OF SELEUCIDÆ an. 244 Seleucid.
4745	30	0	6	Ac. Alexander II.		65	Shemaiah, Pres. Sanhedrin.
4747	30	0	7			63	A. S. Pompey takes Jerusalem, 26 Sivan, 6th day of week.
4770	30	4	3	Ac. Antigonus		40	Herod made king by Senate. Coins of Antigonus extant.
4773	30	4	6	Ac. Herod the Great		37	Herod takes Jerusalem. Coins of Herod extant.
4775	30	5	1		d. Aristobulus	35	Last hereditary High Priest.
4779	30	5	5			31	Battle of Actium. Augustus Emperor. Hillel Presid. Sanhedrin, office then hereditary for 400 years.
4799	31	1	5			11	Temple finished.
4806	31	2	5	d. Herod		4	Ordinary date of ADVENT, Spring 4805. 4806, Herod died, 7 Cisleu.
						A.D.	
4809	31	3	1			1	CHRISTIAN ERA.
4815	31	3	7	Archelaus deposed		6	A S. Banishment of Archelaus the Ethnarch. Coins extant.
4823	31	4	6			14	Ac. Tiberius. Simeon Ben Hillel President of Sanhedrin.
4839	32	0	3			30	CRUCIFIXION, Friday, 15 Nisan. Sanhedrin lose power of life and death. (Talmud date.)
4846	32	1	3	Agrippa I.		34	d. Tiberius. Ac. Caius. (Canon). Coins of Agrippa I. extant.
4849	32	1	6			40	Ac. Claudius. (Canon.)
4852	32	2	2	d. Agrippa I.		43	Gamaliel the Elder Pres. of Sanhedrin.
4857	32	2	7	Ac. Agrippa II.		48	Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 6). Coins of Agrippa II. extant.
4863	32	3	6			52	Death of Claudius.
4868	32	4	4			59	Close of Acts of Apostles.
4875	32	5	4			66	Jewish war begins, 12 Nero.
4877	32	5	6			68	Ac. Vespasian. (Canon)
4879	32	6	1			70	Destruction of Jerusalem.
4904	33	2	5	d. Agrippa II.		93	Latest coin of Agrippa II.
4909	33	3	3			100	Traditional date of death of Apostle John, 3 Trajan.
4931	33	6	4			122	Destruction of Bether, Talmud date; the ordinary date is 13 years later, in 19 Hadrian.
4944	31	1	3			135	

As some of the determinations of date, given in the preceding tables, differ from those ordinarily cited, it may be desirable to recall the fact, that certain fixed and positive cycles run back through all ancient history; and that no date is reliable as to which any discrepancy with either of these cycles can be shown to exist. On the contrary, the coincidence of different cycles gives either an approximate or a mathematical proof of correct determination.

The days of the week, the years of the Septennate, the course of the moon, and the course of the Egyptian year, are four definite and positive cycles. If any event, which is historically referred to either of them, does not accord with this order, it must be wrong. Thus one date given for the Exodus is B.C. 1652, while another is B.C. 1322. A reference to our tables will show that it is mathematically impossible that either of these dates is correct, as neither of them falls on the first year of a week. Again, the 14th of Nisan, B.C. 1652, fell in the Egyptian month Mecheir, and in B.C. 1322 it fell in the Egyptian month Pachion. Josephus says that it fell in the Egyptian month Pharmouthi. In B.C. 1541 the week of years begins, and the 14th Nisan falls on 28th Pharmouthi.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOB.

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THE Poem of Job stands in our Bible at the head of the five poetical books. This position is the one assigned to it by the LXX. The Jews themselves were undecided whether to place the book among the Prophets or to include it in the collection called the "Sacred Writings." Indeed, its reception into the Canon at all appears to have been a matter of hesitation and doubt. It shared at first the fate of so many of the noblest works of human genius which have been held in little esteem by the age which produced them. Un-Jewish in form, and fiercely hostile to the orthodox beliefs, it was likely rather to shock the pious sentiment of Hebrews than to exert much influence over them. Of unknown authorship and date, it came recommended by no great prophetic name. It is never alluded to in the Scriptures,[1] and very rarely quoted. It is, therefore, by the greatness of its own inspiration alone that the wonderful work has lived. Its own internal majesty has compelled not only acknowledgment, but a breathless and astonished reverence. Before this mysterious monument of the genius of an unknown and unnamed Eastern sage, even when they recognised no diviner flame than that of genius, the greatest intellects of the modern world have bowed in speechless admiration, not unmixed with awe. It is without exaggeration that one in our own time has written of this extraordinary book as "a book of which it is to say too little to say it is unequalled of its kind, and which will one day, perhaps, when it is allowed to stand upon its own merits, be seen towering up alone far away above all the poetry of the world."

By whom was this marvellous book written? What age produced it? In what part of the Eastern world did its author live? These are the questions which meet at the threshold of his inquiry the student who desires to master the difficulties of the work, and understand its relation to the rest of Holy Scripture. But the answers that can be given amount to little more than conjectures, and of them so many and so various have been started that they show of themselves on how slight a foundation the best of them rests. Happily, the contents of the book are independent of inquiries into its date and authorship. It would be interesting to know them. We long to know something of one whose sublime conceptions lift him to such a height above the most gifted mortals. His habitation, name, appearance, would interest us deeply. "The very spot where his ashes rest, though marked by no monument, we long to gaze upon.[2] But in vain. The great poem itself is all we have. And it is enough." Its author lives in the imperishable monument of his genius. "With his unsullied name," says Herder, "he has consigned to oblivion all that was earthly; and leaving his book for a memorial below, is engaged in a yet nobler song in that world where the voice of sorrow and mourning is unheard, and where the morning stars sing together."[3] There is also an advantage gained when we can refer a work of this supreme excellence to the period which gave it birth, and study it by the light thrown by contemporary persons and events.[4] But a certain fitness

[1] M. Renan mentions two allusions in the Apocryphal books: one conjectural (Ecclus. xlix. 9), the other in the Latin text of Tobit ii. 12, 15. Of the echoes of the Book in other O. T. writings, the chief, besides the passages from Proverbs referred to below, are Isa. xix. 5 (cf. Job xiv. 11); Jer. xx. 14—18 (cf. Job iii.).

[2] There are as many as six different traditional tombs of Job.

[3] The guesses at the authorship of the book have rested on (1) Job himself. Dr. Lee supposes an ancient work from Job's pen to have been brought to the notice of Moses by Jethro, and by him put into the shape in which we have the book. (2) Moses. This is the view of the Talmud, and of many rabbins; in modern times of Michaelis and others. (3) Elihu. (4) Baruch. This is the conjecture of Bunsen. Delitzsch suggests Heman, the reputed author of Ps. lxxxviii.

[4] It is out of the scope of this paper to enter closely into the question of the date of this poem, but it may be well to state in a note the reasons which incline the best modern scholars to refer it to a period not preceding the age of Solomon. Those who wish to see the patriarchal date ably maintained should consult Dr. Lee's Introduction to his Translation of the Book of Job, and Canon Cook's article "Job," in Smith's *Bib. Dict.* The whole question is stated at length in Davidson's *Introduction.* Keil, Hävernick, Hahn, Delitzsch, and others, refer the poem to the reign of Solomon. Renan prefers the first half of the eighth century; Ewald brings it down to the beginning of the seventh century. The following arguments are adduced in common by all these scholars:—

(1.) The scenes amid which the poem is placed, so remote from

in the obscurity surrounding this mysterious poem more than compensates for the fruitless expenditure of all the research that has been brought to the question. That criticism should be unable to confine the possible production of the work within narrower limits than the patriarchal age at one extreme, and the post-exile times at the other, is a result entirely suitable to its character and subject. For it presents man in a situation at once the most profoundly and most universally poetic. The struggle which the human soul, conscious of the nobility and happiness of righteous conduct, maintains against unseen powers which every day, whether for good or ill, seem to contradict his conviction, and give the lie to his highest aspiration, has at all times profoundly interested thoughtful minds, and has been the fruitful mother of all noble philosophy and all noble song. One noble utterance for this sublime protest of the moral sense of man was found in Greek tragedy, which depicts freedom in battle with necessity. But the poem of Job contains its sublimest expression. It is an appeal to God against the contradictions which man discovers amid the works of God. It is the most magnificent protest ever uttered against the shallow interpretation of these contradictions, which make of God's absence condemnation and of His silence a reproof. That Job did not succeed in solving the problems presented by the spectacle of suffering goodness does not diminish either the interest or the value of the poem. Their very statement shows how the world was being guided on to the revelation of the Cross, where the darkness and perplexity were only not removed, because it is so much more noble and divine and beautiful, that man should live amid them bravely, doubt with sincerity, and believe with strength. And this statement, under such a mystery, by an unknown author, and at a time and place which must for ever remain matter of conjecture, is in correspondence with the permanent nature of the problems. Out of the darkness from that ancient land we hear man calling to the invisible God—

> "Oh that I knew where to find Him,
> That I could come even unto His throne.
> I would unfold my cause before Him,
> And fill my mouth with arguments.
> * * * * *
> But I go to the east, and He is not there;
> And to the west, but I cannot perceive Him.
> Doth He travail in the north? I see Him not.
> Doth He hide in the south? I perceive him not."

And to-day one of our greatest modern poets, feeling heavy upon his soul the weight of the modern phase of the same mystery which tortured the ancient patriarch, thus describes his faith in doubt:—

> "I falter where I firmly trod,
> And falling with my weight of cares
> Upon the great world's altar-stairs,
> That slope through darkness up to God,
>
> "I stretch lame hands of faith and grope,
> And gather dust and chaff, and call
> To what I feel is Lord of all,
> And faintly trust the larger hope."

Surely when the ages are thus bridged over by feelings at once so profound and so permanent, we may rather rejoice that the book in the Bible which gives its fullest and finest expressions to these feelings should be surrounded by a mystery; that the grandest of all attempts to solve the insoluble problem, and justify the ways of God to man, should have been left as if in profound obscurity, "to teach us that it is no story of a single thing which happened once, but that it belongs to humanity itself, and is the drama of the trial of man, with Almighty God and the angels as spectators of it."

It has been disputed whether the author of the Book of Job was a Hebrew or a native of the locality in which the scene of the poem is laid. But this locality itself has been the subject of interminable controversy. The land of Uz was very probably on the confines of Idumæa. The traces which connect the poem with Edom are too numerous to be accidental.[1] But it does not follow that, as some suppose, the author was an Idumæan. It is certain, however, that to understand the poem we must extend our view beyond the confines of Hebrew life and thought. There is nothing in it to recall the chosen people, with their exclusive religion, laws, and customs. The work is Semitic, not Hebrew. The life it breathes is that of the patriarchal chief. It moves among tents and flocks and herds, and the occupations and interests of free nomad existence. It has nothing

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Jewish thought and custom, could not have been presented to a Hebrew mind before the wide contact with the Gentile world which Solomon's reign opened up.

(2.) The work belongs to the school of literature that arose in Solomon's court, and was patronised by him; the school which produced the Book of Proverbs. (Cf. Prov. i.—ix. with many parts of Job, especially the description of wisdom, Prov. viii. 25, sq.; Job xxviii. 12, sq. Cf. also the Book of Job with the "Words of Agur.")

(3.) Job is represented as "greatest of the Beni-kedem, 'children of the East,'" with whose wisdom that of Solomon is expressly compared (1 Kings iv. 30). The Idumæan tribe Teman, to which Eliphaz belonged, was especially celebrated for this "wisdom" (Jer. xlix. 7, &c.).

(4.) Many of the natural descriptions of the book imply a familiarity with other countries and their products, such as was created by the commercial dealings of the Solomonic period. Such are the descriptions of the horse, crocodile, peacock, the allusions to "the gold of Ophir," pearls, &c., and the general acquaintance with Egypt and Arabia.

(5.) The mention of the Chaldæans as a plundering tribe.

(6.) The questions discussed in the poem are such as show themselves in the "Psalms of Asaph," and other writings of Solomon's or a later time, but not before.

(7.) The general style and structure of the poem are too artistic and refined for an earlier age. Notice especially the regular parallelisms and the arrangement in strophes.

(8.) The language is such as to induce the foremost scholars to bring down the work to an age as late at least as Solomon.

The absence of all reference to the Mosaic law or ritual, as well as to the history of Israel, the argument on which a patriarchal date is chiefly founded, is not more remarkable than the same silence in Proverbs and several of the later Psalms.

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[1] The appendix to the LXX. describes Uz (Αὐσῖτις) as on the borders of Idumæa and Arabia. With this agree the names Eliphaz, Teman, and perhaps Job, which have certainly an ethnological if not a geographical connection with Edom (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11, with Job ii. 11). Uz is mentioned in Jer. xxv. 20; Lam. iv. 21. J. G. Wetstein, in a valuable appendix to Delitzsch's commentary on Job, gives some strong reasons for preferring the traditional country of Job, the western corner of the Hauran, immediately east of the southern end of the Sea of Galilee.

in common with the domestic life of the Jews. We are taken away from the people, and the thoughts among which the other Scriptures move, to the wild freedom of these "Children of the East," who wander to-day, as they have done for six thousand years, over the vast tracts of desert that hem in on three sides the narrow Land of Promise. "The poem of Job," says M. Renan, "may be regarded as the ideal of a Semitic poem."

We could hardly have come to the consideration of the Book of Job without some notice of these preliminary inquiries. But there is another question more intimately connected with the poetical aspect of the book, which has given rise to discussion. It concerns the structure of the composition, about which there exists considerable variety of opinion. Some have called it an epic. There are certainly in it the elements which we connect with heroic poetry. There is a grandeur in the situations and in the passions brought into play, there is the loftiness of sentiment and language that belongs to the high themes of epic song. But the same elements enter into tragedy, and the form of the poem is so decidedly dramatic that we can hardly fail at first sight to arrange it in that class of works. There is a prologue in prose, which makes the reader acquainted with the situation in which the hero is placed, and introduces the persons who take the chief part in the story. The action, which is twofold, then begins with a monologue of the hero, which is followed by the controversy with the three friends. Each of these speaks three times[1] and receives three answers from Job, so that the dialogue arranges itself into three acts. Another long monologue from the chief personage seems to conclude the regular action. A new comer, not mentioned in the prologue nor otherwise introduced, then enters, and, like the chorus in a Greek play, exposes the errors and follies of the other speakers.[2] Finally, God Himself appears as Judge of the combat to pronounce His decision; and with an epilogue in prose, giving the issue or catastrophe of the whole, the poem ends.[3]

Such is the form. The internal development is equally dramatic. There is not, indeed, a regular plot, and the dialogue proceeds without outward action or change of scene, like that in Greek drama. But Hebrew art has nothing to do with forms created by a people of different genius and later age. The long, sustained speeches, and the manner in which they are delivered, is as truly Oriental as the protracted signs of passionate grief with which the actors introduce themselves, and in a drama developed on Eastern soil might be as much expected. Nor does it detract from the dramatic character to say that the subject under discussion is philosophical in its nature, but does not advance with the poem. The action does not lie in the argument so much as in the feelings. The tragic interest is profound and real throughout, but deepens as the dialogue proceeds. It adds to the dramatic feeling that this progress is unexpected, since the hero has already, before a word is spoken, been plunged into the lowest depth of suffering. The tragedy came with the rapid reverses which one after another, in quick succession, unexpected and undeserved, have prostrated him from the height of prosperity and happiness into the dust. A human soul under such conditions offers a subject worthy of the highest epic or dramatic genius. But a fresh and more cruel trial is prepared for Job. The three old friends who meant to console, become unconsciously his persecutors; and as the sufferer meets their accusations, now with indignant denial, now with eloquent appeal to God, now with a pathetic story of his own upright and innocent life, we feel that new elements of a profounder interest and keener tragic power are introduced.

Job's friends, in deep alarm for him, connect his sufferings with a secret guilt. We know that his condition is due neither to his own guilt nor to that of those connected with him, but is a trial from which his character is to come forth bright and pure. They, however, are persuaded that he has sinned. The popular theory connects suffering with sin, and they feel constrained to uphold the orthodox belief. This brings a new trial on the sufferer by which fresh passions come into play, and fresh complications arise, and it is on Job's behaviour amid these that the chief interest turns. It is no abstract question which is debated, but one which involves the character and happiness of the chief actor, and the faith of all. At every turn we see personal feeling come into play. As the dialogue proceeds the entanglement becomes deeper, these feelings growing hotter and stronger. All is hastening to one end. Will the hero come out of all as from the fire of purification, upright as ever, but humbled and chastened even by the victory which he wins?

A careful study even discloses signs of genuine action corresponding to the feelings excited. The men who had sat for seven long days, exhibiting their sympathy by the mute eloquence of Oriental grief, more than once make a show of leaving the patriarch during the dialogues, or actually do move away, exasperated by his violent outbursts of indignation or scorn. See, for example, chap. vi. 29, where Job exclaims—

> "Come back, I pray you—no more unjust accusations!
> Come back, and my innocence will appear."[4]

So also the sufferer himself turns away, with undisguised expressions of impatience, from the well-meant but exasperating sermons of the friends. Is there not sensible action in the passion with which, in the boldness of conscious innocence, this much-tried man dares to accuse the awful silence of God, and himself

[1] With the exception of Zophar, who is silent when it is his turn to speak for the last time.

[2] Cf. Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, second series, p. 245.

[3] See Davidson's *Introduction*, ii. 178.

[4] Cf. xiii. 13; xv. 12; xvi. 4, &c. Ewald thinks that the action is intended to cover several days. It would appear from the "Song of Songs" that what in modern drama would be stage directions, introduced to explain the action or situation, are put into the mouth of one of the persons of the poem. See Cant. i. 4, "The king hath brought me into his apartments."

demand the trial which he is confident will approve his righteousness even before *Him*?

"Oh that one would hear me,
Behold *my* signature; let the Almighty reply.
Let my adversary also write his indictment.
I would wear it upon my shoulder,
I would crown my forehead with it,
I would render account of the number of my steps;
I would go near him like a prince."[1]

The concluding scene, when Jehovah, sending His awful voice from the darkness of the thunder-cloud, arraigns Job before Him—

"Gird up thy reins like a man,
I will ask thee, and answer thou me"—
(Chap. xxxviii. 3)

and the last broken speech of the hero, when, humbled and confused by the majesty of the utterances of the Most High, he can only repeat to himself the searching questions and solemn rebukes which he has heard, is full to overflowing with dramatic feeling and interest. Altogether, though the suggestion made by the great scholar Ewald, that the work was actually intended for theatrical representation, appears unnecessarily bold, there is every reason to class this wonderful work amid true dramatic poetry. It has passages which deserve the name of lyric, and its intention was doubtless didactic. But its true character is that of the Divine drama of the Hebrews.

[1] Job xxxi. 35—37. The allusion is to written law cases, which existed at an early time in Egypt. Job is ready to put his signature to his case, to all the words in which he has defended his innocence against his friends, and even against God, and wishes God to do the same. He would not be ashamed of it, but would display it everywhere with pride. (See Delitzsch and Renan *in loc.*).

BETWEEN THE BOOKS.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE DEATH OF HEROD.

AND now our chapters can no longer be said to relate so strictly to the period "Between the Books" of the Old and New Testament. We have already stepped across the threshold of the era of the latter.

Apparently just before Herod left for Jericho, and while he was still residing in the magnificent palace he had built on Zion, his fears and suspicions were still further increased by the visit to his capital of certain magi from the East, bearing the strange intelligence that they had seen in the East the star of a new-born King of the Jews, and had come to worship Him.[1]

The inquiry respecting an *hereditary King of the Jews* roused the alarm of the Idumean tyrant, and, hastily convening an assembly of the chief priests and scribes, he inquired where, according to their prophetical books, the long-expected Messiah was to be born. Without any hesitation they pointed to the words of the prophet Micah,[2] which declared that Bethlehem, in Judæa, was the favoured spot. Concealing his wicked intentions, the monarch therefore bade the magi repair to Bethlehem, bidding them let him know as soon as they had found the young Child, that he, too, might come and do Him reverence.

Thus advised, the magi set out, and at Bethlehem they found "the young Child, and Mary His mother, and they fell down and worshipped Him."[3]

For true it was that while Herod's blood-stained reign[4] was drawing near its close, and when, after a life of tyranny and usurpation, he was sinking "into the jealous decrepitude of his savage old age,"[5] a lowly Virgin had at Bethlehem brought "forth her first-born Son, and wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in a manger."[6] The advent of this true King of kings, "in great humility," had moved all heaven to its centre; and while Herod's palaces were the scenes of jealousies, suspicion, and murders, and his subjects were groaning under the yoke of his iron rule, the heavenly song had floated over the hills of Bethlehem, and shepherds keeping watch over their flocks had heard the words, breaking the stillness of the night, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men of good will."[7]

After they had offered their homage and their gifts to the heavenly Child, the magi would naturally have returned to Herod; but warned of God in a dream of peril awaiting them if they did so, they returned to their own land another way. Thus foiled, the jealousy of Herod assumed a more malignant aspect, and, unable to identify the royal Infant of the seed of David, he issued an edict that all the children of Bethlehem and its neighbourhood, from two years old and under, should be slain.[8] His ruthless orders were carried out, and a wild wail of anguish arose from many a mother thus cruelly bereaved of her little ones.

The murder of these innocents, which doubtless

[1] Matt. ii. 1—3.
[2] Micah v. 2; comp. John vii. 42.
[3] Matt. ii. 11.
[4] Our Lord's birth took place about A.U.C. 750 or 749 at the earliest. Clinton places it in 749, or B.C. 5; Wieseler puts it in 750, or B.C. 4. See Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* iii. 254; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.*, p. 57; Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, iv. 428.
[5] Farrar's *Life of Christ*, i. 24.
[6] Luke ii. 6, 7.
[7] Luke ii. 14, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας, the reading of the best MSS. and the best versions.
[8] Matt. ii. 16—18. Macrobius, *Saturnal.* ii. 4, says, "Augustus cum audisset, inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes infra bimatum interfici jussit, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait, Melius est Herodis porcum (ὗν) esse quam puerum (υἱόν)." Though Macrobius is a late writer, about A.D. 400, and makes the mistake of supposing that the Massacre of the Innocents included that of an infant son of Herod, he used early materials, and "it is clear that the form in which he relates the *bon mot* of Augustus points to some dim reminiscence of this cruel slaughter." (Farrar's *Life of Christ*, i. 44; Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*, vii., *n.* 82.)

was accomplished secretly, and under cover of night, is passed over in silence by Josephus. That it should have been so is not surprising. Compared with other deeds which Herod carried out or designed, the massacre of a few[1] children in an unimportant village was almost insignificant. "Herod's whole career was red with the blood of murder. He had massacred priests and nobles; he had decimated the Sanhedrin; he had caused the high priest, his brother-in-law, the young and noble Aristobulus, to be drowned in pretended sport before his eyes; he had ordered the strangulation of his favourite wife, the beautiful Asmonean princess Mariamne, though she seems to have been the only human being whom he passionately loved. His sons Alexander, Aristobulus, and Antipater; his uncle Joseph; Antigonus and Alexander, the uncle and father of his wife; his mother-in-law Alexandra; his kinsman Cortobanus; his friends Dositheus and Gadias were but a few of the multitudes who fell victims to his sanguinary, suspicious, and guilty terrors. His brother Pherôras and his son Archelaus barely and narrowly escaped execution by his orders. Neither the blooming youth of the prince Aristobulus, nor the white hairs of the king Hyrcanus, had protected them from his fawning and treacherous fury. Deaths by strangulation, deaths by burning, deaths by being cleft asunder, deaths by secret assassination, confessions forced by unutterable torture, acts of insolent and inhuman lust, mark the annals of a reign which was so cruel that, in the energetic language of the Jewish ambassadors to the Emperor Augustus, 'the survivors during his lifetime were even more miserable than the sufferers.'"[2]

What was the massacre of these innocents among so many instances of the tyrant's cruelty and treachery? But though Josephus does not mention the event, he tells us of incidents which took place in this very year, B.C. 4, which prove how exactly in keeping the massacre was with the tyrant's character.

While he was at Jericho, whither he would seem to have removed a few days after the massacre at Bethlehem, fresh symptoms of disaffection appeared amongst his subjects. Nothing he had done had irritated the stricter Jews more than the placing of a large golden eagle—the symbol of the power of Rome[3]—over the principal gate of the Temple. Two of the most eloquent of the expounders of the Law, Judas[4] and Matthias, resolved to have it removed. Accordingly, emboldened by a sudden rumour that Herod was at the point of death, they instigated some daring youths to lower themselves from the roof, and cut down the offensive symbol with hatchets.

This bold defiance of Herod's authority was carried out in the full light of noonday,[5] while many were in the Temple, and was quickly announced to the officer in command at Jerusalem, who captured forty of the insurgents, and instantly made a report to Herod. Herod ordered the prisoners, with Judas and Matthias, to be brought before him at Jericho. Thither he also summoned the chiefs of the nation, and, addressing them from his couch, reproached them bitterly for their ingratitude, and directed that Judas and Matthias, as instigators of the deed, should be burned alive at Jericho.

The execution took place on the night of March 12, B.C. 4.[6] A very few days afterwards Herod's disorder increased with the utmost violence. A slow fire seemed to consume his vitals; his appetite became ravenous, but he dared not gratify it, on account of dreadful pains and internal ulcers, which preyed on the lower parts of his body. Moreover, his difficulty of breathing increased, and violent spasms convulsed his frame, and imparted to his limbs a degree of supernatural strength.[7] Thus he lay in the magnificent palace which he had built for himself under the palm-trees of Jericho, racked with pain, and tormented with thirst. Still cherishing hopes of recovery, he now caused himself to be conveyed across the Jordan to Callirrhoë, not far from the Dead Sea, hoping to obtain relief from its warm bituminous springs.[8] But the use of the waters produced no effect, and by the advice of his physicians he was lowered into a vessel filled with oil, which almost killed him, and he despaired of life.

He was now conveyed back to Jericho, and knowing that when he was gone none would shed a tear for him, he resolved that they should shed many for themselves. He ordered the chiefs of the nation, under pain of death, to assemble at Jericho. As they arrived they were shut up in the Hippodrome, and Herod charged Salome and Alexas, immediately upon his decease, to put them to death. Scarcely had he given these orders when a dispatch arrived from Rome, announcing the ratification by the emperor of the sentence pronounced upon Antipater. Thereupon the tyrant's desire for life instantly returned, but a paroxysm of racking pain coming on, he called for an apple and a knife, and in an unguarded moment tried to stab himself.[9] His cousin Achiab stayed his hand, and Antipater, hearing the clamour from a neighbouring apartment, and thinking his father was dead, made a determined effort to escape by bribing his guards. No sooner did Herod hear of this, than, though almost insensible, he raised

[1] The number thus murdered could not have been very large under any circumstances.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11, § 2; Farrar's *Life of Christ*, i. 42, 43.

[3] It has been conjectured that the insurrection which now broke out may have taken its rise from the recent census in Judæa. (Luke ii. 1; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* 84, 85; Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*, p. 124.)

[4] Some would identify this Judas with the Theudas referred to by Gamaliel (Acts v. 36). Wieseler would identify Matthias with the Theudas of Gamaliel, suggesting that Matthias in Hebrew is equivalent to Theudas or Theodotus in Greek (*Chronol. Synop.*, p. 91, E. T.).

[5] Μέσης ἡμέρας . . . πολλῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διατριβόντων (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 3).

[6] The same night there was an eclipse of the moon, και ἡ σελήνη δε τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτι ἐξέλιπεν (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 4). It has been calculated by Kepler and Petavius; see Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* i. 2, p. 56.

[7] See the description (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 5).

[8] The stream flows into the Dead Sea (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 5; *B. J.* i. 33, § 5). Pliny describes it as "calidus fons medicæ salubritatis." For a full description see Tristram's *Land of Moab*, pp. 285, 288.

[9] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 7.

himself on his elbow,[1] and ordered one of the spearmen to dispatch his son on the spot.

Thus Antipater paid the penalty of his life of treachery and hypocrisy. Herod now once more amended his will,[2] nominating his eldest son Archelaus as his successor on the throne, and appointing Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; Herod Philip tetrarch of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa; and Salome mistress of Jamnia, Azotus, and some other towns.

Five days more of excruciating agony remained for the miserable monarch, and then, "choking as it were with blood, devising massacres in its very delirium, the soul of Herod passed forth into the night."[3] Archelaus at once assumed the direction of affairs at Jerusalem, and proceeded to give his father a magnificent funeral. First, clad in armour, advanced a numerous force of troops, with their generals and officers; then followed five hundred of Herod's domestics and freedmen, bearing aromatic spices. Next came the body, covered with purple, with a diadem on the head, and a sceptre in the right hand, and lying on a bier of gold studded with precious stones. After the bier, which was surrounded by Herod's sons and relatives, came his body-guard; then his foreign mercenaries, men from Thrace, Germany, and Gaul, "whose stalwart and ruddy persons were at this time familiar in Jerusalem."[4] In this order the procession advanced slowly from Jericho to Herodium, not far from Tekoa, a distance of about twenty-five miles, where the late monarch had erected a fortress.[5] Here, in the tower-crowned citadel to which he had given his name, and not far from the spot where He was born whom the Idumæan king had sought to cut off with the innocents of Bethlehem, Herod was laid to rest.

1 Ἀιεβόησε τε ἀνατυψάμενας τὴν κεφαλὴν, καίπερ ἐν τῷ ὑστατῳ ὢν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγκῶνὰ περίαρας ἑαυτον (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 7).

2 Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1.

3 Farrar's *Life of Christ*, i. 48.

4 Drew's *Scripture Lands*, p. 278. Comp. Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 3; *B. J.* i. 33, § 9.

5 For a description of Herodium see Traill's *Josephus*, lxv.—lxix. This square-shaped mountain east of Bethlehem was known in the Middle Ages by the name of the "Frank Mountain," from the baseless but not unnatural story that it was the last refuge of the Crusaders. (Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 13.)

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PROPHETS:—AMOS.

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THE prophet Amos is generally by the Fathers identified with the Amoz from whom Isaiah was descended, the difference of the spelling in the Hebrew, which is carefully preserved in our version, having been neglected in the Greek. Really, the rank and social position of Amos was quite different from that of Isaiah, and nothing can be more instructive than the contrast in external matters between these two men, equally commissioned to be the bearers of a Divine message.

Isaiah was evidently a man of high training, a member of a literary caste, and regularly educated in all the learning of his time. Blessed, therefore, with every worldly advantage, his great abilities were fostered to the utmost, and at an early age had so developed that he was made the royal chronicler, and as such wrote "the acts of Uzziah, first and last." He was also almost in his boyhood appointed to the office of prophet by a vision of surpassing magnificence, and everything served to foreshow the coming greatness of the seer, in whom Hebrew prophecy reached its culmination. Amos, on the contrary, was but a herdsman, and in so humble a position that he was glad to increase his scanty means by scratching or puncturing the fruit of the sycomore-trees, which grow wild in the Tekoan desert. Without artificial irritation the sycomore fig is said not to ripen properly. Canon Tristram tells us in his *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 399, that this operation is performed just before the fruit is ripe, and that the object of it is to discharge the acrid juice, which, if not got rid of, renders the figs unpalatable. Such were, probably, "the very naughty figs which could not be eaten, they were so bad," to which Jeremiah (chap. xxiv. 2) compares Zedekiah and the people of Jerusalem. Dr. Tristram adds that the position of one who got his living by such means must have been very humble; but probably Amos only filled up his spare time in this way. In our version the prophet is wrongly described as "a *gatherer* of sycomore fruit" (Amos vii. 14).

He further distinctly denies that he had been regularly educated for the prophetic office. "I was," he says, "no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son" (*ibid.*). Now to understand these words we must remember that the prophets formed an order, consisting mainly of men trained in schools regularly instituted for this purpose. When we read of prophets by fifties and hundreds, we are not to think of inspired men, on whom the Spirit of God rested in extraordinary measure. Rather, they were an irregular clergy, who formed no part of the Levitical institutions, to the letter of which they were constantly opposed, while endeavouring to raise the people to a higher degree of spirituality. Their existence was indeed assumed in the Law (Numb. xii. 6), but with the caution that the claim to be a prophet was not lightly to be conceded (Deut. xiii. 1; xviii. 22). But it was the prophet Samuel who introduced order and method into what had previously been confused and irregular. He added training and knowledge to the Divine impulse, and as the

natural result the prophets at once became a powerful class, rivalling or even exceeding the priesthood in influence. But it was not all gain. We find in the Scriptures the history of their decay. As they grew in power men sought admission among them for worldly reasons—for ambition or lust of wealth; and so the prophets of Jerusalem became "light and treacherous persons" (Zeph. iii. 4), and while the priests taught for hire, "the prophets divined for money" (Micah iii. 11).

Now, though as a rule those prophets whom God did specially inspire to speak in His name belonged to the prophetical order, yet He never limited his gifts to them. The grace of God is of all things most free, and is tied down to no institutions whatever. These institutions may be most precious and invaluable, and may even be the usual and appointed channels of God's mercies; but his grace transcends their bounds, and works often in strange and unwonted methods. And so, wise and useful as were Samuel's schools, and while generally the inspired prophets were trained in them, yet they had no exclusive possession of God's gifts. Amos was no prophet, was not a member of the prophetic order; neither was he a prophet's son, that is, a disciple of the prophets, and instructed in their schools. For the men trained in the colleges under prophetic superintendence were called "the sons of the prophets."

But though only a simple herdsman, Amos was well educated. We gather from his book a high idea of the state of literature in Judæa when a man following so humble a calling could write so clearly, and in such pure and rhythmical language. Tekoa, indeed, where he lived, was but twelve miles south of Jerusalem, but was only a small town, the land being poor, and immediately beyond it stretched a sterile desert. It is true that the Arabs of the desert speak their language more purely than those of the towns, but Amos had evidently read much, and was familiar with the writings of other prophets. Yet he has peculiarities of his own, and his spelling is unclassical, for which reason Jerome described him as "unskilled in language, though not in knowledge." On the other hand, the images which he uses are eminently fresh and original. Drawn from country life, and the prophet's ordinary avocations, they give a sweetness and liveliness to his discourse such as we meet with in no other book of the Bible.

The title of the prophecy, "The Words of Amos," suggests very different ideas to us than it did to the Jews. To them a word was a thing, and the title therefore included the doings of Amos, and was never given to any work which did not contain a narrative of facts (see 2 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xx. 34, in the margin). And so then, here, the words of Amos are really a narrative of a missionary expedition undertaken by him for the purpose of warning the people of the ten tribes of the certain consequences of their sins. The date of the journey was "two years before the earthquake," in King Uzziah's reign; a visitation which struck such terror into the hearts of the people that Zechariah (chap. xiv. 5) still dwells upon it even after the return from Babylon. But well known as it was then, there is nothing to settle its date now. All we know is that it happened while Jeroboam II. was still alive, and at the height of his glory, and probably, therefore, during the first twenty years of Uzziah's reign. How long Amos remained in Israel we have no means of knowing. It may have been months; it may have been two or three years. But on his safe return, restored to his usual occupations, he penned this memoir of his journey for the permanent edification of the Church of Christ.

We may suppose the prophet then at Tekoa tending his sheep—for the word *noked*, rendered "herdman" in chap. i. 1, is more correctly translated "sheepmaster" in 2 Kings iii. 4—when news reached him of some great public festivity at Bethel, in honour, perhaps, of some glorious victory of the warrior-king. Vague rumours, perhaps, came first of battle and triumph, and then exacter tales of the king's prowess, and of public entry into Bethel in solemn pomp, and of sacrifices offered to the golden calf. And with his whole soul moved with indignation at the dishonour done to the true God of Israel, Jehovah of Hosts, Amos passed, it may be, many a night distressed and restless amid the flocks bleating in the fold. Was he to remain indignant there, or brave derision and danger to utter his protest before the very face of the king himself? Another man of God from Judah had rebuked Jeroboam I. when dedicating that very altar: was he to be silent? Gradually the conviction grew upon him that he was called of God to undertake a similar errand; and leaving his own country, he entered the kingdom of the ten tribes.

The whole journey from Tekoa to Bethel was but twenty-four miles, and thus a single day's walk would suffice to bring the prophet face to face with the rival worship celebrated there. But short as was the distance, how unlike was all he saw to the pure simple desert life he had erewhile led! The height of luxury reached at the capital is marvellous even to ourselves. Amos tells us of houses of ivory (chap. iii. 15), houses of which the rooms were panelled with that precious substance, brought, no doubt, from Africa to the port of Elath. It had been deemed a great matter, worthy of being entered in the records of the kingdom, when Ahab built one such house. But now every wealthy man must have his ivory chamber. The ladies of Samaria, stout and portly like the kine of Bashan, oppress the poor and crush the needy, and, forgetting the sobriety of their sex, invite their lords (*i.e.*, their husbands) to drink wine with them (chap. iv. 1). And at these drinking bouts they recline upon couches of ivory, stretching themselves listlessly at full length as they feast upon rich viands, and listen to music of an effeminate kind, unlike the solemn melodies which David had composed for the songs of Zion. And most graphically does the prophet describe their drunkenness. "They drink in bowls of wine" (chap. vi. 4—6), dipping their heads

into their cups; and these cups are the large sprinkling vessels used in the wilderness for sacrificial purposes. Not that we are to infer that they added impiety to sensuality by using consecrated bowls, but more probably the word expresses the large size of the vessels employed, as those offered by the princes in the wilderness weighed no less than seventy shekels (Numb. vii. 13, 19, &c.), and in fact were intended to contain each the blood of a victim. Nor was luxury their worst sin. Along with it went the most shameless immorality (chap. ii. 7), the perversion of justice (chap. v. 12), false measures (chap. viii. 5), and oppression of the poor (chap. ii. 8; viii. 6, &c.). As we read the graphic description of the vices of Samaria, we feel that the justice of God did not overtake her till she was ripe for destruction by internal decay.

Yet even to this degraded people Amos did not speak in vain. Though dwelling in ease and security—for Amos' mission was after Jeroboam had pushed his conquests as far as Hamath (chap. vi. 14)—yet his earnest appeals and predictions of coming punishment stirred their consciences. "The land," says Amaziah, "is not able to bear all his words" (chap. vii. 10). Evidently he had not confined himself to Bethel and Samaria, but had gone up and down the land as Jehovah's messenger, and the people were in a state of general ferment, so that the high priest began to "doubt whereunto this thing would grow." As it had been Jeroboam's policy to imitate at Bethel the established order of things at Jerusalem, Amaziah held, no doubt, a position of high rank and power similar to that held by the high priest in Judah. But he does not dare to resort to open force. A strong hand like that of Jeroboam II. restrained all violent dealings, and besides the person of a prophet was sacred, and it was regarded as a fearful crime when Jehoiakim, for instance, put Urijah to death (Jer. xxvi. 23). Amaziah, therefore, misrepresents the predictions of Amos. "Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel; . . . for he saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" (chap. vii. 10, 11). Now what the prophet really had said was, "I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword." Even this was quite enough to raise the anger of a despotic king, but for some reason or other the representations of Amaziah seem to have had no influence upon Jeroboam's mind, and he had to resort to other measures.

He tries, therefore, at all events, to prevail upon Amos to leave Bethel, giving as his reason that it was the king's sanctuary, the place where the king worshipped, and also his royal dwelling; for, apparently, Jeroboam had a summer palace there. It was thus a sort of insult to the king to proclaim at Bethel the superiority of the institutions at Jerusalem. In Judæa such preaching would be right, and there he might eat bread and prophesy as he liked. But Amos refuses any such compromise with duty, and denounces upon Amaziah that he shall suffer to the uttermost all those miseries which are the lot of the vanquished.

Subsequently, however, Amos returned home, and there wrote this record of his mission. He tells us himself in his preface that the words or things which he now recorded he saw two years before the earthquake. How long it was after that terrible event that he penned this memoir is matter of mere conjecture. But his book is a model of careful writing, and probably much time was occupied in its composition: and though, as we have seen, his spelling is peculiar, yet Bishop Lowth, in his *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, ventures to say that "our herdman, in the elevation of his ideas, and the grandeur of his spirit, is well nigh equal to the foremost of the prophets; while in the splendour of his diction, and the elegance of his composition, he is scarcely inferior to any."

He begins with a quotation from Joel, who had described the Eternal as "roaring out of Zion." In Hebrew the thunder is represented as the voice of the Almighty, but in Amos this roaring becomes the articulate expression of judgment about to be executed on Damascus, on Gaza, and other strongholds of the Philistines, on Tyre, on Edom, on Ammon, on Moab, and on Judah. Seven nations, the sacred number being probably used to indicate the completeness of God's visitations, and among them God's covenant people Judah, to show that no privileges can save men from the punishment due to their sins—seven nations are thus enumerated, each doomed to bear the measure of its own iniquities, and then the thunder-storm bursts in its utmost fury upon Israel. For the rest there was punishment; for Israel the final removal from its land, and the extinction of its national life.

And the severity of this sentence is justified by the general immorality prevalent in Israel (chap. ii. 6—16). God had given them a fertile land, from which He had driven out the Amorite from before them. He had given them the means of grace, "raising up of their sons for prophets, and of their young men for Nazarites; but they had given the Nazarites wine, and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not." And with the means of grace thus silenced or corrupted crime had stalked openly abroad in the land, till God's holy name had been profaned, and the time had come when justice, which ever follows upon the track of vice, must overtake it. Yet not because the Almighty loves punishment. How forcibly, by one of his rural metaphors, does Amos express the truth of God's long suffering, who willeth not the death of a sinner. He represents Him as pressed under these sinners, and wearied with bearing them, as the loaded wain in the fields groans beneath the sheaves.

And then in three connected discourses, each beginning with the same solemn appeal, "Hear this word," Amos sets before the proud revellers in Samaria the coming ruin of their nation (chaps. iii.—vi.). But though he again and again predicts that they shall go into captivity, he is not commissioned altogether to raise the curtain which conceals the future, and declare what was the nation by whose means chastisement was to overtake them. Even what he did declare must

have been startling enough, that Jeroboam's conquests were but the precursors of utter defeat and ruin; and that the place of their captivity was to be "beyond Damascus," and so in realms beyond the usual limits of their wars.

At the seventh chapter a series of visions begins, declaring the certainty of Israel's punishment in even more threatening language. This series is interrupted by the episode of Amaziah, which supplies so much interesting matter respecting Amos himself. But in chap. viii. it is resumed with no break, the refrain, "I will not again pass by them any more," of chap. vii. 8, being repeated in chap. viii. 2. Finally, in chap. ix., the prophet reaches the utmost height of sublimity. Jehovah, standing upon the altar at Bethel, smites down with terrible blows the sanctuary there of Jeroboam's calf. In vain do the worshippers flee away; neither hell nor heaven can screen them from the Almighty. In vain do they hide in the multitudinous caves and thick forests of Carmel: God's hand searches them out, and in the very depths of the sea He commands serpents to bite them. And by this visitation of the Eternal Israel is to be sifted "like as corn is sifted in a sieve." Tossed ceaselessly to and fro, ever in motion, finding on earth no nation where it may make its home, Israel is to be scattered throughout all lands. But it is not forsaken of God. Not the least grain is to fall to the ground. Only the chaff perishes. Fierce as may be the tossing within the sieve, the providence of God guards and keeps within its circle all that is good.

And, finally, there is a restoration for Israel, but it is to be wrought through Judah. When Amos wrote Uzziah was reigning in the plenitude of his power. Yet he describes the house of David as a mere *booth* (in our version *tabernacle*), a palace no longer, but a hut of boughs, such as Jonah erected to hide his head. And such the royal dynasty had become when its representative was a Galilean carpenter. But God would "close up its breaches, and raise its ruins, and build it as in the days of old" (chap. ix. 11). And upon this was to follow an era of peace and happiness, and Israel was to be no more uprooted out of its land. From the hut of Nazareth was to commence a new Church, in which all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, and among them Israel itself. For "I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, . . . and I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God" (chap. ix. 14, 15). When we remember that Amos, though of Judah, was a prophet sent to Israel, we cannot but be struck with the reappearance of the same phenomenon which we noticed in speaking of the prophet Hosea—namely, that the blessedness of the latter days is consistently by all the prophets associated with the family and lineage of David.

The story told by the pseudo-Epiphanius and others, of Amos being struck upon the temples with a club by a son of the high-priest Amaziah, and so murdered, is a mere legend. Really we know nothing of his history after his return to his native town.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

THE GOSPELS:—ST. JOHN.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS, AND HON. CANON OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

"And he saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."—JOHN i. 51.

IN these words, addressed primarily to Nathanael, but, as is indicated in the change of number ("I say unto *you*," "*Ye* shall see"), through him to the disciples of Christ generally, we have the first instance of that emphatic repetition of the word "verily" (literally, *Amen*), which is peculiar (1) to the discourses of our Lord Himself, and (2) to the records of those discourses as contained in the Gospel of St. John, in which it occurs twenty-five times.[1]

In commendation, as it should seem, of the faith of Nathanael, the Lord tells him that he, in common with His other followers, should hereafter receive stronger proofs of the reality of their Lord's claim to be the Son of God and the King of Israel than that afforded to himself by the fact that, when hidden from human observation, he had been seen by Christ. In obvious allusion to the vision at Bethel, and to the ladder seen by Jacob, resting upon earth, but reaching up to heaven, our Lord declares Himself to be the mystic ladder, by which alone that communication between heaven and earth which was suspended at the fall had subsequently been renewed, and was destined to be thenceforth more clearly and more gloriously perpetuated.

The "opening of heaven" is a form of expression which occurs both in the Old and New Testament in connection with some remarkable manifestation or communication between heaven and earth, as, *e.g.*, in the case of the visions of God given to Ezekiel by the river of Chebar (Ezek. i. 1), and at the baptism of our Lord by John in the river Jordan (Matt. iii. 16), which had shortly preceded the call of Nathanael.

The two Greek words, ἀπ' ἄρτι, rendered in the Authorised Version "hereafter," are of doubtful authority, and are now omitted in the best critical editions of the text. If retained, they should probably be rendered "henceforth," or "from this time," rather than "here-

[1] It is worthy of observation that the nearest approximation to the emphatic "Amen, amen" of the Gospel of St. John is found in the Apocalypse, where, according to some of the best MSS., the "Amen" at the beginning of the verse is repeated at the end. In the same Book our Lord is represented as "the Amen" (iii. 14).

after," in accordance with their meaning in John xiii. 19 and xiv. 7.

The reference of our Lord's words does not appear to be primarily, if at all, to those manifestations of angels which are recorded in the Gospels in connection with the Transfiguration, the Agony in the Garden, and the Resurrection, but rather to the dawn of that more glorious dispensation in which the communications between heaven and earth were to be maintained in a higher and more continuous manner than of old, through Him who is Himself the new and living way of access to God, and who, through His death, resurrection, and ascension, has, as the Forerunner, opened the gates of heaven to His people. At the same time, we can scarcely exclude from these words that future advent of the Son of Man, so emphatically predicted by Himself—by the angels who were present at His ascension, and by His apostles—when He shall come in His glory, and "all the angels with him" (Matt. xxv. 31). For then, He, who is now invisible to mortal eye, being exalted above "angels and authorities, and powers," shall receive the open adoration of those in regard to whom we are told that at His first coming into the world He condescended to be "made a little lower than the angels" (Heb. ii. 7); and then, when, as "the First-begotten," He shall again be brought into the world, the proclamation shall go forth, "And let all the angels of God worship Him" (Heb. i. 6).

In this, the first of all the promises which Christ gave to His disciples, we trace the germ of those great truths, which are unfolded at length in the Epistle to the Ephesians, concerning "the raising up" of the faithful together with Christ, and the making them already to "sit together with Him in the heavenly places" (ii. 6). In these words we trace a pledge and assurance that, as the result of the reconciliation of all things to Himself, through the blood of His cross—whether in earth or in heaven—not only the first believers in Christ, but all His followers, in all after ages, were to be brought near through Him, as the Mediator of the New Covenant, not only to God the Judge of all, but also "to the general assembly and church of the first-born," to "the spirits of just men made perfect," and to "an innumerable company of angels."

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.

VOCAL MUSIC OF THE HEBREWS.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. D., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

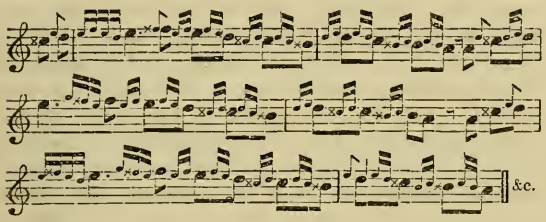
THE absence of monumental records of Hebrew music, some of which, however, may yet be found by the zealous explorers now at work in Palestine, renders the subject of the vocal music of the Jews no less involved in difficulties and mystery than that of their musical instruments. And in offering a few remarks upon it, the course already pursued seems to be the only one open to us—namely, to attempt to give some general idea of what ancient vocal music was, and leave it to the reader to judge how far the Hebrews caught the artistic spirit of their age, or were led by an unusual share of musical ability to excel their neighbours or contemporaries in the practice of this art. If a set of flutes could be found, in good preservation, in each of the centres of ancient civilisation, an approximation might be made to the *scales* commonly in use; but, alas! when the treasures of European museums have been ransacked, and some of the envied specimens shown, it is found that they are too old and crumbling to bear handling, or, if they may be freely handled, resolutely decline to emit a sound of any kind. So their secrets remain for ever locked up. But, as has been hinted in a previous article, the method of blowing into a flute, or of closing more or less the apertures, has all to do with the reproduction of its scale; so that even if an ancient flute were actually placed in the hands of one of our most expert players, he could produce notes of many different pitches from each position of the hand, and could probably give more valuable information by saying what sounds the instrument was *not* capable of producing than by attempting to catalogue its capabilities. From ancient instruments of the harp or guitar class which have survived still less information can be gleaned. It is hardly necessary to say that, at the most, only fragments of the strings remain attached to their frame; nor would an intact set tell any tale, as stringed instruments are not in the habit of remaining in tune for several thousands of years!

Of course *written* music, or the use of signs to represent sounds, must have been, in point of time, far posterior to the use of both vocal and instrumental music. If music had never had a definite scientific growth, it could not have failed to creep into use from a common observance of the different effects produced by altering the pitch of the voice, especially when speaking poetry. Whilst reciting the great deeds of ancestors, or traditional hymns on the greatness of the unseen Maker of the universe (His *love* was only to be fully known by us Christians), the modulation of the voice must have been a most important element of the poet's or minstrel's training. Bearing this fact in mind, it is easy to imagine how, first of all, a solemn monotone, next occasional changes of pitch, and, lastly, ornaments and graces came to be part of the reciter's art, or, in other words, the poet's *music*. How to write these down was quite another question. And here we find that ancient musical notation seems to have naturally grown into two branches, the difference between them depending upon the taste or aptitude of different nations

for incorporating into their music sounds of fixed pitch, or ornaments and graces which could be used in any pitch according to the reciter's wish or requirements. The fact suggests itself at once to us that flutes or wind instruments would have a tendency to fix definite pitch, while harps and guitars, owing to the ease with which their *accordatura* or system of tuning can be altered, would be available for a constantly changing normal pitch, or *diapason* as we somewhat improperly term it.

Not forgetting this, it is most interesting to find that the tendency of Europeans, from the earliest time, has been in *notation* to graduate sounds from a known generator, and so to fix pitch; while, on the other hand, the taste for ornament has led Asiatic nations to devise means rather for expressing these ornaments than for securing their immutability in a scale series.

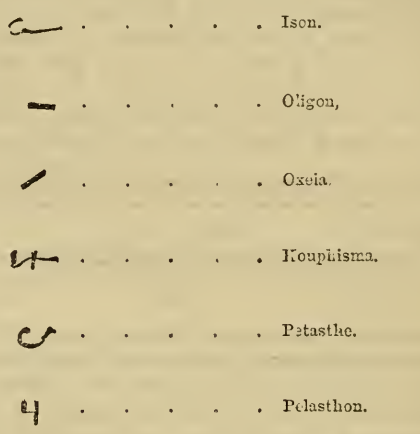
To this day an Asiatic song generally consists of a slight melodic framework, almost hidden beneath a load of extraneous graces. The following fragment of an Arabian tune would puzzle the most devoted lover of *fioritura*. The notes marked × are not doubly sharpened, as would be implied by our modern notation, but are small intervals lying between the notes of our scale which we have no means of expressing.



It must not for one moment be supposed that *all* Asiatic melodies abound in graces, or that all ancient European tunes lack them; quite the contrary. All that is meant is that the *tendency* of these two branches of music is in the one case to include them, and in the other to exclude them.

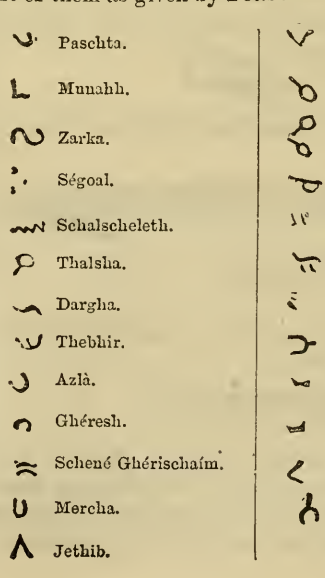
Hence we find that the oldest form of known European notation has for its object the giving of a sign for a fixed note; the oldest, or presumably the oldest, of Eastern systems the giving of a sign for the *movement* of the voice for a certain interval, or this same movement with the addition of an embellishment. The former is exemplified in the Greek notation, as given in ancient treatises; the latter in the so-called *accents* of the Hebrews, of which more must be said soon.

Hence, ancient notations are of two kinds: those founded on the use of the letters of the alphabet; and those in which conventional signs described conventional ornaments. These two, however, though distinct in principle, often overlap each other. For instance, the ancient notation of the Eastern Church, which was tabulated by St. John of Damascus, who was to the Eastern Church, musically, what Gregory was to the Western, consisted of signs which Fetis believes to be almost identical with certain of the demotic characters of Egypt. But other authors consider them as indications of the *form* of the movement of the musical-director's hand. Much can be said in favour of this theory, as a system of *chironomy* has been associated with music from the earliest times. A few are here given:—

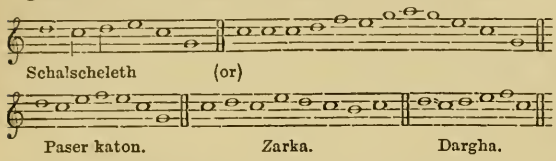


Ison is the key-note or *tonic*, a *movable do*. The other signs represent the vocalisation of various intervals above and below the *ison*.

If such distinctive signs as these were used only for the expression of definite intervals, the translation of such music into modern notes would be comparatively easy; but, unfortunately, the *Hebrew* accents were intended in all probability to describe often not only an interval, but a succession of notes and an embellishment. These accents are signs found in ancient copies of the Pentateuch, Book of Job, and Psalms. Some are placed over words, some under; some over the last letter of a word, last but one, or in other positions, the musical value varying accordingly. Authors are found who entirely dissociate them from the art of music; but on the whole, the balance of opinion is in favour of their musical origin. The following is a list of them as given by Fetis:—



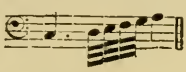
The form of several of the above will be found to differ from that given to them in other works. They have probably varied slightly from time to time. Old Kircher (in his *Musurgia*) exhibits their position above or below a word by using a short line as an imaginary word. Some of the vowel-accents of Hebrew become tonal-accents if placed in a particular place with regard to the letters forming the word. This adds to the difficulties of this already difficult subject. The following are some of Kircher's explanations of the accents:—



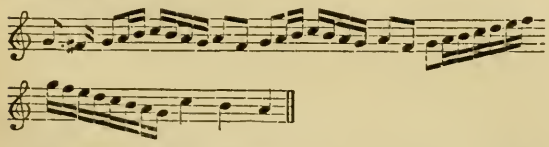
A careful examination of Kircher's complete list will, however, raise some doubts as to his trustworthiness. Exactly similar musical phrases are in more than one instance given for two different accents, and the explanation of some of them resolves itself into the repetition of a single note.

The questions which arise as to the meaning of these signs would pass from the consideration of the musician to that of the scholar, were it not for the fact that complete musical transcriptions of them, such as those above, have been given by several authors. On comparing these, however, their difference is found to be so great, that the conclusion is unwillingly forced upon us that practically the musical rendering of the accents varies in character according to the nature of music in use in whatever country the Jews have settled down. Thus, Eastern Jews give them in music which bears a close likeness to that of modern Asiatics. Their interpretation in Spain is palpably Moorish; in Germany different to both of these, and so on. The few following examples will point out the discrepancies which exist in their explanation.

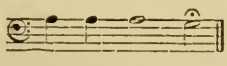
Schalscheleth, which has already been quoted from Kircher, is traditionally rendered in the Egyptian synagogues



by the English Jews, according to Nathan (*Essay on History of Music*),

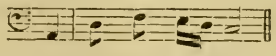


by the Spanish Jews, according to Bartolocci (*Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*),

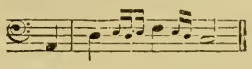


Any translations more divergent in character than these can scarcely be conceived. In comparing traditional tunes, it is generally or at least often found that the different versions begin and end in the same key-tonality; but in comparing the above four traditional explanations of *schalscheleth* not even this similarity of construction is observable.

It should be remarked that the musical renderings of the accents, as given by Egyptian and Syrian Jews, bear a striking resemblance to each other. For instance, *thalsha* is thus sung by the Egyptian Jews (according to Fetis):—

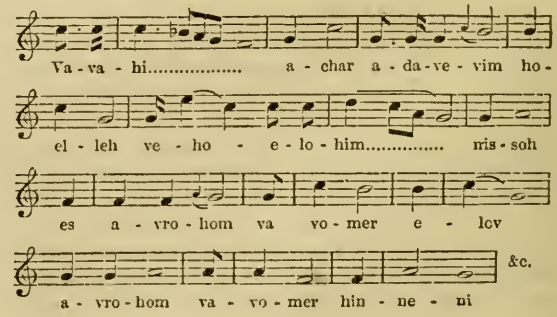


The Syrian use is practically identical:—



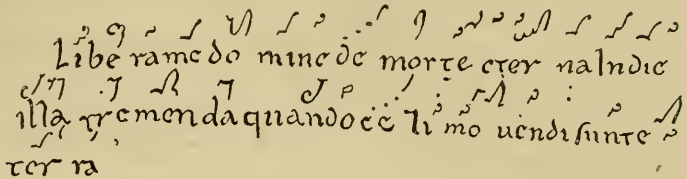
It has also been found that two sects of Jews in Egypt, though opposed to each other in ceremonial and doctrine, have a very similar system of singing the accents.

As the primary use of accents is to point out the usual elevation of the voice, as shown by the Greek accents, which were a comparatively late addition to their written language, for the benefit of foreign students; so also it is quite possible that these complicated Hebrew accents gradually grew out of what were originally simple signs directing a slight elevation of the voice when reading or perhaps monotoning. That *monotone,* when used from century to century in the mouth of devout readers, will grow into a *cantillation,* or rude sort of chant, can be proved by the history of our early Church plain-song. Why should not the Hebrews have passed in their days through the same phase of musical development which other nations have done? If there is any truth in this thought, it would be futile to attempt to stereotype, as it were, the actual meanings of their tonal accents. In the most primitive times, what would now strike us as a most simple cadence of the voice, must have added dignity to the solemn recitation of the revered words of the treasured rolls. As art grew around, these improvised ornaments would naturally grow more complicated, until, as we actually find to be the case, they would rival the most ambitious modern *roulade.* In the authors already quoted the reader who is specially interested in this subject will find much information. A quotation (from Naumbourg) of a fragment of Genesis xxii., will show the result of strictly applying the meaning of the accents attached to the text of the Pentateuch, as interpreted or taken down from tradition by him.

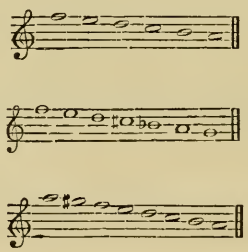


The final close of the passage of which the above is part, is on the note F.

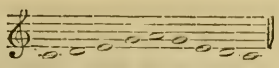
It is curious that one of the earliest attempts at musical notation among Western Christians should have consisted of signs, such as the following, placed over words :—

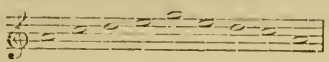


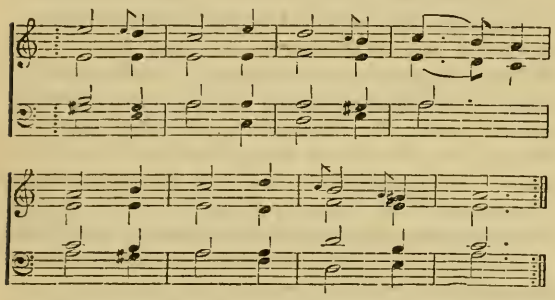
The above, which comes from a work of the eleventh century, has been copied from Coussemaker's admirable *History of Music in the Middle Ages*. As a class, these signs were called *neumas*, but sometimes also *accents*. They laboured under precisely the same disadvantages as their prototypes among the Hebrews, namely, the probability of a diversity of translation. Modern musicians do not perhaps know how grateful they ought to be to those who first used *lines*, or a *staff* of lines, to represent the exact interval between ascending and descending sounds. Attempts were probably made to introduce them about the same date ascribed to the above signs, after which their use rapidly spread. Until such a system came into existence, music as an art was chained up within the narrowest limits. By enabling composers to express in a simple form the relation or position of two or more parts placed over one another, it doubtless paved the way for that wonderful expansion of harmony into a separate branch of the art, which has achieved such wonders in our own day. For although early composers of part-music, it is presumed, in accordance with fashion, rarely published scores of their works, it cannot be doubted that in the quietude of their study they took the simple course of sketching a score before copying out separate parts. This growth of harmony must be looked upon as the distinctive feature of modern music. By "harmony" must of course be understood that independence of movement in the component parts of music, which makes some of our finest music, practically, into a number of beautiful melodies heard simultaneously. This, it is almost a certainty, was unknown to all ancient nations. In the more limited sense of the word—"a combination of consonant, or properly regulated dissonant sounds," or, in short, *chords*—the ancients, no doubt, may be said to have had *harmony*, that is to say, certain notes of their scales were very probably accompanied by chords, according to certain rules. But yet they had only one melody at a time, whereas we can and do listen to many conjointly. And who can describe the pleasure which accrues to a trained musician when he grasps in his mind many threads of delicious melody, and traces how the composer's genius is interlacing them; now drawing them close together, now spreading them out until the ear is taxed to gather in high and deep tones; and still further, while thus interweaving the several threads, is spreading to the ear at each combination, whether the parts move concordantly or are discordantly jostling one another, chords which are in themselves complete and beautiful sets of sweet sounds. Such harmony—to be found in the works of a Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn—did not exist for the Hebrews, Egyptians, or even Greeks. It places modern music on a pinnacle of glory. Chords, and a regulated use of chords, the Hebrews very probably used; but they did not possess the full gift which we term *harmony*. As regards the form of early Hebrew melodies, it is probable that they are reflected in modern Asiatic music, and would, if we could hear them now, strike us as being in a sort of minor mode. It is possible that they might at one time have had an enharmonic scale (that is, a scale having intervals less than a semi-tone), and that this was in time superseded by a simpler form; but there are some grounds for supposing that they used some form of scale consisting of tones and semi-tones. From some of the music now sung by Egyptian Jews such scales as the following might be formed :—



In all attempts to construct scales from traditional songs, the great difficulty which presents itself is to discover what was the key-note or starting-point of the scale. If ancient melodies began or ended on the key-note or tonic, the knot could be at once unravelled; but this no one can venture to assume. The key-note of the Greeks was at first, unquestionably, in the middle of their scale. The reader must bear in mind that the question is not of what sounds any tune is made up, but in what order did these sounds occur to form a scale. Engel has shown his appreciation of this difficulty when discussing the *pentatonic* scale, to which he justly attributes great antiquity. It consists of what we should call the first, second, fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees

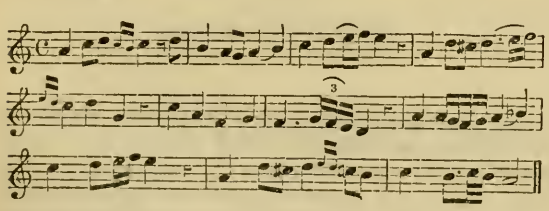
of our modern scale, *e.g.*, 

In some of the oldest known tunes made up of these notes, the lowest note is not the tonic. But if it be written thus,  it presents a very different appearance to the eye, and produces a very different effect on the ear. Yet, without doubt, any musical instrument tuned to a series of notes corresponding to the above might with justice be described as possessing a pentatonic scale. The minor tonality of Eastern melodies has before been alluded to. The following beautiful tune is Syrian. Simple harmonies have been added to it for the assistance of those who cannot harmonise it for themselves.

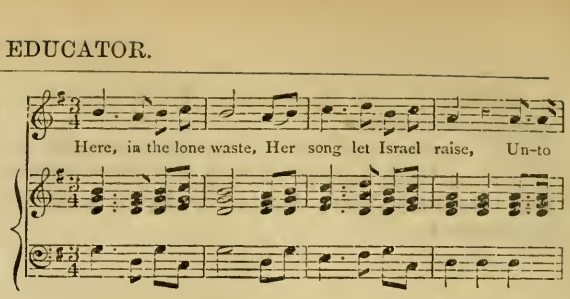


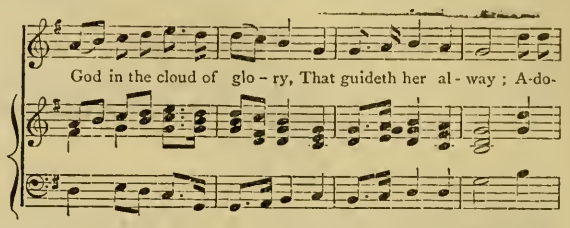
The rhythm of this tune is so symmetrical that it might well be used as a hymn tune. In this respect it is perhaps different to many of its class. It will be noticed that its compass is a minor sixth, a compass within which old melodies are often contained, and which had been remarked by Villoteau as a feature in some of the Egyptian-Jewish music.

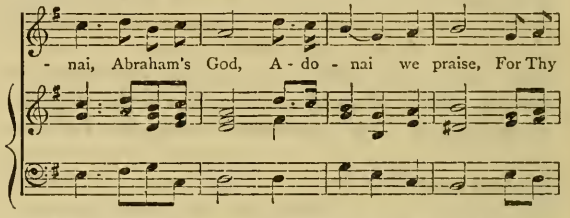
The following melody was sent to M. Fetis, whose account of the vocal music of the Jews is perhaps the most interesting and reliable portion of his *Histoire générale de la Musique* (and to whom we are indebted for much of the music that has been given), by a resident of Egypt, as being traditional in the synagogue of Alexandria:—

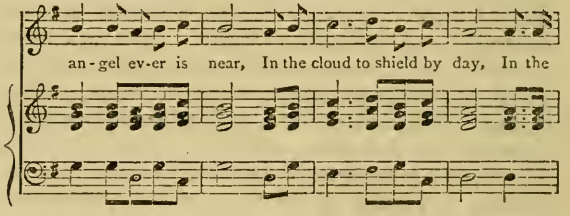


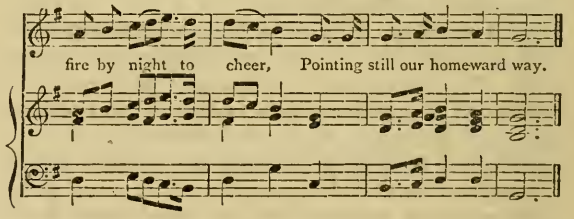
The quaint and wild beauty of this tune will be appreciated by the most unmusical reader. As an example of supposed ancient Hebrew music, the tune which follows is given with a simple pianoforte accompaniment. It is given by the learned Carl Engel from a rare work by De Sola. It is said to be the veritable song of Moses, but, unfortunately, its modern tonality gives a denial to this tradition. Its sweet tunefulness and graceful form will, however, be a sufficient recommendation of it.



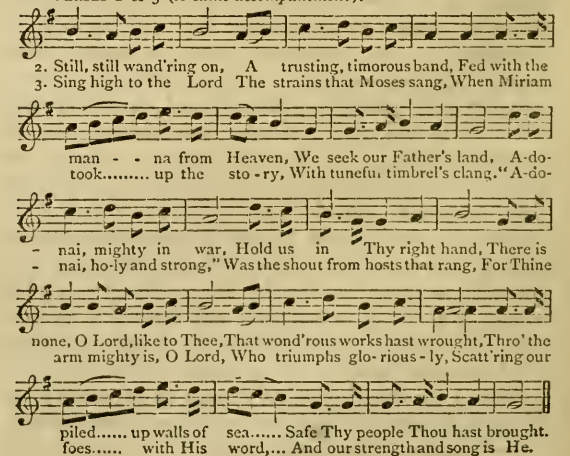




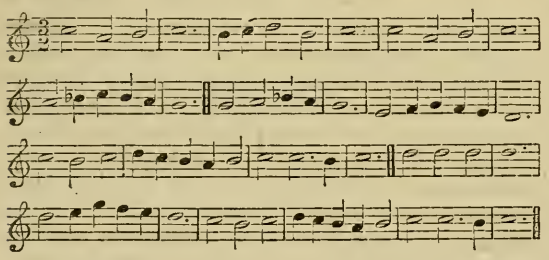




VERSES 2 & 3 (*to same accompaniment*).



In cantillation, which has above been described as a rude kind of chant, all the defects which are attached to irregularity and uncertainty showed themselves. Its character varied from time to time and in different places. But the very irregularity of this sort of chant renders it singularly appropriate for use to poems of a complicated or constantly changing rhythm, such as the Psalms. The rigidity of the form of the single or double chants to which we sing the beautiful Prayer-book translation of the Psalms is really their great fault, for although it gives a congregation of hearers every opportunity of quickly learning its unvarying tune, yet it must remain exactly of the same length and cadence, whether the verses be short or long, or whether the parallelisms of the poetry run in half verses, whole verses, or in sets of two verses. The unequal length of the mediations and endings of Gregorian tones has been urged in their behalf, as giving greater elasticity to the musical recitation of the Psalms. It must be allowed that this is true, but on the other hand this advantage is often thrown away by using one particular tone for a whole psalm, or, what is still worse, for several consecutive psalms at one service. We moderns, it must be confessed, stand greatly in need of some easy form of cantillation for psalm-singing, which shall, owing to its elastic character, be capable of being moulded to suit irregularly-constructed poems. The following chant is used to the 18th Psalm by the Spanish Jews. As will be seen, it has lost much of the rhythmical irregularity of cantillation, but yet is not tied up in a strait-jacket like a modern chant.



It will not be difficult to form an opinion of the general effect of Temple music on solemn occasions, if we know the grand musical results of harps, trumpets, cymbals, and other simple instruments, when used in large numbers simultaneously or in alternating masses. It is easy to describe it in an offhand way as *barbarous*. Barbarous in one sense, no doubt, it was; so, too, was the frequent gash of the uplift sacrificial knife in the throat of helpless victims on reeking altars. Yet the great Jehovah himself condescended to consecrate by His visible presence ceremonials of such sort, and why may we not believe that the sacred fire touched the singers' lips and urged on the cunning fingers of harpists, when songs of praise, mixing with the wreathing smoke of incense, found their way to His throne, the outpourings of true reverence and holy joy? If one of us could now be transported into the midst of such a scene, an overpowering sense of awe and sublimity would be inevitable. But how much more must the devout Israelites themselves have been affected, who felt that their little band—a mere handful in the midst of mighty heathen nations—was, as it were, the very casket permitted to hold the revelation of God to man, of Creator to His creatures; and could sing in Psalmist's words which now stir the heart and draw forth the song, how from time to time His mighty hand had strengthened and His loving arm had fenced them? Let us try and enter into their inmost feelings, when the softest music of their harps wafted the story of His kindness and guidance from side to side of their noble Temple, or a burst of trumpet-sound heralded the recital of His crushing defeat of their enemies, soon again to give place to the chorus leaping from every heart, "Give thanks unto the Lord, his mercy endureth for ever."

When next, in time to come, such sounds wake the desolation of the now ruined and half-buried Holy City, the ancient music will have passed for ever away with the ancient hardness of heart and disbelief, and nothing in Art shall be too new for those who will then understand how old and new dispensations have been bound together in one by Him who has brought His erring children once more into His fold, from the east and from the west. What a new, what an unfathomable depth of meaning will *then* be found in their oft-repeated song, "His mercy endureth for ever!"

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

IMAGERY FROM NATURE (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. A. S. AGLEN, M.A., INCUMBENT OF ST. NINIAN'S, ALYTH, N.B.

OF all the works of creation, next to man himself, "the herb yielding seed after his kind" has exercised the greatest and most varied influence on the human mind and heart. Wonderful in its universal adaptation to the conditions of life, so that all necessary comforts and pleasures may be gathered from it, vegetation is no less richly gifted with lessons for the soul. In causing "grass to grow for the cattle and herb for the service of man," God has linked to its lower uses all kinds of grace and precious teaching, so that it springs no less for our discipline than our delight. There is not a virtue within the widest range of human conduct, not a grace set on high for man's aspiration, which has not its fitting emblem in vegetable life. The grasses which are spread beneath his feet teach him with a simple eloquence to be humble and serviceable, and he may read his way to heaven in the flowers that grow by his

earthly path.[1] Vegetation becomes thus, it has been beautifully said, to the earth an imperfect soul given to meet the soul of man. Nor is any effort necessary to create the sympathetic touch. It wants no imaginative energy to endow flowers and trees with human feeling. It is in them. They themselves "teach us, by most persuasive reasons, how near akin they are to human things." Sharing with humanity the great mysteries of growth and decay, and for ever repeating with solemn emphasis the same great lessons as the seasons come and go, they are always in close sympathy with our saddest and with our most hopeful thoughts. The grass that withereth and the flower that fadeth have afforded universal emblems of decay and death, while Divine lips have given sacred authority to the poetic thought which sees in the "harvest hidden in the seed" the assurance of immortality and life.[2]

Passing from these universal experiences which abound in Hebrew as in every other literature, let us examine more particularly into the influence exerted by the vegetation of the Holy Land on the genius of the people who dwelt there.

No country that has produced great poets has had its trees neglected by them. Homer has a large and reverential love for deep wooded glades and quiet shady groves. Virgil's richest verse is melodious with the sounds of swaying branches and leafy boughs. Dante, it is true, reflects the southern mediæval dread of the dark and pathless forest,[3]

> "Which in the very thought renews the fear,
> So bitter is it, death is little more."

But Chaucer delights in trees, and shows a woodman's knowledge of their growth and use.[4] Spenser has imitated and improved on the older poet,[5] in his beautiful and accurate description of all the varieties of timber common on English soil. Shakespeare, who finds "tongues in trees," brings his gentlest and happiest people together under the "greenwood tree;" and if we come to our more modern poets, the works of Tennyson alone, were England denuded to-morrow of all her woods, would serve to preserve for posterity a sense of what is most beautiful and peculiar in our chief forest trees.[6]

The poets of Palestine display, in the same way, an accurate appreciation of, and constant love for, the trees of their country. At the present day the relics of the once proud forests of Palestine serve rather to set off the general barrenness and poverty of the country, than to prove the former riches of the soil. "Once it was a land of dense timber growths, and of frequent graceful clusters of smaller trees, and of orchards and of vineyards:" "the cedar, the palm, the ilex, the terebinth, the olive, the acacia, the vine, the fig-tree, the myrtle"—thus we learn from the verses of the poets—once clothed the mountain sides or clustered in the valleys.

A powerful emblem of kingly might or of the nobler grandeur of virtuous souls was supplied by the cedar—an object of almost religious reverence from the towering pride of its height, and majestic sweep of its branches, as well as from the remoteness of its chosen home on the slopes of Lebanon—an object too of poetic love at all times, from the manifold associations which this patriarch of trees gathers round it in its venerable continuance through centuries of life. The allusions to it in Scripture are very frequent. "The trees of Jehovah," "the cedars which God hath planted," "the tall cedars," are the usual designations. And when the Psalmist wishes to describe a life of continued piety and benevolence protracted through long years of that safety and prosperity which the Hebrew mind usually associated with godliness, he can find no apter emblem than a rich and full-grown cedar, which flourishes not in its own distant mountain home, but in the courts of Jehovah's house, where it stands stately and revered, spreading abroad for the delight and refreshment of all pious Jews its odorous and magnificent wealth of branches.[7]

The cedar was a stranger. As such it became a striking symbol of those haughty powers which from time to time descended from the north and east upon the Jewish monarchy. Thus Ezekiel compares the Assyrian to "a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs." But there was a tree natural to Palestine, which must always have presented a striking object in the view wherever it appeared. The word "oak" is used in our version to translate four different words, all, however, derived from a common root, *el*, "to be strong;" which appears also in two cognate terms[8] that might with equal correctness be rendered "oak." Two existing representatives specially claim, from their size and importance, the term *strong* or *mighty tree*, the Turkish oak (*el* or *elah*), and the *turpentine* or *terebinth* which the Arabs call *butm*. The trees are different in kind, but in general appearance are very similar. "They are both tall and spreading trees with dark evergreen foliage; and by far the largest in height and breadth of any in Palestine." So much prominence is given to solitary trees of this class, famous from their associations and invested with a kind of sacred character, as to make it probable that they were always rare and scattered. Stanley says, "They were no unfitting image of the remnant of the ancient giant race which had been 'destroyed from before Israel'—'the Amorite whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was

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[1] See Ruskin's *Mod. Painters*, v., pt. vi., ch. i. Cf. Schiller, "If thou wouldest attain to thy highest, go look upon a flower; what that does unconsciously that do thou willingly."

[2] Ps. xxxvii. 2; lxxii. 6; xc. 5, &c.; Isa. xl. 6, &c.; James i. 10; John xii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 36.

[3] See Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, iii. pt. iv.

[4] "Assembly of Foules."

[5] *Faery Queene*, i. 1.

[6] Recall of the more memorable instances of the subtle observation of this poet,

> "Blasts that blow the poplar white,"
> "Blacker than ashbuds in the front of March,"

and see "the Talking Oak" and "Amphion."

[7] Ps. xcii. 13.

[8] *Elon* (Gen. xii. 6), &c., translated "plain;" and *ilan* (Dan. iv. 10), "tree." See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 519 and 141.

strong as the oaks.'" "But in the table-land of Gilead are the thick oak-woods of Bashan, often alluded to by the prophets, as presenting the most familiar image of forest scenery." Isaiah connects these well-known symbols of pride and strength with the cedars of Lebanon in the mighty lyric burst of song which celebrates the weakness and worthlessness of human power before the march of the majesty of the Most High.[1]

The symbolical treatment of other trees of Palestine by its poets it is only necessary to touch upon. The palm, which now so rarely is seen to break the monotony of the Syrian landscape, must at one period have been a common tree in the gardens of the rich, and on the banks of rivers.[2] Its tall and well-proportioned beauty made it a suitable emblem not only for loveliness of form,[3] but for truth and rectitude of conduct. So, too, the fatness of the olive[4] represented the flourishing condition of the pious, while the wicked were compared to thorns and briars, or to noxious weeds.[5] The reed or rush growing by the river-side is used by the author of the Book of Job, whose eye for nature was so quick, and his feeling so true, as an image of the insecurity of evil-doers:—

> "Can the papyrus grow up without mire?
> Can the reed live without water?
> While yet green, is it not cut down?
> And before other grasses it is dry.
> Such is the lot of those that forget God:
> The hope of the wicked shall perish."[6]

But the same plant is to Isaiah a type of humility[7] and lowly worth:—

> "The bruised reed He shall not break,
> The smoking flax He shall not quench." (Isa. xlii. 3.)

These allusions are sufficient to indicate the impressions produced on a mind gifted with poetic sensibility, by the larger vegetation of Palestine. But to appreciate fully the close and affectionate observation with which the poets of that time and country, as poets have always and everywhere done, studied the habits and forms of various trees, a careful study of the botany of the Bible, in connection with its poetry, is necessary. Let us take as an instance the olive—one of the most abundant and also one of the most cherished fruit-trees of Palestine. It is hardly exaggerating to say that a whole history of the growth and uses of this tree might be gleaned from the pages of Scripture, which show by many delicate touches how close was the observation of these poets, who were themselves often by their calling, as well as by their love for nature, drawn into the fields, or gardens, or woods.[8]

Passing from trees to the smaller vegetation, we might not, perhaps, from the poetry of the Hebrews learn that their country was every spring made gay with such an embroidery of flowers as only Asia Minor besides can show. Travellers tell us of the delighted wonder awakened by the valleys and hill-sides, where scarlet anemones, tulips, and poppies blend their rich hues into a blaze of colour which is relieved here and there by the sober face of a daisy, or the shining white of the little flower called "the star of Bethlehem."[9] Botanists describe the flora of the Holy Land to be in this respect exceedingly varied and interesting, and seek with anxious reverence to identify their discoveries with the plants mentioned in Scripture. Hitherto the endeavour in the case of the wild flowers has ended only in uncertainty. The few varieties to which allusion is made are mentioned too generally to distinguish their form or qualities. Nor did the poetic feeling for the beauty "of these witnesses for God," which we can hardly doubt was kindled in the hearts of these "seers" who lived so much in the fields, and were so conversant with Nature in all her aspects, find more than the most scanty expression in their songs. In this, however, Hebrew poetry was true to its religious aim. It has been said indeed of flowers, that "to the men of supreme power and thoughtfulness they are precious only at times, and that only symbolically and pathetically, not for their own sake." With one exception, no poet of Israel, that we know, looked on these gems of earth except for this emblematical purpose.

When spring appeared on the bare and monotonous hills, attired more richly than monarchs in their pride, the hopeful Hebrew imagination saw in the sudden change an emblem and a promise of that future glory which in Jehovah's purpose for His people was surer than the seasons and brighter than any scene of earth.

> "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them,
> And the desert shall blossom as the rose." (Isa. xxxv. 1.)

And when, after the brief term of life allowed by the Eastern clime, as the moisture dried up in the valleys, and the verdure shrank from the hills, and the dew could no longer keep them from drooping, the flowers withered and died, the poets drew from their fadings divine lessons both of consolation and of warning. But in the exquisite pastoral pictures of the Canticles flowers take their proper place. They are loved for their own sake. It is with something akin to the modern poetic sense that the author of this charming poem delights in the flowers which herald in the spring:—

> "Lo! the winter is past,
> The rain is over, is gone.
> The flowers appear upon the fields,
> The time of singing is come,
> The cooing of the turtle-dove is heard in our land.

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[1] Isa. ii. 13.

[2] Of the immense palm-grove seven miles long which once surrounded Jericho, not a vestige remains. (Stanley, p. 144.)

[3] Cant. vii. 7; Ps. xcii. 12.

[4] Hos. xiv. 6; Ps. lii. 8; cxxviii. 3.

[5] Isa. ix. 18. Cf. Matt. vii. 16; xiii. 25.

[6] Job viii. 11—13.

[7] Cf. Dante *Purgatorio*, i. 95:

> "Go then and see thou gird this one about
> With a smooth rush.
> * * * * * * *
> No other plant that putteth forth the leaf
> Or that doth indurate can there have life,
> Because it yieldeth not unto the shocks."

And see Ruskin on this passage, *Mod. Painters*, iii. 232.

[8] In Job xv. 33 we read, "He shall cast off his flower like the olive." How powerfully this touch portrays the disappointment which Eliphaz prophesies for the wicked. The flowering of the olive was anxiously watched, and winds were dreaded, since the least ruffling of the breeze is apt to make the flowers fall.

[9] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 139.

The fig-tree sweetens her green figs,
The vines blossom,
They diffuse fragrance;
Arise, my love, my fair one, and come."

Indeed, it is scarcely fanciful to think we can detect a special affection for one flower, such as Chaucer shows for the daisy, or Tennyson for the daffodil. The lily, if that is the true translation of the word *shoshan*, is mentioned eight times in the short compass of these tender lyrics. It is the image under which passionate love paints the object of its desire. In the absence of her beloved, the maiden heroine of the piece loves to fancy him in his garden "gathering lilies," or leading his flocks to meadows where they grow. Though we are not shown the colour or form of the flower, we are told that it grows in the woodland scenery "among thorns," and makes the pasture-grounds amid the glades of Lebanon odorous with its scent.[1]

Climate exercises a powerful influence on poetry. "Bring together from the stores of our modern English poetry those passages which borrow their rich colouring from our fitful atmosphere and its humidity: the soft and golden glozings of sunrise and sunset, and the pearly distances at noon, and the outbursts of sunbeam, and the sudden overshadowings and the blendings of tints upon all distances of two or three miles;" and it will be found that all that is most distinctive of our national song is included. To our humid skies is due the sombre tone of feeling that pervades our imaginative literature, no less than the richness of its colouring.

The climate of Palestine was probably far more variable in David's time than it is now. The frequent mention of clouds and the effect of cloudy skies, and the familiarity of the writers with snow and frost, would lead to the conclusion that considerable atmospheric changes had taken place. Travellers in modern days are invariably struck with the sharp and unpictorial aspect of the landscape produced by the utterly clear air. Seen through this medium, so unfavourable for those charming aërial illusions common in northern skies, the hill-tops and rocky surfaces wear a look of hardness and poverty, which is heightened by the general absence of verdure. The result of this is a general look of monotony and sameness, under which only close observation can discover the beauty and variety of scenery which really exist in the Holy Land. Still, even now, the temperature of Syria is liable to variations which recall the experiences of the climate of more northern latitudes, rather than those of the East. Snow falls occasionally to the depth of a foot or more, and frost at nights is not unknown. The general aspect of the year is that so often mentioned in Scripture, the two sharply-marked periods "summer and winter," "cold and heat," "seed-time and harvest."[2]

In warm climates, and in no country is it more so than in Syria, the moisture which has been held aloft by the heat of the day descends at night in a copious dew, which falls like a mighty yet noiseless deluge, and supplies for many months the place of rain. Many magnificent images in sacred poetry are due to this natural phenomenon. What incomparable force and beauty in the sublime opening of Moses' song, when the earth is adjured to wait for the prophet's doctrine, as after the parching heat of day it waits for the dew of heaven! What a sense of the blessings spread throughout an entire people by a cordial spirit of patriotic agreement in all great questions, is conveyed by the striking image of Ps. cxxxiii., where national unity is figured by the dew of heaven which descends like a gracious shower on Sion! Or what could be more expressive of the issue of mere impulsive goodness, or of hypocrisy, than the suddenness with which the dew dries up under the Eastern morning sun?—

"O Ephraim! what shall I do unto thee?
O Judah! what shall I do unto thee?
For your goodness is as a morning cloud,
And as an early dew it goeth away."
(Hos. vi. 4; cf. xiii. 3.)

But it is time for us to descend from our station. Let us wait only till the sun has gone down beneath the shining waters waiting for him in the west. But "no cloudy skirts, with brede ethereal wove," o'erhang that "western tent." We must look for no "golden lightning of the sunken sun," no rippling waves of crimson and purple and scarlet and gold; no beatings and throbbings as of a fiery heart sad at leave-taking. The eve of Syria is not "crimson coloured," and Hebrew poetry is wanting in allusions to sunset. Two feelings connect themselves with evening in the East—the sense of refreshing coolness, and the growth of the shadows as the sun declines. Both are combined in Cant. ii. 17—

"When the day cools,[3]
And the shadows flee away;"

and Isaiah has a vivid picture of frustrated hopes—

"The evening breeze for which I longed hath He turned into horror" (xxi. 4).

But the absence of the spectacle with which in our latitudes of mist the luminary of day surrounds his departure is amply compensated by the magnificence of night. The starry heavens open upon the mountains of Israel a scene incomparably more sublime than we are wont to witness. "There—it seems so—bearing down upon our heads with power, are the stedfast splendours of that midnight sky." "The planets and stars upon which the shepherds of Palestine were used to gaze, and which to them were guiding lights, do not seem as if they were fain to go out from moment to moment; but each burns in its socket as a lamp that is well furnished with oil." Thousands of distant fires which we cannot see at all, or see only as luminous nebulæ, were distinct and clear in these serene heavens. No wonder they became the symbol of infinite number. No wonder the midnight watchers shaped out of these clusters monsters of huge and wondrous power, giant huntsmen and

[1] Cant. vi. 2, 3.
[2] See Taylor's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*.

[3] Translated in A. V., "when the day breaks," but *nephesh* is more probably the cool breeze which springs up in Eastern climates as the night falls.

warriors, heroes of celestial romance.[1] Nor any wonder that in the pious thought of the Israelite the stars should seem to chant incessantly the praises of their Almighty Creator, and by their pure shining at once humble and exalt the late-born but nobler creature man.[2]

[1] Job xxxviii. 31.

[2] See Vol. I., p. 287.

BIBLE WORDS.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

COTES (*subst.*) is found once in the Authorised Version (2 Chron. xxxii. 28), "Hezekiah made himself . . . . stalls for all manner of beasts, and *cotes* for flocks." This word, which is identical with the Anglo-Saxon *cóte*, a cottage or cot, connected with the Dutch *kot*, any hollow place, and the Welsh *cwt*, a hovel or sty, has dropped out of ordinary use in its simple form, though very familiar as a compound signifying a hutch or cage for some of the smaller animals—*e.g.*, sheepcote, dovecote, hencote, &c. It is found as a human dwelling-place in Wiclif, "Wei thei made bi desertis that ben not dwelled in: and in desert places thei made litil *cotes*" (Wisd. xi. 2); where the Authorised Version has, "They pitched tents in places where there lay no way;" and in *Piers the Ploughman*, "Bothe princes paleis, and poure menne *cotes*" (p. 166). In the Bible sense Shakespeare has—

> "His *cote*, his flocks, and bounds of feed
> Are now on sale." (*As You Like It*, ii. 4.)

And Spenser—

> "And learned of lighter timber *cotes* to frame,
> Such as might save my sheepe and me fro' shame."
> (*Shepherd's Calendar*, Dec. 7.)

Cruse (*subst.*), an earthen or stone pot or pitcher for holding water (1 Sam. xxvi. 11, 12, 16; 1 Kings xix. 6; 2 Kings ii. 20), and oil (1 Kings xvii. 12, 14, 16), or honey (1 Kings xiv. 3), allied to the French *cruche*, and the German *krug*, of which *crucible* is a diminutive. Richardson quotes the following passage:—

> "You think it to be one of the chiefeste pointes of godlines to wash your handes, your cuppes, your *cruces*, and to observe manye other lyke thynges." (Udal, *S. Mark*, c. 7.)

> "No brawler in his familie, nor angry for a *crewse*,
> Breaking, no crafte of man, or place could him in ought abuse."
> (Drant, *Horace*.)

We may add this from Quarles—

> "Sink'st thou in want, and is thy small *cruse* spent?
> See Him in want; enjoy Him in content."

Cumber (*verb act.*), **Cumbrance** (*subst.*). The verb is twice used in the New Testament. Martha is described as "*cumbered* with much serving," in her anxious desire to provide our Lord with fitting entertainment (Luke x. 40): of the barren fig-tree it is asked, "Why *cumbereth* it the ground?" (Luke xiii. 7). In both the sense is the same of oppressing with an unnecessary load. The substantive is found in Deut. i. 12, where Moses asks, "How can I myself alone bear your *cumbrance*, and your burden, and your strife?" while the Hebrew word is translated "trouble" in Isa. i. 14. The word *cumber* is allied to the German *Kummern*, and the Dutch *Komberen*. It survives in our ordinary language in the compound "encumber," though it has become obsolete in the simple form which was once very common—*e.g.*, Piers Ploughman's *Creede*, "By his craft thei comen in to *combren* the chirche." In Shakespeare, Timon says, "Let it not *cumber* your better remembrance" (*Tim. of Ath.* iii. 6); and Antony predicts that on the death of Julius Cæsar—

> "Domestic fury and fierce civil strife
> Shall *cumber* all the parts of Italy."
> (*Julius Cæsar*, iii. 1.)

Latimer describes the children of this world "which as Nimrods, and such sturdy and stout hunters . . . . deceive the children of light and *cumber* them easily" (Serm., p. 47). Bacon (*Adv. of Learning*, xxiii. 45) quotes the "evil and corrupt position" of Machiavel, "that a man seek not to attain virtue itself, but the appearance thereof; because the credit of virtue is a help, but the use of it is *cumber*." As an example of "cumbrance," we have this from Grafton (*Hen. II.* an. 33), "There is no facilitie or wealth in this mortal world so perfite, which is not darkened with some cloude of *cumbrance* and adversitie."

Daysman is found once for an "arbiter" in the Authorised Version (Job ix. 33), "Neither is there any *daysman* betwixt us that might lay his hand upon us both;" where the Geneva Bible has the less idiomatic but more intelligible *umpire*. This word, though now quite obsolete and needing explanation, was in familiar use in the sixteenth century, *e.g.*—

> "If neighbours were at variance they ran not streight to law,
> *Daiesmen* took up the matter, and cost them not a straw."
> (*New Custome*, i. 20, Nares.)

> "In Switzerland (as we are informed by Simlerus) they had some common arbitrators or *dayesmen* in every towne, that made a friendly composition betwixt man and man."
> (Burton's *Anat. of Melanch.*, Nares.)

> "To whom Cymochles said, 'For what art thou
> That makest thyself his *dayesman* to prolong
> The vengeance prest?"
> (Spenser, *Faëry Queene*, ii. 8, 28.)

> "If one man synne agaynst another, *daysemen* may make hys peace; but yf a man sinne agaynst the Lord, who can be hys *daysemen?*" (1 Sam. ii. 25 [1551], Aldis Wright.)

The use of "daysman" as an "arbiter" is to be traced to the employment of the word "day" simply for the time when a cause was to be heard and judgment given, and then for "judgment" itself. This use is common to many languages. In Greek we may

instance 1 Cor. iv. 3, where "man's *judgment*," as we render it, is really "man's *day*." In Latin *diem dicere* is to "implead." In German, *eine sache tagen* is to "institute a lawsuit." In the preface to Jewell's *Defence of the Apology* (Parker Soc., vol. iii., p. 121) we find the phrase "to put in daying" for to "call in question." "Our doctrine hath been too long approved to be *put in daying* in these days."

Deal (*subst.*). "A tenth *deal*" is found twenty-seven times in the Levitical portion of the Pentateuch, either in the singular or plural, as a measure for grain or meal, corresponding to a tithe or tenth part of an ephah, sometimes called an omer (Exod. xvi. 36). We may instance Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. xiv. 10, 21; Numb. xv. 4, 6, 9, &c. &c. It is a translation of the Hebrew עֶשְׂרוֹן, *a tenth part*, from עֶשֶׂר, *ten*. The English word *deal*, answering to the Sanskrit *dala*, Old Norse *deila*, Anglo-Saxon *daél*, German *theil*, "a part," "a portion," has passed out of common use, except in the phrase "a great *deal*" (which is also found in the A. V., Mark vii. 36; x. 48), the adjective being sometimes omitted and implied, as in Shakespeare—

> "Every tedious stride I make
> Will but remember me what a *deal* of world
> I wander from the jewels that I love."
> (*Rich. II.*, i. 3.)

In our earlier language we find "some deal," "every deal," "a small deal," "a half deal."

> "Be so that he the halve dele
> Seem graunt."
> (Gower, *Conf. Am.*, Richardson.)

A *dole* is an allied word, signifying a portion divided and dealt out.

Draught—Draught-house. On the forcible putting down of the worship of Baal by Jehu, we read that the temple of Baal was converted by him into "a *draught-house*" (2 Kings x. 27). The expression has so completely fallen out of use that the meaning is probably usually missed. The Geneva Bible is much plainer, "Made a *jakes* of it unto this day;" Wiclif plainer still, "he maden *priuyes* for it unto this dai." The Hebrew word it represents is a derivative of a verb signifying *to purge*, and denotes a depository for filth, either "a public necessary" or "a lay stall." That our translators took it in the former sense is seen by their use of the word *draught* (Matt. xv. 17; Mark vii. 19). Shakespeare uses "draught" for a drain or common sewer.

> "Hang them, or stab them, drown them in a *draught*."
> (*Tim. of Ath.*, v. 1.)
>
> "Sweet *draught*: sweet quoth'a! sweet sink, sweet sewer."
> (*Tr. and Cres.*, v. 1.)

Allied words are *draff*, which is still in local use for hogs'-wash, bran, and refuse of any kind; Anglo-Saxon *drabbe*, "dregs;" Iceland, *draf*; Gaelic, *drabhag*, "refuse."

Dure. This is another instance, as in the case of "cumber" and "encumber," "compass" and "encompass," "camp" and "encamp," of the simple verb falling out of use while the compound remains. It is found once in the A. V. in the parable of the sower and the seed sown in stony ground, which "hath not root in himself, but *dureth* for a while" (Matt. xiii. 21). Chaucer uses it, *e.g.*, Arcite says, when mortally wounded,

> "Syn that my lyf ne may no longer *dure*"
> (*Knight's Tale*, 2772);

of Dorigene, when parted from Arviragus,

> ". . . Hire grete sorve gan assuage,
> She may not alway *duren* in swiche rage."
> (*Franklein's Tale*, 11,148.)

It is found in the Bible of 1551: "And so from that day forwarde was that made a lawe and a custom in Israel, and *dureth* to thys day" (1 Sam. xxx. 25); in Tyndall, "Paule made a sermon *duryng* to mydnight" (*Workes*, p. 49); and in Stow, "This battell *dured* three parts of the night." The familiar word *during*, as "during my life," "during his reign," is no more than the participle of the verb *dure*.

Ear (*verb act.*). Few words in our present version are so generally misunderstood as this verb and its cognate substantive, *earing*, in the passages in which they occur (Gen. xlv. 6; Exod. xxxiv. 21; Deut. xxi. 4; 1 Sam. viii. 12; Isa. xxx. 24). Although in a couple of these passages the two are expressly distinguished, "neither earing nor harvest" (Gen. xlv. 6), "to ear his ground and to reap his harvest" (1 Sam. viii. 12), a fancied connection with *ears of corn* leads many to suppose that to "ear" is the same as to "reap," instead of being, as it really is, a later form of the Anglo-Saxon *earian*, "to plough," allied to the Latin *arare*. "The oxen that *ear* the ground" (Isa. xxx. 24) are "the oxen that *plough* the ground;" "a rough valley that is neither *eared* nor sown" (Deut. xxi. 4) is an unploughed piece of ground left in the state of nature. It occurs repeatedly in Wiclif's version, *e.g.*, "he that *erith* owith to *ere* in hope" (1 Cor. ix. 10), and is constantly met with in our earlier writers.

> "And bad hym holde at home, and *eryan* his leyes,
> And alle that halpe hym to *erie*, to sette, or to sowe,
> Pardon with Pieres Plowman treuthe hath ygraunted."
> (*Piers Plowman*, vii. 5—8.)
>
> "I have, God wot, a large field to *ere*,
> And wayke (weak) ben the oxen in my plough."
> (Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 28.)
>
> "I shall . . . never after *ear* so barren a land, for fear it yield me still so bad a harvest."
> (Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, Dedication.)
>
> "He maketh many mysteries of the crop, as the hoised sail, the *carring* plough, the blowing winds from each quarter of the earth."
> (Calfhill, *Answer to Martial*, p. 177.)

The modern "arable" was formerly written "earable." "Of *earable* ground, tillage, and pasturage" (Nares). "Meddoure, pasture, *earable*" (Richardson).

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BIBLE EDUCATOR.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

BY THE REV. EUSTACE R. CONDER, M.A., LEEDS.

THE writer of the third Gospel employs the first person singular, both in the preface to the Gospel and in the preface to the Acts (in which he refers to the Gospel as "the former treatise"); and by the repeated use of the first person plural in his narrative of the travels and labours of the Apostle Paul, he implies that he was a companion in both travel and toil. Yet, like the other Evangelists, he has abstained from appending his name to his work. And although the name of Luke, as one of St. Paul's companions, repeatedly occurs in the Epistles, it is only on the authority of tradition that we assign this name to the author of this Gospel. But it is a tradition of that entirely trustworthy sort to which we have before referred (in preceding articles on the Gospels); not the *dictum* of authority, but the testimony of universal belief amongst those whose belief implied knowledge.

The name "Luke" is our English contraction of Lucas, itself an abbreviation of Lucanus (the same with the name of the poet Lucan). Like Silvanus, Marcus, Paulus, it is a Latin name; and as we have no hint of the Evangelist having borne any Jewish name, we may presume that he was a Gentile; though it would be going too far to infer that he was, like Paul and Silvanus, a Roman citizen. It is commonly assumed that he is the same with "Luke, the beloved physician," referred to in Col. iv. 14; an assumption resting simply on the improbability that there was among St. Paul's companions another of the same name.

The narrative in the Book of Acts implies the writer's presence first in chapter xvi., on occasion of Paul's vision at Troas, where the remarkable expression "gathering that the Lord had called US to preach the gospel," seems to indicate that he was an active and even prominent member of the little missionary band. Compare verses 13, 15, 17.[1] The remark previously made concerning Matthew and Peter will, however, also apply here; the gifts of the historian and of the preacher are not often united. It seems (in Dean Alford's words) "probable that the men of *word* and *action*, in those times of the living energy of the Spirit, would take the highest place; and that the work of securing to future generations the word of God would not be fully honoured till, from necessity, it became duly valued."

Of St. Luke's life and labours, after the "two years" at Rome referred to in the last sentence we have from his pen, we possess no trace. Early tradition and modern criticism have toiled to spin a web of conjecture (of the slenderest tissue) across the void. Thus, Eusebius and Jerome make him to have been a native of the famous city of Antioch, which Dean Alford ingeniously conjectures to be a mistake for Antioch in Pisidia. From the fact that slaves were often called by shortened names, like Lucas, it has been conjectured that he was a freedman; as if we were to draw an inference as to any English writer's social standing from his being known as "Tom" or "Sam" among his friends.[2] That he was one of the Seventy referred to in his Gospel (chap. x. 1)—which would contradict his disclaimer of having been an "eye-witness" (chap. i. 2)—and that he was a painter, are idle traditions, requiring no attention. That he was a man of good education and culture is plain from his writings, but especially from the style of his preface (i. 1—4), which differs so notably from the body of his narrative as to show that he would have written in more classical and elegant Greek, had he not been restrained by faithful adherence to the original narratives (oral or written), the substance of which it was his object to record.

St. Luke's own idea of his work is indicated in his preface; and more tersely still in the opening words of his second treatise, commonly known by the not very appropriate title of "Acts of the Apostles." It is a record "of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until

[1] The natural inference from these passages, if they stood alone, would be that the writer was either Silas or Timothy. The former hypothesis (propounded in the *Literary History of the New Testament*) has been examined carefully and keenly by Dean Alford, who considers it untenable. Some of his arguments do not appear conclusive; but the strongest (and perhaps decisive) is the improbability that St. Paul should in some of his Epistles speak of Silvanus and in others of Lucas, with no apparent reason for such variation (both being Roman names), had they been the same person. The idea that Timothy was the narrator is contradicted by Acts xx. 4, 5.

[2] Not to mention that, if such an abbreviation were peculiar to slaves, courtesy would require its being dropped when a man attained his freedom.

the day in which He was taken up" to heaven. The so-called Book of Acts is the sequel of the Gospel, and might more truly be named the "Acts of the Ascended Lord;" carrying on the story of what Jesus *continued* "both to do and teach," both through His Apostles and through the whole body of His disciples, from that memorable day of Pentecost when He fulfilled His promise by the shedding forth (Acts ii. 33) of the Holy Spirit, until in Rome itself His Cross was preached "unhindered;"[1] and though "the servant of Jesus Christ" was "an ambassador in bonds," yet "the word of God was not bound."

The "most excellent Theophilus," to whom both works are formally inscribed, may be regarded as representing the class of readers especially had in view by the Evangelist. His name is Greek, his rank suggests education and intelligence, and he had been already instructed in the truths of the Gospel. The Evangelist's design was to furnish so faithful an outline (for it could be no more) of the things certainly believed throughout the Christian Church on the testimony of the original eye-witnesses of the facts, that Theophilus might know the certainty of what he had been taught. Many attempts thus to record the oral teaching of the Apostles (whether in Hebrew or in Greek) had already been made. This was natural, one may say inevitable. St. Luke neither censures nor praises those already published memoirs. The only claim which he modestly makes to a special fitness for this great work, is that of thorough information and diligent industry; "having closely followed from the beginning all things accurately" (i. 3).

The assumption, sometimes hastily made, that these words imply a disclaimer of inspiration, betrays a very shallow view of its nature. Scripture undoubtedly records instances of inspiration acting with an overmastering power, independently of thought and volition, as in the cases of Balaam and Saul. But in its highest form inspiration does not supersede, but pervades, guides, and stimulates to the utmost the exercise of the natural faculties; so that the work produced bears the full impress of the individual character and manner of its human author, while the stamp of Divine authorship is no less clearly legible in the perfect and inimitable quality of the work, its freedom from error, its tone of authority, and innate spiritual power, to which human nature under all conditions pays homage; and its permanent adaptation to its purpose, defying the wasting touch of time.

The Gospel history is the true battle-ground of the great conflict between Christian faith and scepticism. Into this conflict the question of inspiration need not enter. If the four Gospels (or even any one of them) present in substance and main outline a truthful account of the character, teaching, miracles, death, and resurrection of JESUS, the truth and Divine authority of Christianity are established. For the essence—the soul—of Christianity is not any system either of doctrines or of ethics. The essence of Christianity is Christ. Christianity has, indeed, other evidence besides the historical—evidence of a nature which, to many minds, is more impressive and satisfying; but its root is in historic fact, for the certainty of which the testimony of eye-witnesses is of prime importance. It is, therefore, most instructive to observe with what clear definiteness St. Luke sets forth in his opening sentence this fundamental certainty. His Gospel was written, at latest, within about thirty years after the Ascension, for it was finished before the Book of Acts was commenced; the last sentence of which brings us to the year 63, or thereabouts. It *may* have been written several years earlier.[2]

In St. Luke's pages, therefore (inspiration apart), we have the substance honestly, carefully, and intelligently recorded, of the testimony of eye-witnesses to facts of the greatest publicity—the most extraordinary in the whole compass of human experience—while the memory of them was still fresh in tens of thousands of minds. And we have *no contemporary contradiction* of these statements, unless it be the lame story invented by the Jews to explain the resurrection of Jesus (Matt. xxviii. 13), that His friends had stolen His corpse from the tomb.

In default of any narrower distinction, the characteristic of the third Gospel has been said to be *universality*—broad human interest and sympathy. Not a few passages might be selected in illustration of this view. At the same time we must be on our guard, in any general statements of this sort, against mistaking antithesis for insight, and epigrammatic point for truth. Thus we have seen that, notwithstanding the strongly-marked Jewish features of St. Matthew's Gospel, it is he who has recorded the homage of the Eastern Magi to the new-born King; the faith of Gentiles rebuking the unbelief and outstripping the faith of Israel; the parables in which the world-wide scope of Christ's kingdom and tribunal are most strongly set forth; and the command to make disciples of all nations. On the other hand, it was reserved for St. Luke to be the penman of those august narratives and inspired hymns contained in the first two chapters of his Gospel, which may almost be called a postscript to the Old Testament Scriptures.

These initial chapters, including the only account of our Saviour's childhood—a brief but inestimable fragment—which it has pleased God to allow to be placed on record, are broadly marked off from the remainder of St. Luke's Gospel. In two passages his narrative records facts which could not be derived from reports of eye-witnesses, but must have been, in the first instance, supplied either by our Lord's own statements (which seems not very probable), or by direct revelation; namely, the account of the Temptation in the

[1] Ἀκωλύτως, the word with which the Book of Acts closes. See Baumgarten's *History of the Church in the Apostolic Age;* Morrison's Translation, in Clark's Library.

[2] Dean Alford's assumption that no Gospel *could* have been written before A.D. 50—that for twenty years no one attempted to write any account of the words and works of Jesus—is entirely void of proof.

wilderness, and the account of the Agony in Gethsemane. The first is common to him with St. Matthew. So is the second in part, but St. Luke adds the circumstances of the "sweat as it were great drops of blood," and of the angel sent to strengthen the Sufferer.

As to the main body of this Gospel, a moderately attentive reader will not have failed to observe that it consists of three portions. From chap. iii. to chap. ix. 50, it is in substantial accordance with the Gospels of Matthew and Mark; supplying, however, even here, much important new matter—a different genealogy from that in the first Gospel, with the accounts of the visit to Nazareth, the miraculous draught of fishes, the raising of the widow's son, and the penitent who anointed our Saviour's feet. Again, from chap. xviii. 15 to the end, this Gospel is in substantial accordance with those of Matthew and Mark, with a similar margin of variation and addition: as in the account of Zacchæus; in the parable of the pounds (different, both in occasion and details, from that of the talents, Matt. xxv.); in the remarkable instance of the Lord turning and looking on Peter (xxii. 61); and in the account of the events following the resurrection. Between these two portions thus broadly agreeing with the other so-called synoptic Gospels—that is to say, from chap. ix. 51 to chap. xviii. 14—we find a large amount of matter peculiar to this Gospel. Of fifteen parables recorded only by St. Luke, thirteen are in this section. It contains ten incidents not mentioned elsewhere, three of which are miracles; of the other seven, the mission of the Seventy, and the story of Martha and Mary, are the chief. The rest of the section is made up of discourses or sayings, closely parallel in the main with portions of St. Matthew's Gospel, but differing in detail, and in the connection of time, place, and circumstances. This section has occasioned much perplexity to harmonists, in the endeavour to arrange each incident and discourse in true chronological order. Chronological arrangement is not that "order" of which St. Luke speaks in his preface, except in those broad general outlines which are common to all the four Gospels. Harmonists, in straining after an impossible accuracy, often involve in obscurity what is comparatively plain. Exaggerated significance is often attached to such indications of time as here and there occur. Thus, for example, the note of time in chap. ix. 51, which refers simply to the incident there narrated, has been taken as a key to the chronology of the whole section. With these cautions, however, we shall scarcely be wrong in referring the contents of this section of St. Luke's Gospel, in the main, to the last six months of our Lord's ministry, and especially to that portion which He spent in Peræa.

An ancient tradition, supported by the venerable names of Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, represents St. Luke's Gospel as embodying the substance of the Apostle Paul's teaching, or perhaps even dictated by St. Paul. The only value of this tradition lies in the proof and warning it affords of the necessity of rigorously distinguishing between the facts attested by tradition, and the inferences and opinions of those through whom the tradition reaches us. In plain words, when these early Christian fathers tell us what lay within their own knowledge, their testimony is of the utmost weight: when they give us their inferences and guesses, we are often better judges than they, because they were entirely untrained in that keen and accurate criticism which has become habitual with modern scholars. Regarding this special tradition, "there is little or nothing in the Gospel itself to favour such an hypothesis, and very much to contradict it."[1] The only striking coincidence between St. Luke and St. Paul is found in the account given by the latter of the institution of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23—25; Luke xxii. 19, 20).[2] To this we may add, if St. Paul be the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (or if, as some have conjectured, St. Luke wrote it from oral discourses of St. Paul), that the key to Heb. v. 7 is supplied by Luke xxii. 43, 44.

How and wherefore St. Luke wrote his Gospel, he has distinctly informed us in his preface. His object was the instruction of Christians in the fundamental facts of their faith. Accuracy and certainty were the points he especially aimed at. Long familiarity with his theme, and diligent inquiry, qualified him to write with authority. He had taken nothing at second hand, but had derived his information directly from those eye-witnesses of the facts to whom the great work of telling the Gospel story was first entrusted. The first two chapters, manifestly transcripts from Hebrew originals, give us (I cannot doubt) the testimony of Zacharias, Elisabeth, and Mary. The slumbering voice of ancient prophecy wakes again in them, forming a living link between the Scriptures of the Old Covenant and those of the New, of which they were the first-written pages; reminding us that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

If the suggestion I have offered be accepted, that the "oral gospel" forming the basis of both St. Matthew's and St. Mark's narrative was the preaching of the Apostle Peter, the same origin must be ascribed to those portions of St. Luke's narrative which are in substance one with theirs. The remaining portions must have been supplied either by the preaching, or by private statements or notes of other eye-witnesses.

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[1] *Cycl. of Bib. Lit.* In the same admirably comprehensive and instructive article, Mr. Venables quotes the remark that "St. Luke's is the Gospel of contrasts," instancing Zacharias' unbelief and Mary's faith; Simon and the penitent woman; Martha and Mary; one thankful and nine thankless lepers; "the tears and hosannas on the brow of Olivet;" woes opposed to blessings (chap. vi. 24—26); the Pharisee and publican; the good Samaritan; the blaspheming and repentant malefactors.

[2] The view adopted by Westcott (following Winer, with others), rightly rejected by Dean Alford, that St. Paul here claims no direct revelation, but only to have heard from others what came originally from the Lord, rests on an overstrained grammatical nicety—the employment of the preposition ἀπὸ, instead of παρὰ. But (1) the fact that the Lord was the original authority is by no means inconsistent with His having personally communicated both the facts and the command to the Apostle; (2) there would be no meaning in saying that an account of *what Jesus did* came originally from Himself; (3) St. Paul uses *both* prepositions in denying that he received his Gospel from men (Gal. i. 1, 12), and uses παρὰ of the original source of a thing as well as of the medium (Phil. iv. 18).

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.

IMAGERY FROM OBJECTS OF COMMON LIFE.

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IF the fidelity with which the Bible reflects the natural features of a land so diversified as Palestine has been serviceable in its wide-spread mission over the earth, its vivid representation of every form of healthy human life has had no less influence in securing for its doctrines a welcome among the different conditions and ranks of men. The Jewish Scriptures differ from the religious books of other countries in the wide range of their sympathies. They do not appeal to the experience of a select or initiated few. They address all who have ears to hear, and speak to the representatives of every class with the authority which can only be secured by interest in its welfare, and familiarity with its needs.

In claiming this large sympathy for Hebrew poetry, we do no more than describe the office of poetry in general. But it is evident that the social arrangements of the Israelites during the best periods of their history were eminently favourable to the preservation, in the national literature, of this element of impartial truthfulness. As in the Greece of the Homeric poems, the whole course of domestic and common life among the Hebrews was simple and uniform in the highest degree.

To estimate, therefore, the place which rural and domestic images occupy in Biblical poetry, and the boldness with which they are introduced, we may conveniently compare it with the great epics of Greece. These reflect a state of society in its primitive simplicity, similar to the best phases of Hebrew life. There was the same respect for honest labour, the same freedom from disdain of manual toil. The wise Ulysses built his own house, and carved his own bed. Princes did the work of cooks. The princess of Phæacia, one of the most graceful and lovely of all poetic creations, took her part with the maidens of her court in washing the household linen. It is in accordance with these manners which he represents, that Homer takes a serene and sunny enjoyment in rural scenes of every kind. But while he makes homely work beautiful, he does not, as the Hebrew poets do, surround it with associations of grandeur and sublimity. Similes from the farmyard and the field the Grecian bard keeps for his less heroic and important incidents. The poet of Israel connects by his metaphors the highest with the lowest things. The actions, not only of warriors and kings, but of the Supreme Being himself, are often illustrated from the meanest and commonest sources. And this is done so naturally that we are conscious of no incongruity. Heaven, so united to earth, loses no dignity, but confers it. The event described does not suffer in power or grandeur from the illustration employed; while the image, so familiar in its homeliness, lends a life-like reality to thoughts which might else be too sublime for ordinary minds.

This feature of Biblical poetry cannot be better illustrated than by the instance selected by Bishop Lowth. The ancient modes of threshing and winnowing corn were in themselves picturesque, and afforded many situations favourable for the exercise of poetic imagination. The floor, which was not seldom selected for the performance of religious rites, and held in sacred estimation, was generally in a lofty and exposed situation, where the wind served as a natural fan, to blow away the chaff as the oxen trod the sheaves.[1]

An instrument constructed of large planks furnished with sharp teeth, or a kind of cart on indented wheels, was sometimes substituted for the cattle. The prophet Isaiah borrows a grand image from this custom :—

> "Behold, I have made thee a threshing wain;
> A new corn-drag armed with pointed teeth.
> Thou shalt thresh the mountains and beat them small,
> And reduce the hills to chaff.
> Thou shalt winnow them, and the wind shall bear them away;
> And the tempest shall scatter them abroad."
>
> (Isa. xli. 15, 16.)

Here the comparison of the chosen people to an instrument for executing Jehovah's vengeance on the heathen is remarkably fine, and exhibits the secret of the sublimity of such images in Hebrew poetry, which produces its effect by a boldness surpassing anything in Homer. In the following employment of the same simile in the *Iliad*, the comparison of the hero's horses to the oxen, grand as it is, is more obvious and clear; and, leaving less to the imagination of the reader, does not impress him to the same degree :—

> "As with autumnal harvests covered o'er
> And thick bestrewn lies Ceres' sacred floor,
> When round and round with never-wearied pain
> The trampling steers beat out the unnumbered grain;
> So the fierce coursers, as the chariot rolls,
> Tread down whole ranks and crush out heroes' souls."
>
> (Pope's *Iliad*, xx. 577.)

In other passages of the Scriptures, God himself is represented as the One who threshes out the heathen, tramples them under His feet, and disperses them; while the comparison of the wicked to "chaff which is driven by the wind" is so frequent as almost to become a poetical commonplace.[2] But the image was revived with all the power of freshness and originality when, after the long prophetic silence, a voice was heard in the wilderness proclaiming the coming of an Anointed One, in whose hand should be a winnowing fan that would "throughly purge His floor," and sift, with keen discrimination, genuine and substantial worth from the chaff fit only for the burning.

It would be useless to accumulate allusions of a similar kind. Images from ploughing, sowing, and

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[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 18; Hos. ix. 1.
[2] Hab. iii. 12; Joel iii. 14; Jer. li. 33; Isa. xxi. 10.

reaping, and all the details of Eastern agricultural life, will occur to every one. The magnificent picture of the wine-press of the vengeance of Almighty God, in the sixty-third chapter of Isaiah, has been already quoted. The same image floated before the imagination of the seer of Patmos, and mingled its fierce colours with the awful visions which were unrolled in his sight.[1]

Among the arts and manufactures of Palestine, that of the potter often attracted the notice of the prophets, who borrowed some of their most striking and forcible symbols from it. The material in which the potter works, his absolute command over it, and its obedience to the skilful hand which makes it take what shape or impression the artist likes, commended that art to religious poets in search of expressive emblems of God's creative power; while the ease with which, in a moment, the vessel of clay could be shattered, suggested the irresistible might of Him "who dasheth in pieces the nations." Among the Old Testament writers Jeremiah is especially fond of this image, and it passed both into the poetry and the theological reasoning of the New Testament. In our own day an eminent English poet has shown that the ancient writers did not by any means exhaust this fertile figure.[2]

The mention of this figure of the potter's vessel suggests one cause which redeems the imagery with which we have been dealing from the charge of meanness or impropriety when employed in serious and lofty subjects. In the symbolism employed by the prophets, which may be described as acted poetry, the commonest household utensils and furniture offered the readiest as well as the most striking emblems. The prophetic warnings had reference to the people and their lives, and were often brought home to them by some emblematic allusion to domestic life. Thus Jeremiah breaks a vase to show the utter and irrevocable doom about to fall on sinful Jerusalem.[3] From the signs adopted by Ezekiel to announce or explain the Divine judgment, we can almost gather a complete picture of Oriental daily life. At one time he is directed to bake a supply of bread; at another to superintend the boiling of flesh in a large caldron; at another to move the furniture from his house, as if about to change his residence. Watching such representations, not as part of a drama intended only to amuse, but as signs of an inspired mission brought before them at the times when the deepest feelings of their nature were stirred, the Israelites came to connect the homeliest actions with the most serious and lofty subjects. Thus a taste was formed free from the fastidiousness which modern literature encourages, and Hebrew poetry dares to handle subjects of the meanest kind with a boldness to which the greatest of other countries hardly approach.[4] Common as is the figure of Time ploughing the aged face into wrinkles, what lyrical poet would now venture to describe excessive misfortune in the Psalmist's way?—

> "The ploughers have ploughed upon my back,
> And made long furrows." (Ps. cxxix. 3.)

Or in what other literature could a comparison be found, combining at once the utmost meanness in the illustration and the supreme of sublimity in its application?—

> "And I will wipe Jerusalem,
> As a man wipeth a dish;
> He wipeth it and turneth it upside down."
> (2 Kings xxi. 13. See Lowth, Lect. vii.)

This series of papers would be incomplete without a few remarks on the skill and power exhibited by the poets of Israel in depicting human passions. Poetry has been defined as the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings, and in endeavouring to form an estimate of the excellence of a poem, we test it by its power to communicate to ourselves the passions which it paints. His skill is great who succeeds in charming us into sympathy with himself, or convinces us of the truth with which he paints emotions to which our own hearts have been strangers.

But there are certain conditions peculiar to Hebrew song which must be borne in mind. It is for the most part lyrical, and therefore reflects only single and isolated states of feeling. Of the infinite complexity of human motive and character, a short psalm or rapid ode cannot take account. But hardly any poetry is so completely spontaneous as that of the Jews. The poet usually sings from the force of remembered emotion, or more properly from feelings which, having once possessed him, do not die away like the passions of less gifted individuals, but live on as a permanent part of his being. Hence he is distinguished from other men, not only by a greater quickness of thought and feeling under immediate external excitement, but by a power of expressing his sensations after the exciting cause has passed away. These he will sometimes depict in language little short in liveliness and truth of that which is uttered by men in real life under the actual pressure of excited passion. This is, doubtless, the character of many of the Hebrew odes. But, on the other hand, numbers of the Psalms, as well as passages in the prophetical books, seem to have sprung from the first vehemence of feeling of which they are the inspired utterance. The fifty-ninth Psalm offers a good instance. It appears to be the composition of a king beleaguered in Jerusalem by a foreign foe. In his cry for help, his mind, it is true, recurs to old deliverances wrought by Jehovah for His Holy City; but the tone of scorn

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[1] Rev. xiv. 19; xix. 15.

[2] R. Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra*. Especially—

> "Ay, note that potter's wheel,
> That metaphor! and feel
> Why time spins fast, why passive lies our clay,
> Thou, to whom fools propound
> When the wine makes its round—
> 'Since life fleets, all is change; the past gone, seize to-day'"

and succeeding stanzas.

[3] Jer. xix. 10.

[4] Dante, of moderns, comes perhaps the nearest to the Hebrews in this daring, *e.g.*—

> "The moon belated almost into midnight
> Now made the stars appear to us more rare,
> Formed *like a bucket* that is all ablaze."
> (*Purg.* xviii.)

Shakespeare, too, can combine homeliness and sublimity, *e.g.* —

> "Blow, wind, and crack your cheeks." (*King Lear.*)

is so fierce, and the imprecations are so real, that it is impossible not to feel that we have here words actually uttered while some barbarian horde, probably the Scythians, were raging round the walls.[1] But whether this be a correct explanation of the origin of such poems or not, it is clear that a religious poet singing or writing under the influence of a mighty conviction, was within the same circle of feeling whether he recalled the past or described the present. Whenever the presence of a Spiritual Being is realised the religious emotions will be excited, and the greater part of Hebrew lyric poetry appears to have been composed in the spirit which found utterance in the cry—

> "Whither shall I go then from Thy Spirit?
> Or whither shall I go from Thy presence?"

While, therefore, its almost exclusive occupation with the religious side of life limits its range to one set of feelings, the language in which these are exhibited is remarkable for its liveliness and truth. Indeed, it has often been remarked that there is danger in the general adoption of this passionate Eastern religious language by the less emotional Western races. The burning words in which men under the influence of deep emotion have expressed their convictions are useful, if they help us to give to otherwise vague and fitful feelings the definiteness necessary to make them starting-points for immediate action. But nothing is more likely to dull the reality of spiritual perception than the constant strain after ecstacies of emotion which were real to other minds, but need an effort to create them in our own; while, on the other hand, there is nothing so likely to impair the sincerity of the soul as the habitual repetition of words pitched in a key so far above the range of ordinary feeling. It is for this reason that the custom of chanting the Psalms has a propriety beyond the retention of their decided musical purpose. Not only does the additional impulse of music come in to aid the emotional faculties, but we are reminded that we are using the words of men inspired with the passionate feelings of poets, as well as with the religious feelings of saints.

The proper place to notice the treatment of the great human passions by the poets of Israel, will be found in the detailed notices of separate books. But this paper may fitly close with an example of that power of expressing intense and passionate religious desire, which in different degrees was possessed by all the inspired line. The occasion of the exquisitely plaintive song of which Ps. xlii. forms part has been already noticed (Vol. II., p. 161). The accompanying hymn probably had its origin in the same experiences, and is from the pen of the same nameless royal author. A special interest attaches to it from the fact that it contributed to religion and literature a permanent symbol of life. The "vale of misery," or "vale of tears," in verse 6, has been identified with the last caravan station on the road to Jerusalem from the north. "Ain el-Haramie, the last halting-place, is a melancholy and charming spot, and few impressions equal that which is experienced on resting there for the evening encampment. The valley is narrow and gloomy; a stream of black water issues from the rocks which form its walls, and which are hollowed into sepulchres. That, I believe, is the 'Vale of Tears,' or of trickling waters, sung of as one of the stations of the journey in the delightful eighty-fourth Psalm, and become, in the sad and tender mysticism of the Middle Ages, the emblem of life."[2]

"O, how lovely are thy dwellings,
  Jehovah, Thou God of Hosts!
My soul hath a desire and longing for the courts of Jehovah:
  My heart and my flesh cry out for the living God.
Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house and the swallow a nest,
  Where she may lay her young;
Even Thy altars, O Jehovah, God of Hosts,
  My King and my God!

"Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house:
  They shall yet live to praise Thee!
Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee,
  Who loveth to think on journeying to Thy House;
Who going through the vale of misery,[3] make it a well,
  Yea, an early rain falleth and covereth it with blessing!
They go from strength to strength,[4]
  And so they appear before God in Zion.

"Jehovah, God of Hosts, hear Thou my prayer!
  Hearken, O God of Jacob!
Behold, O God our Defender,
  And look upon the face of Thine Anointed!
For one day in Thy courts is better than a thousand;
  I had rather be a doorkeeper in the House of my God
Than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.
  For Jehovah our God is a light and defence!
Jehovah will give grace and glory,
  And no good thing shall be withheld from them that live a godly life.
O Jehovah, God of Hosts,
  Blessed is the man that putteth his trust in Thee."

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[1] See Introduction to this Psalm in *Psalms Chronologically Arranged.*

[2] Rénan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 69.

[3] Valley of *Baca*, as in A.V. In 2 Sam. v. 24, the word is translated "mulberry-tree," and Ewald renders here by "balsam." But the ancient versions all render "weeping." See Perowne *in loc.*

[4] *Id est*, they surmounted every fresh obstacle.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

STORK.

THERE is no doubt about the correctness of our version in the rendering of the Hebrew word *khasîdâh*, which literally signifies "the pious bird," from a root "to desire or love strongly." The stork has long been justly celebrated for its strong attachment to its young: the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans contain frequent allusions to its affection. Aristotle and Pliny mention a belief that the young repay the care of the parents by supporting them when old, an idea more pleasing than accurate. The Latins, like the Hebrews, called the stork (*Ciconia alba*) "the pious bird," *avis pia*. Pliny also tells us that this bird was so highly prized for its utility in destroying serpents, that in Thessaly it was a capital crime for any one to kill it; the laws awarding the same penalty for the offence as for homicide. The stork's affection for its young was shown in a most remarkable manner at the burning of Delft, in the south of Holland, when a female bird, after many unsuccessful attempts to carry off her young, chose rather to perish with them in the general ruin than to desert them.

The stork, from its carnivorous habits and the unclean nature of its food, was not allowed as food (see Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 18). The Psalmist alludes to these birds often frequenting fir-trees: "As for the stork, the fir-trees are her house" (Ps. civ. 17). Jeremiah notices their migratory habits: "Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord" (viii. 7). Zechariah seems to refer to the power of the stork's wings in chap. v. 9. The stork is mentioned once more, viz., in the margin of Job xxxix. 13, where the rendering of the English version is incorrect; it should be translated as follows:

> "The wing of the ostrich moveth joyously,
> But has she the wings and plumes of the stork?"

(*i.e.*, the ostrich has beautiful wings, but she has not the affectionate disposition of the stork, for she leaveth her eggs in the dust, and is hardened against her young ones, &c.)

The utility of the stork to man in destroying serpents and reptiles, and in clearing away noxious substances, has secured for itself protection. In Holland and Germany especially the stork is treated as a welcome guest, and annually returns to the nest on a steeple or turret, or on the false chimney erected by the Hollander, or the platform placed by the German for its use, where the young for many generations have been cradled. In some Continental towns the young storks are taken from the nests and domesticated, and may be seen near the markets, where they are useful as scavengers in clearing away entrails of fish and other offal.

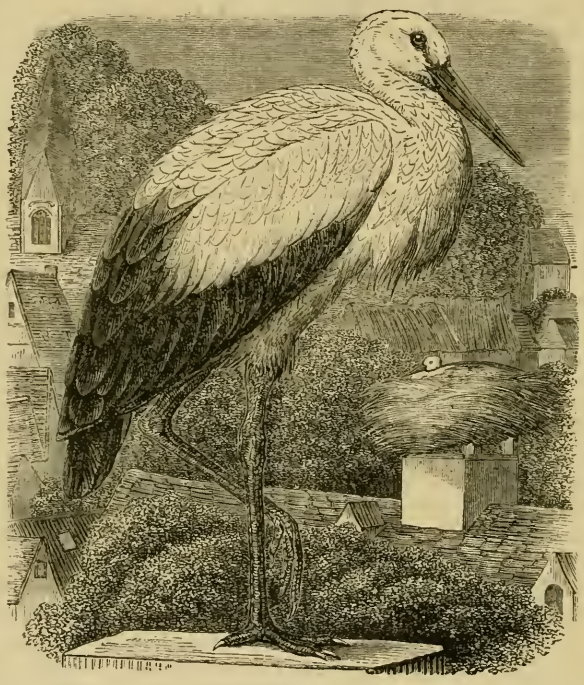
Storks migrate sometimes in enormous numbers; Shaw noticed several flocks, half a mile in breadth, while he was journeying over Mount Carmel. These flocks were from Egypt, and each one occupied three hours in passing over. Dr. Tristram aptly calls attention to the expression "stork in the heaven" as of peculiar force; this bird, unlike most emigrants, voyages by day at a great height in the air and in vast flocks. He also speaks of the suddenness with which these birds distribute themselves over the whole country of Palestine as "truly startling." In winter not one is to be seen. "On the 24th of March, 1864, vast flocks suddenly appeared, steadily travelling northward, and leaving large detachments on every plain and hill. From that period till about the 4th of May they kept possession of the whole land, except where the ground was utterly barren, abounding especially in any marshy plains. They did not congregate like rooks, but like sheep or cattle scattered over a wide pasture, they systematically quartered every acre of the country, probably until they had cleared it of all the snakes, lizards, and frogs they could find, when either scarcity, or the increasing heat of summer, reminded them of their northern homes, and they proceeded as suddenly as they had arrived, leaving behind them only a pair here and there at the established resting-places. They were equally abundant on both sides of Jordan. On Mount Nebo, they so covered the range that at first, and until we had examined them through our telescopes, we took them for vast flocks of Moabite sheep pasturing."

Storks build their nests on house-tops, old towers, &c., and sometimes on the summits of very lofty trees; the nest is formed of a mass of sticks, reeds, and other coarse materials, heaped together with a slight depression in the centre for the eggs, which are three or four in number, white tinged with a faint buff colour. The old birds are said to feed their young by "inserting their own beak within the mandibles of the young bird, and passing from their own stomach the half-digested remains of their last meal" (see Yarrell, ii. 557).

The black stork (*Ciconia nigra*) is also to be seen in Palestine, in some parts of which it is common. This is a smaller species than the white stork; the upper part of the body being of a glossy bluish-black; its under-surface white. Unlike the white stork, this one shuns the abodes of man, dwelling in secluded spots, and nesting on the tops of the loftiest pines. It appears to prefer fish to other kind of food, but when hungry will eat any sort of offal. A black stork which Colonel Montague captured by means of a slight shot-wound in the wing, and domesticated, lived with him for more than a year, and afforded him opportunities of noticing its habits. The bird was of a mild disposition, and would follow its feeder about; it would never make use of its powerful bill offensively against other birds, and

was a wonderful adept in seizing and retaining hold of a slippery eel. The black stork is migratory, and passes the winter in the southern parts of Europe. It was observed by Tristram standing patiently in the shallows of the Dead Sea, where fish are brought down by the streams.

Neither the white nor black storks have any voice; they make, however, a snapping noise with their bills. The absence of a voice may have given rise to the belief mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 31) that the stork had no tongue. The Hebrew term *khasîdâh* doubtless would include both the white and black species. Both the white and black stork have occasionally been seen in this country, but they never, we believe, pay us a visit now. In Holland he who has a stork's nest on his house is considered a fortunate man. "In England, on the other hand," to quote the words of Macgillivray, "the possession of all the virtues imaginable would not suffice to protect the bird from the prowling game-keeper and bird-stuffer." The storks belong to the *Ardeidæ*, or Heron family of birds.



THE WHITE STORK.

CORMORANT.

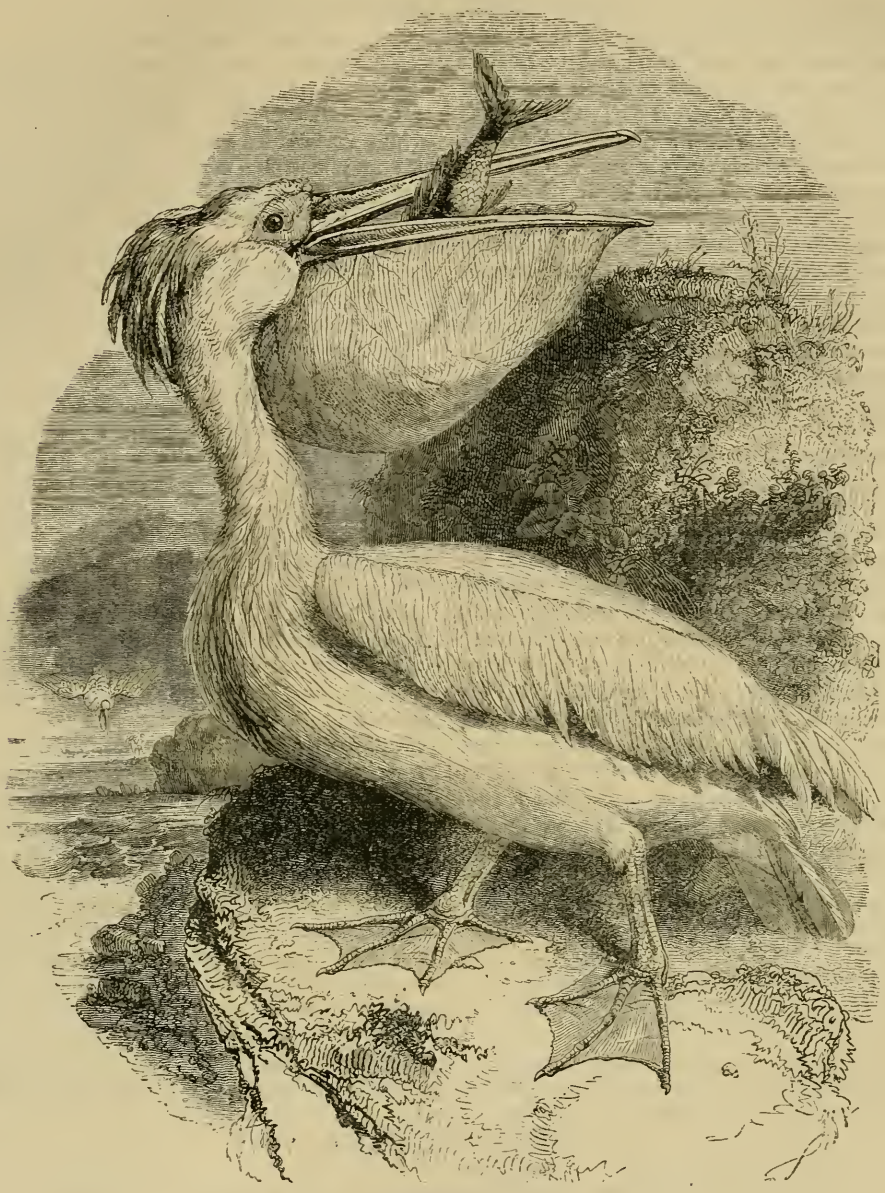
There are two Hebrew words for which the English version gives "cormorant," viz., *kâath* and *shâlâk*; the former word is with much reason assigned to the pelican; doubts have been expressed as to what bird the *shâlâk* denotes. The word occurs in the list of unclean or abominable birds (Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 17), and is mentioned nowhere else. The LXX. interpret *shâlâk* by καταράκτης. The ancient Greeks, as Aristotle and the author of the *Ixeutics* (Oppian, ii. 2), understood some diving bird, apparently, from the description given by the latter, the Solan goose or gannet (*Sula bassana*). Etymologically speaking, the Hebrew term points to some plunging bird; *shâlâk* means "to throw" or "cast down;" hence a bird which plunges down from high rocks into the water.

The Solan goose is not common on the shores of Palestine, and may not have been sufficiently known to the ancient Hebrews to obtain a place amongst the forbidden birds; but the cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*), which answers very well to the requirements of the Hebrew root, is common on the coast, comes up the river Kishon, and visits the Galilean lake; it is also abundant on the Jordan. Another species, called, from its small size, the pigmy cormorant (*P. pygmeus*), was noticed by Tristram and his party on the Kishon and the Litany. There is no other bird that has an equal claim to represent the *shâlâk* of the Hebrew Scriptures, and we may conclude that the cormorant is the bird probably intended.

PELICAN.

The word *kâath*, there can be but little doubt, if any, is rightly translated by "the pelican." It occurs in the list of unclean birds (Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 17); in Ps. cii. 6, where the suppliant exclaims, "I am like a pelican of the wilderness, an owl of ruined places;" in Isa. xxxiv. 11, where it is said of desolate Edom, "the *kâath* and the bittern shall possess it;" and in Zeph. ii. 14, where the same is said of Nineveh. The Hebrew word is derived from a root meaning "to vomit," in allusion to the habit the pelican has of pressing its under-mandibles against its breast, and then disgorging the contents of its pouch to feed its young. It has been objected that the pelican is a water-bird, and cannot, therefore, be the *kâath* of the Scriptures—"the pelican of the wilderness"—as it must of necessity starve in the desert; but the *midbar* (wilderness) is often used to denote a wide, open space, cultivated or uncultivated, and is not to be restricted to barren spots destitute of water; moreover, as a matter of fact, the pelican, after having filled its capacious pouch with fish, mollusks, &c., often does retire to places far inland, where it consumes what it has captured. Thus, too, it breeds in the great sandy wastes near the mouths of the Danube. The expression "pelican in the wilderness," in the Psalmist's pitiable complaint, is a true picture of the bird as it sits in apparent melancholy mood with its bill resting on its breast.

Two species of pelican are found on the coasts of Syria—the white pelican (*P. onocrotalus*) and the Dalmatian pelican (*P. crispus*); neither species was seen in Palestine by Tristram's party, but Dr. Thomson obtained a specimen by the waters of Merom, and saw one near the Galilean lake. The mode of feeding its young with the contents of its pouch—the red tip being pressed against its breast—is by some supposed to be the origin of the fable about the pelican feeding its



THE COMMON PELICAN.

young with its own blood. The fable is generally supposed to be a classical one, but this is not the case. In an old book of emblems entitled *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devices, by Geffery Whitney*, 1586, there is a woodcut of an eagle piercing her breast with her hooked beak, in a nest surrounded with her young ones, whose mouths are opened to receive the blood which issues from the parent's body; underneath the cut are the following lines :—

"The pellican, for to revive her younge,
Doth pierce her breast, and geve them of her blood.
Then searche your breste, and as you have with tonge
With penne proceede to doe our countrie good:
Your zeal is great, your learning is profounde;
Then help our wantes, with that you doe abounde."

This is curious, and bears on what we have already stated,[1] that the original idea of a bird feeding its young with its blood is of Egyptian birth, and was held concerning the vulture or eagle; that in course of time the fable was transferred to the pelican, and appears first in the writings of the ecclesiastical fathers and their annotations on the Scriptures. The Greek writers employ the word πελεκάν or πελαικῖνος to express both some species of woodpecker and the pelican.

[1] Bible Educator, Vol. II., p. 248.

Etymologically (from πελεκάω, "to hew with an axe"), the word shows that it originally denoted a woodpecker. Whether the word "pelican" was by early English writers ever used to denote the eagle or any other bird except the pelican, we cannot say; but it seems clear that in architectural ornaments and in old books of emblems the pelican is always depicted as an eagle. This Sir Thomas Browne has pointed out in the chapter on the picture of the pelican. "In every place," he says, "we meet with the picture of the pelican opening her breast with her bill, and feeding her young ones with the blood distilled from her. Thus it is set forth, not only in common signs, but in the crests and scutcheons of many noble families." He then shows that the pictures "contain many improprieties, disagreeing almost in all things from the true and proper description." The pelican inclines to white, the bird of the pictures is green or yellow; the pelican exceeds the magnitude of a swan, the bird of the pictures "is described in the bigness of a hen;" it is commonly painted with a short bill, the pelican has one two spans long; it is described as having divided claws, those of the pelican are fin-footed. "Lastly, there is one part omitted more remarkable than any other; that is the chowle or crop adhering unto the lower side of the bill, and so descending by the throat; a bag or sachel very observable, and of a capacity almost beyond credit." Notwithstanding "the many improprieties" of the pictures, if supposed to refer to a pelican, it is certain that this bird was supposed by some to be the bird in question. Did the word "pelican" ever stand for an eagle, as the pictures seem to show? It is not certain what bird Shakespeare had in view when he makes Laertes say—

> "To his good friends thus wide I'll ope my arms,
> And like the kind life-rendering pelican,
> Repast them with my blood" (*Hamlet*, iv. 5);[1]

or King Lear to exclaim—

> "'Twas this flesh begot
> Those pelican daughters" (iii. 4);

or Gaunt to say—

> "That blood already, like the pelican,
> Hast thou tapp'd out, and drunkenly caroused."
> (*K. Rich. II.* ii. 1.)

If Shakespeare ever looked into the old book of emblems mentioned above, as is thought probable in the note in Knight's *Shakespeare*, then his pelican must have stood for an eagle. But there is no mistake as to the bird intended by Hackluyt, who says, "Of the seafowle aboue all other not common in England, I noted the *pellicane*, which is fained to be the louingst bird that is, which rather than her young should want, will spare her heart blood out of her belly" (*Voyages*, iii., p. 520).

Mr. Bartlett, the Superintendent of the Zoological Society's Gardens, in a letter to a London newspaper, has given an ingenious explanation of this old fable. He noticed that the flamingoes in the gardens, when showing signs of breeding—but with no result—exhibited a most extraordinary behaviour to a pair of cariamas in the same aviary. "These birds have a habit of bending back their heads, and with open gaping mouths uttering loud and somewhat distressing sounds. This habit at once attracts the flamingoes, and very frequently one or more of them advance towards the cariamas, and standing erect over the bird, by a slight up and down movement of the head, raise up into its mouth a considerable quantity of red-coloured fluid. As soon as the upper part of the throat and mouth becomes filled, it will drop or run down from the corners of the flamingo's mouth; the flamingo then bends its long neck over the gaping cariama, and pours the fluid into the mouth, and as frequently on the back of the cariama." On examination of this red fluid, it was found to be principally blood, the red corpuscles showing themselves abundantly under the microscope. Mr. Bartlett, therefore, thinks that this habit was noticed in ancient Egypt, and that the flamingo is the bird of the fable. From what has been said, however, it will appear that the vulture or eagle is really the bird of the fable, that the fable originated in Egypt, and that this is abundantly confirmed by the figures in architectural ornaments and in old books of emblems and fables.

[1] In the folio (reprint) edition of 1623 (the first collection of Shakespeare's works), the words "life-rendering politician" occur.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

BY C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., MASTER OF THE TEMPLE.

"Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus."—EPHES. i. 1.

THE words "at Ephesus" are wanting in the original text of the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts. Origen (A.D. 186—253) comments upon the remarkable phrase (as it would stand without them), *the saints which are;* referring to the revelation in Exodus of the I AM, and suggesting that St. Paul here ascribes to Christians a participation in that Divine reality of being. Basil (A.D. 329—379) expressly says that the reading handed down by those before him, and actually found by him in the ancient copies, was, "the saints which are, and faithful," &c. The intolerable harshness of such an expression, and the utter inappropriateness of so abstruse a doctrine to the particular passage, as well as St. Paul's repeated use of the same "which are," or "which is," *with* a local designation, in the opening of other Epistles (1 Cor. i. 2, 2 Cor. i. 1, "which is at

Corinth;" Phil. i. 1, "which are at Philippi"), will satisfy us that the words "which are" cannot have been intended to stand without any addition in the place before us. The phenomenon of the omission in the authorities above quoted may most readily be explained by supposing this Epistle to have been designed for a circuit of Churches, so that the words "at Ephesus," though originally St. Paul's, may have been omitted in copies made for transmission to other congregations, and either a blank left, or other words, "at Laodicea," &c., as occasion required, substituted in their place. According to this hypothesis, "the Epistle from Laodicea," mentioned in the contemporary Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 16), may have been this very Epistle to the Ephesians, which might naturally reach Colossæ in its circuit from that neighbouring city.

It should be remembered that the original destination of the Epistle does not wholly depend upon the presence of the words "at Ephesus" in the verse before us. Even the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts have "To the Ephesians" as its title. Origen and Basil quote it as the Epistle to the Ephesians. Tertullian (about A.D. 160—240) makes it a charge against Marcion that he speaks of it as addressed to the Laodiceans. Nor can any stress justly be laid upon the total absence of salutations or personal references, as inconsistent with the character of an Epistle to a community amongst which St. Paul had long lived and laboured. The argument, however plausible, might almost be inverted. St. Paul had never visited Rome when he wrote to the Roman Church: that great Epistle has a whole chapter of greetings. St. Paul had spent eighteen months continuously at Corinth: his two Epistles to the Corinthians have but one personal greeting between them. The same contradiction of expectation occurs in the case of the Epistles to the Galatians and Thessalonians It is a salutary example of the illusiveness of *à priori* reasoning, in reference alike to Scripture and science. In the instance before us, Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, may have been charged also with many personal messages; and the very depth and catholicity of the doctrinal subjects of the Epistle, if not its intentionally encyclical character, may sufficiently account for the exclusion of all local and personal references.

We have then before us an Epistle from St. Paul, now a prisoner at Rome, to that specially privileged Church of Ephesus, which had had St. Paul as its evangelist, St. Paul for three years as its resident bishop and pastor, and which was to enjoy in later days the continuous ministry of St. John watching over the great and perilous transition from an age of supernatural powers and apostolical gifts to an age of ordinary ministries and level experiences. Let us read, as our best introduction to the study of this great Epistle, all that Scripture tells of the history of the Church of Ephesus, from St. Paul's first brief visit, on his way from Corinth to Jerusalem, in Acts xviii.; through the interesting episode of Apollos, matured there, under the personal influence of two private Christians, into a devoted and powerful minister of the Gospel; to that three years' residence of St. Paul himself, which began with the instruction and re-baptism of the twelve half-disciples, and the exciting scenes of exorcism and incantation, and closed with that tumult in the theatre, which bore so powerful a testimony to the Apostle's work and the Gospel's progress (Acts xix.). Then let us ponder that affecting charge of St. Paul to the presbyters of Ephesus summoned to meet him at Miletus, in which, on his way from Corinth and Philippi and Troas towards his captivity at Jerusalem, at Cæsarea, and Rome, he calls to their remembrance the life he had led among them as their first pastor, and solemnly commits to them the oversight of a flock which he then believed he should see no more in the body (Acts xx.). After this, leaving space meanwhile for the writing of this Epistle from Rome, we shall gather the few scattered hints which remain to us, in the Epistles to Timothy, of a later visit paid by St. Paul to Ephesus in the interval between his two imprisonments in the great metropolis; of the commission given to his loved disciple to exercise at Ephesus in his stead the episcopal offices of ordination, discipline, correction of error, and general administration; and of that gradual yet definite growth of corrupt and corrupting doctrine of which the first warning had been given at Miletus, and of which the Epistle to the Colossians marks to us something of the nature and the direction. Finally, when St. Paul himself is withdrawn from the scene by that martyrdom on the eve of which he writes his second letter to Timothy, summoning him from his charge, we have still Scripture glimpses left to us of the anxious and wavering fortunes of the Church of Ephesus, in that last Book of the Bible, the Revelation of St. John, which contains an Epistle to Ephesus, not from earth, but from heaven, telling of toil and patience and general fidelity, but withal of a loss of the "first love," and of the need of repentance and watchfulness lest the candlestick be removed finally out of its place (Rev. ii. 1—7).

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."—EPHES. i. 3.

The very same words open the first Epistle of St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 3). It is interesting to notice the coincidences—and they are many—between the writings of these two great Apostles. In 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, we have an express testimony to the general knowledge and acceptance of St. Paul's Epistles in the Churches, and to their distinctive character as recognised portions of the written Word of God. "Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which" epistles (according to the reading of the best manuscripts, which have αἷς, not οἷς) "are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction."

That which is thus emphatically asserted in the second Epistle is clearly to be inferred from the first.

Of the genuineness of the first Epistle there has never been any doubt in the Church. It may form an argument not wholly valueless for the genuineness of the second, if we see that the testimony borne in it to certain Apostolical writings is but the gathering into shape and form of several scattered and incidental testimonies fairly deducible from the first.

It is scarcely too much to say that St. Peter's language in his first Epistle is imbued and saturated with the phraseology of St. Paul. We have taken one example from the opening words. The very framework and setting of the first Epistle of St. Peter is that of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. We will adduce two or three other examples, to which many further additions might doubtless be made.

(1.) Compare 1 Pet. ii. 6—8 with Rom. ix. 33. Both the Apostles are quoting from the prophet Isaiah. Both bring together two passages, wide apart in place, and with no obvious connection of import. The one is Isa. xxviii. 16; the other is Isa. viii. 14. The variations from the Septuagint are important in both Epistles, and it is surely remarkable that the variations are the same. The Septuagint has, in the one passage, "Behold, I cast in for the foundations of Sion:" St. Paul and St. Peter (following the Hebrew) both read, "Behold, I lay [set, or place] in Sion." The Septuagint (with the Hebrew) has, "He that believeth;" St. Paul and St. Peter both read, "He that believeth on him" (or "it"). The Septuagint has, in the other passage, λίθου πρόσκομμα and πέτρας πτῶμα: St. Paul and St. Peter both read, λίθος προσκόμματος and πέτρα σκανδάλου. It is easier to imagine that the one Apostle has the quotation of the other before him, than that both, in passages of the Old Testament neither prominent nor obviously connected, adopted a form of quotation popularly current in the Churches.

(2.) Compare 1 Pet. iii. 3—5 with 1 Tim. ii. 9. Both the Apostles are giving rules for the dress of Christian women. The one says, "Whose adorning (κόσμος) let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting (ἐμπλοκῆς) the hair, and of wearing of gold (χρυσίων), or of putting on of apparel (ἱματίων); but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet (ἡσυχίου) spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price (πολυτελές). For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves (ἐκόσμουν ἑαυτάς), being in subjection (ὑποτασσόμεναι) unto their own husbands." The other, "In like manner also that women adorn themselves (κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς) in modest apparel, not with broidered hair (πλέγμασιν), or [and] gold (χρυσῷ), or pearls, or costly array (ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ); but [which becometh women professing godliness] with good works. Let the woman learn in silence (ἡσυχίᾳ), with all subjection (ὑποταγῇ)." The identity of thought is apparent. The resemblance of phraseology is remarkable. The idea of the true and the false κόσμος is the same in both, though the one Epistle contrasts the dress with the "spirit," and the other with the conduct ("good works"). The very change from "and" to "or" in the enumeration of particulars of apparel is made (according to the best manuscripts) at the same point. The rare word πολυτελής ("costly," "of great price"), though differently applied, occurs in both. On the whole, we have in this passage an admirable example of the use, at once free and original, of Scripture by Scripture, of St. Paul by St. Peter.

(3.) Compare 1 Pet. iv. 1 with Rom. vi. 6, 7, 10, 11. St. Peter says, "Forasmuch then as Christ [hath] suffered [for us] in [the] flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind [thought, or idea]; for he that hath suffered in [the] flesh hath ceased [hath been made to cease] from sin." St. Paul, "Knowing this, that our old man is [was] crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin: for he that is dead [hath died] is freed [hath been justified, rid as by a judicial sentence] from sin. . . For in that He [Christ] died, He died unto sin once: but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through [in] Jesus Christ our Lord." St. Peter's argument is, "Christ having died, regard yourselves as having died in and with Him. A dead man cannot sin; the very instruments and implements of sinning are his no more. Let the thought that you are dead men, dating that death from Christ's death, be your protection, your safeguard, your armour (ὁπλίσασθε), against sinning." The foundation of the argument is St. Paul's, once, twice, and thrice over. See, for example, 2 Cor. v. 14, "Because we thus judge, that if One died for all, then were all dead [then all died]:" Gal. ii. 20, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I [and it is no longer I that live], but Christ liveth in me:" Ephes. ii. 5, "Hath quickened us together with Christ:" Col. iii. 3, "For ye are dead [ye died], and your life is hid with Christ in God:" 2 Tim. ii. 11, "For if we be dead [if we died] with Him, we shall also live with Him." But in the two passages set side by side above, we have not only the same doctrine, but the same illustration. St. Peter says, "For he that hath [once] suffered in flesh [died] hath been made to cease from sin." St. Paul, "For he that hath [once] died hath been freed [as by a judicial sentence] from sin." Both use the compulsory sinlessness of the dead man as an argument for the Christian man's freedom from the power of sin. The Christian is a dead man, because he died in Christ, and now lives, in Christ, the resurrection life of heaven. It is scarcely possible to conceive the argument, however we might conceive the doctrine, of the later of the two writers to have been independent of the earlier. The very expression "arm yourselves" in St. Peter suggests a reminiscence of St. Paul, to whom (with this exception) the figure is peculiar in the New Testament. See Rom. vi. 13 (ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης); xiii. 12 (ἐνδύσασθε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός); 2 Cor. vi. 7; x. 4; Ephes. vi. 11—17; 1 Thess. v. 8.

(4.) One other instance of a reference in the Catholic Epistles to St. Paul's writings shall be taken from St. James iv. 5. We are aware that the statement is open

to question; but to us no explanation of the difficult verse, "Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to [against] envy?" is so satisfactory as that which sees in it an allusion to Gal. v. 17—21, where St. Paul, speaking of the antagonism between flesh and spirit, describes it as an adverse "lusting" ("the spirit lusteth against the flesh"), and then places "envy" amongst those "works of the flesh" against which the lusting of the spirit is directed. Thus St. James, having spoken of selfish and sensual desires as the cause of "wars and fightings," asks, in the verse before us, "Think ye that the Scripture saying is false or unmeaning, The Spirit which took up His abode [or, according to the truer reading, 'which He implanted'] in us [when we became Christians] lusteth against envy," against that particular "work of the flesh" which has to do with the discords and dissensions so rife amongst us in the world? We have seen above that St. Peter recognises St. Paul's Epistles as "Scripture" (2 Pet. iii. 16). The word ἐπιποθεῖ in St. James's quotation is a fair equivalent to the ἐπιθυμεῖ of St. Paul. The preposition πρός, in the sense of "against," "in opposition to," is sufficiently supported by 1 Cor. vi. 1 ("having a matter against another"), Ephes. vi. 12 ("we wrestle not against flesh and blood," &c.), Col. iii. 13, 19 ("if any man have a quarrel against any . . . be not bitter against them"), and still more exactly by Col. ii. 23, when rightly rendered, "not in any honour [or value] against [to resist] the satisfying of the flesh."

The interest of these references to St. Paul in St. James and St. Peter is great in itself, greater in the help it affords towards the conception of the gradual formation of the volume of the New Testament. We see how, under God's providence, one "writing" after another won its way from the circle of readers to which it was addressed, into the wider, at last into the world-wide, community of the Christian Church. St. Paul's directions for the recognition of his own letters (2 Thess. iii. 17), for their public reading in the congregation (1 Thess. v. 27), and for their interchange between neighbouring Churches (Col. iv. 16), are so many preparations for that kind and degree of homage which St. Peter at last claims for them, in their multiplied if not yet collected form, when he says, "As also in all his Epistles," and goes on to associate them with "the other Scriptures."

THE MINERALS OF THE BIBLE.

III. MISCELLANEOUS MINERAL SUBSTANCES.

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IN dealing with those minerals which are not connected with either metals or precious stones, we have to consider the Rocks and Soils, and then the mineral substances which are found along the shores of the Dead Sea. We shall include some reference to what is known of the geology of Palestine, and to the physical agencies which have produced the extraordinary valley that extends from the slopes of Lebanon to the northern part of the Red Sea.

ROCKS AND SOILS.

It is much to be regretted that, until recently, no systematic and organised effort has been made from England geologically to survey the Lands of the Bible. The observations of private travellers, valuable though they are, cannot supply the place of an authoritative survey by specially trained observers. The report of Dr. Anderson, the geologist of the American expedition of 1848, and the published works of Seetzen, Russegger, Ritter, Lartet, Tristram, Grove, Stanley, and others, have furnished a quantity of most valuable information concerning the physical structure of Palestine; but problems of great interest are still left unsettled, and there is a great lack of accurate geological maps and definite information. This want is now to some extent being met. The Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai, published in 1869, has led the way to the more important enterprise of the promoters of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in undertaking an accurate and comprehensive survey of Palestine both topographical and geological. The brief reports of Lieutenant Conder, published in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Society, give promise of the successful termination of this work; and we look forward with high interest to the publication of the full results, as likely to explain many things which at present are obscure and imperfectly known. Meanwhile, we must be content with the knowledge that has already been gained; and propose in this article to give a brief and general *résumé* of the chief matters of interest that throw light on the sacred narrative.

The term EARTH, in our English Bible, is the translation of two totally different Hebrew words. One of these (*ĕrĕts*) is used to denote "the world" as opposed to "the heavens," or "the land" as opposed to "the sea," and in some other derived significations. The other (*adâmâh*) is used to express the material or soil of which the earth is composed—the inorganic substance which lies at the base of all organic life, and into which, on dying, organic life becomes again resolved. The term *âphâr adâmâh*, "dust of the ground," is often used in this sense (Gen. ii. 7; iii. 19, &c.), as indicating that man's body, originally formed of earth, would return to earth again. A

curious characteristic of all forms of ancient worship appears in connection with this term. When Naaman was cured by Elisha, he begged for two mules' burden of earth, that he might erect an altar therewith in his own land, and thus sacrifice acceptably to the God of the land where he had received his cure (2 Kings v. 17). The gods of a nation were considered part of its land, and could be worshipped acceptably only in connection with its soil.

SAND (*chôl*) is abundant in Egypt, occurs in some parts of the desert of Sinai, though not by any means general in that district, and is found along the shores of the seas and lakes, and in some of the mountain torrents of Palestine. The "sand of the sea" is often used in the Bible as a figure expressive of great number or abundance (Gen. xxxii. 12; xli. 49, &c.), and in other passages (Job vi. 3; Prov. xxvii. 3) as expressive of weight. When Moses killed the Egyptian who was oppressing his Hebrew brother, he hid his body in the sand (Exod. ii. 12). In the final blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19), Issachar is exhorted to rejoice in his tents, for "they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands"—a statement which Dean Stanley explains as referring to the merchandise from the port of Acre, and to the sands of the torrent Belus (*Sinai and Palestine*, page 348). The parable of the house built on the sand, with which "the Sermon on the Mount" concludes, must be familiar to the reader. On one of the sandy flats of a mountain torrent the house is built in the dry season, and when the rains set in the roaring stream sweeps all before it.

The sand and sand-drifts of Egypt and the East have been likened by Dean Stanley to glaciers—"sands and sand-drifts which in purity, in brightness, in firmness, in destructiveness, are the snows and glaciers of the south" (Introd., p. xxxvi.). Professor Wyville Thomson, writing from the *Challenger* Expedition, gives a wonderful account of a "glacier" of moving sand in the Bermudas which, blown by the wind, "has partially overwhelmed a garden, and is moving slowly on." The sand-blown hills and dunes which line some portions of the Mediterranean coast, are referred to by Jeremiah in the words, "Fear ye not me? saith the Lord: will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass it; and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it?" (Jer. v. 22.) The might of Jehovah makes the feebleness and mobility of the sand the barrier to the strength of the ocean.

CLAY (*tît, chomer*, πῆλος) is repeatedly referred to in the Bible as the material of *bricks, pottery*, and *seals*. The word is sometimes used to denote mud, and is then in our version generally translated "mire," or "dirt" (Isa. lvii. 20; Jer. xxxviii. 6, &c.). But in other passages it clearly refers to alluvial clay or potter's clay, which was used for the purposes above named. It is very doubtful whether the finer kinds of porcelain clay existed either in Egypt, Palestine, or Assyria. Most of these finer kinds of clay are the result of a peculiar disintegration of rocks containing felspar. The *kaolin*, or porcelain clay of Cornwall, *e.g.*, results from the decomposition of light grey or almost white granite. The felspar of the granite, which consists of silicate of alumina and potass, is acted upon by water containing carbonic acid in solution, and thus becomes gradually decomposed. The potass compounds, being soluble, are washed out; and the silicate of alumina remains as a fine impalpable white powder. This powder then becomes separated by rain-wash and streams from much of the quartz and mica with which in the granite it was associated, and forms the clay so much valued for the finer sorts of pottery. So far as we are aware there is no evidence that potter's clay of this very pure character existed in the lands of the Bible. But other kinds of clay, also suited for purposes of pottery, undoubtedly occurred, and are repeatedly mentioned.

In Jer. xviii. 3 is a reference to the potter's wheel. Sir J. G. Wilkinson conclusively shows that it must have been in use in Egypt previous to the time of Joseph (iii. 165). The earliest distinct reference to pottery (with the exception of Rebekah's pitcher, Gen. xxiv. 14, which may possibly have been of earthenware), is found in the narrative of Gideon's little army, who hid their torches in earthen pitchers, which they subsequently broke (Judg. vii. 16, 19). From Jer. xxxii. 14, it appears that in ancient times earthen vessels were employed, as iron safes are with us, to preserve documents from destruction by fire or vermin. The utter desolation of the patriarch Job is forcibly shown by the use he made of a potsherd (Job ii. 8).

Two distinct kinds of *bricks* were made use of in olden time. The bricks of Assyria were kiln-baked, and were generally set in bitumen or asphaltum. Those of Egypt, on the other hand, were sun-dried, sometimes made with straw, sometimes without straw. The Assyrian method of manufacture is mentioned in connection with the building of the Tower of Babel (Gen. xi. 3); and the Egyptian method—both with and without straw—was one of the employments of the Hebrews during their Egyptian bondage (Exod. i. 14; v. 7). Sun-dried bricks were used at Nineveh; and in later times kiln-burnt bricks were employed in Egypt, as the mention of a brick-kiln there by the prophet Jeremiah (xliii. 9) indicates. The Israelites appear to have followed the method of burning in kilns (2 Sam. xii. 31).

The third use to which clay was put—viz., for *seals* (Job xxxviii. 14)—seems strange to us in modern times. The luxury of sealing-wax was unknown then, and clay took its place. Even the seals of public documents were made of clay impressed by the tablet, and then baked. In Assyria small cylinders of hard stone, engraved with devices and letters, were used to impress the clay seals. The mummy-pits of Egypt, and sometimes doors, were in like manner sealed with clay. The den of lions in which Daniel was placed was sealed in like manner. And it is not improbable that the

sealing of our Lord's tomb was effected similarly (Matt. xxvii. 66).

Several Hebrew words are used to denote *rock*, or *stone*, or *pebble*. It is not unlikely that one of these (*challâmîsh*) refers specifically (as Michaelis suggests) to the granite or porphyric rocks found in the peninsula of Sinai. Gesenius, indeed, renders it "flint;" but the fact that it occurs with special reference to the miracle of Horeb favours the suggestion of Michaelis (Deut. viii. 15; Ps. cxiv. 8).

In the paper on "Precious Stones" allusion was made to the *shoham* stone of Gen. ii. 12, as the flint from which ancient weapons were made. There are references to cutting implements of flint in later times (see Exod. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2, 3, where the Hebrew reads *charbôth tsurîm*, "stone-knives").

The employment of stones for building purposes is too obvious to need much comment. Altars were commanded to be made of earth or of unhewn stone (Exod. xx. 25); and in the narrative of the building of Solomon's Temple, it is stated that "The house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building" (1 Kings vi. 7). Some of the enormous stones which modern explorations on the Temple site have brought to light, are believed to have been part of the original erection of Solomon. The references of the New Testament to Christ as the "foundation-stone," or "chief corner-stone," in the great spiritual temple of His Church, will be familiar to the reader (Eph. ii. 20—22; 1 Pet. ii. 4—8; Mark xii. 10; Matt. xvi. 16—18).

The probability has been suggested that the apparently well-known stones which are dignified by specific names in the historical parts of the Old Testament, were really boundary stones to mark the limits of land (Josh. xv. 6; 1 Sam. vi. 15; xx. 19; 1 Kings i. 9; 2 Sam. xx. 8), cromlechs or cairns, or heaps of stones erected in commemoration of some public event—by Jacob at Bethel, by Joshua at the river Jordan, by Samuel at Ebenezer between Mizpeh and Shen (Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxi. 45; Josh. iv. 9; 1 Sam. vii. 12). This practice of memorial stones, and heaps of stones, is common to almost all nations. It survives, in a modified form, in the monuments, mausoleums, and obelisks of modern days, and may be regarded as the outward expression of an instinct of humanity. Even in some of the wild regions of the Alps—the Col du Bonhomme for instance—the traveller finds conical heaps of stones commemorative of some ancient tradition; and the mounds and ancient monuments of our own country have been deemed of such importance as to engage the serious consideration of Parliament.

In further illustration of the use of memorial stones, and also as raising further questions of some importance, may be quoted Deut. xxvii. 2—8: "And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaister them with plaister: and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law, when thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, a land that floweth with milk and honey; as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee. Therefore it shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister. And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones: and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God: and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly." This passage, on the one hand, gives additional interest to the previous commands, that altars should be made either of earth or of natural stones, which had not been fashioned by artificial aid, and to the subsequent fact of the absence of iron tools in the actual operations of the building of Solomon's Temple; and on the other hand it suggests questions of some interest, which lead on naturally to the matters remaining to be dealt with in this paper. The Hebrew term here translated "plaister" is *sîd*. There has been much controversy whether this means *gypsum* or *lime*. Gypsum, as is well known, is the natural sulphate of lime, which occurs abundantly in some districts bordering the Dead Sea, and other inland lakes, and also in those geological formations which are the result of deposit in such seas. Burnt and artificially prepared, it forms the so-called "plaster of Paris," which, when mixed with water, becomes a quick-setting cement or stucco. Lime also, in its different varieties, may be employed for a similar purpose. It is clear, from the above-quoted passage, that the natural stones were to be plastered over with the material termed *sîd*, and then on the smooth surface the words of the Law were to be cut. In Egypt it was not at all uncommon to cover the walls of buildings and monumental stones with a coating of cement, upon which figures and hieroglyphics were subsequently painted; and a similar practice appears to have been here followed. Either lime or gypsum would answer this purpose; and Oriental scholars are in great doubt as to which material is meant.

Now side by side with this controversy let us place another. The vale of *Siddim*, in Gen. xiv., has given risen to almost endless discussion. Several Hebrew and Arabic roots have been regarded as giving a rational interpretation of the word; and all the while every one agrees that the vale of Siddim must be somewhere on the borders of the Dead Sea.

There is reason for making these two controversies mutually explanatory. Without entering into the minutiæ of Hebrew and Arabic etymology, there can be no question at all that the two forms of roots represented by *sâdad* and *sîd* are very closely allied. And whatever be the way by which the term *Siddim* became

applied to a district bordering on the Dead Sea, it is highly probable etymologically that the term *sîd* would be applied to a rock characteristic of the vale of *Siddim*. The English reader may be reminded that the termination *-im* is simply the form of the Hebrew plural, and that the only fundamental differences between the two words are the shortening of the vowel *i* and the doubling of the *d*. Hence, as gypsum is specially characteristic of the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, whilst limestone covers almost the whole of Palestine, the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of gypsum. The *sîd* of Deut. xxvii. is the gypsum which was found in the valley of *Siddim*. This explanation is indeed not borne out by Amos ii. 1, where it is said that Moab "burned the bones of the king of Edom with *sîd*;" but this passage is highly metaphorical, and it is exceedingly probable that the word, in course of time, became applied indiscriminately to all powders which could be used for plaster or cement.

The Hebrew word for LIMESTONE appears to have been *gir*, which in Isa. xxvii. 9 is translated "chalk." Almost the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan is limestone. The reports of Lieutenant Conder to the Palestine Exploration Society render it evident that there are at least three systems of limestone strata. The lowest of these is described as highly crystalline and dolomitic (*i.e.*, containing magnesia as well as lime); in some districts it is much disturbed and contorted. It is found generally in proximity to basaltic or other trap rock, and is probably metamorphic in origin. Connected with this are other strata somewhat similar, but containing fossils, which fix the geological age of the upper beds as that of the English Lower Chalk formation, and of the underlying metamorphic limestone as Neocomian or Upper Jurassic. In the north of Palestine, lying unconformably upon the above-named series, are beds of limestone, some of it very white and hard, containing flints, and referred to the time of the Upper Chalk. And in the south of Palestine, the so-called Nummulitic Limestone, which has generally been referred to the lower part of the Eocene formation, is well represented. In connection with these formations are numerous outbursts and dykes of basaltic and other trap rock.[1]

One point in connection with limestone rock, which is of great interest in Biblical history, is the formation of natural caverns. All limestone districts are full of caves, fissures, and hollows. The geological history of such caverns is very simple. All rocks are penetrated more or less by cracks and fissures; those which have been subjected to much uptilting and contortion will, of course, be more affected with fissures and clefts than others. Into these fissures and clefts rain-water from the surface penetrates; this rain-water, having previously passed through the surface-soil filled with decaying vegetation, becomes charged with carbonic and organic acids. Thus charged, it is capable of dissolving the limestone, and so in course of years the rock becomes disintegrated and hollowed into caverns. In some caverns another chemical action becomes superadded. Water charged with carbonic acid can dissolve only a definite quantity of limestone. If, by evaporation or heat, the amount of carbonic acid becomes lessened, the limestone is again deposited in the form of carbonate of lime; and thus arise the stalactites and stalagmites which crowd many natural caverns in limestone. Those who are familiar with the caves of the Mendip Hills, or Derbyshire, or Yorkshire, will readily be able to understand the method of formation of the caves of Palestine. Such caves have been the abode both of men and of wild beasts. Dr. Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 237) gives a good account of a hyæna cave on the edge of the Jordan valley which is singularly like the caves that geologists have heard so much of lately in England.

These caverns of Palestine have been of great importance in Jewish history. They were used for places of burial, for shelter and concealment, and perhaps also for worship. Caves at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Mount Olivet are still kept sacred to the scenes of the Saviour's history; and scattered all over the country are cave-memorials of past Hebrew life. We should like to transcribe a page or two of Dean Stanley's wonderful account of these ancient caves, but space forbids; we content ourselves with a few sentences, and refer the reader who is interested in the matter to *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 150. "We see in these caves also the hiding-places which served sometimes for the defence of robbers and insurgents, sometimes for the refuge of those 'of whom the world was not worthy;' the prototype of the catacombs of the early Christians, of the caverns of the Vaudois and the Covenanters. The cave of the five kings at Makkedah; the 'caves, and dens, and strongholds,' and 'rocks,' and 'pits,' and 'holes,' in which the Israelites took shelter from the Midianites in the time of Gideon, from the Philistines in the time of Saul; the cleft of the cliff Etam, into which Samson went down to escape the vengeance of his enemies; the caves of David at Adullam, and at Maon, and of Saul at En-gedi; the cave in which Obadiah hid the prophets of the Lord; the caves of the robber-hordes above the plain of Gennesareth; the sepulchral caves of the Gadarene demoniacs; the cave of Jotapata, where Josephus and his countrymen concealed themselves in their last struggle—continue from first to last what has truly been called the 'cave-life' of the Israelite nation. The stream of their national existence, like the actual streams of the Grecian rivers, from time to time disappears from the light of day, and runs underground in these subterraneous recesses, to burst forth again when the appointed moment arrives—a striking type, as it is a remarkable instance, of the preservation of the spiritual life of the chosen

[1] The writer has obtained this information from the reports of Lieutenant Conder, as published in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Society. He uses it in preference to other accounts, not by any means in disparagement of the labours of other observers, but because it presents the newest and most systematic information on the subject.

people; 'burning, but not consumed;' 'chastened, but not killed.'" (See Judg. vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6; xiv. 11; Judg. xv. 8; 1 Sam. xxii. 1; xxiii. 25; xxiv. 3; 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13; Mark v. 3; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, i. 16, §§ 2—4; iii. 7, § 36; 8, § 1.)

In connection with limestone it will be convenient to notice ALABASTER and MARBLE. The former term occurs in the New Testament in the account of the woman who brought the "alabaster box of very precious ointment," and breaking the box (*i.e.*, in all probability removing the seal of the vase), poured it on the head of our Saviour as He sat in the house of Simon the leper (Matt. xxvi. 7; Mark xiv. 3; Luke vii. 37). The term *alabaster* is confined by modern mineralogists to crystalline snow-white sulphate of lime, or crystallised gypsum. But the word is really derived from a place called Alabastron, in Egypt, where vases and vessels for holding perfumes were manufactured in ancient times. In the time of our Lord it is clear, from Pliny and other writers, that the term was indicative more of the form and usage of the "box" than of the material of which it was composed. Some of these ancient *alabastra* were manufactured out of fibrous or semi-crystalline carbonate of lime, some out of the different varieties of onyx, and some from other materials.

"Marble" is the rendering in our English version of four different Hebrew words (*shêsh* or *shaish*, *bahat*, *dar*, and *sochĕrĕth*). These words all occur in Esther i. 6, as descriptive of different stones ornamenting the palace of the Persian king. In other passages the first of the above words occurs alone (1 Chron. xxix. 2; Cant. v. 15). Undoubtedly these terms apply to different varieties of ornamental stone. Marble in modern nomenclature is applied to all the ornamental varieties of limestone. Some of these rocks derive their beauty from the infiltration of metallic oxides and the different chemical substances they contain; others are the result of organic agencies, and are filled with the relics of extinct life. It is utterly impossible to identify the above terms with any known species of marble of modern times. *Shêsh* was most likely the snow-white crystalline carbonate of lime of metamorphic origin, like to the marbles of Paris or Carrara, and used abundantly for purposes of statuary. The Septuagint renders *bahat* by σμαραγδίτης (*i.e.*, emerald), but on what authority there is no means of knowing; it may have been green serpentine, or perhaps malachite. *Dar*, in Arabic, means a pearl; and Michaelis has suggested that in Esther it signifies what mineralogists now call "satin spar," a peculiar fibrous variety of gypsum, which when polished has a beautiful pearly lustre. *Sochĕrĕth* is generally considered to have been a spotted or variegated marble, of which there are many well-known kinds.

THE DEAD SEA AND ITS MINERALS.

One is almost tempted to claim the Dead Sea as the most unique and extraordinary mineral production of Palestine. It certainly is not vegetable nor animal, and its waters are most decidedly mineral.

From the Gulf of Akaba to the extreme north of Syria runs a deep natural valley or fissure. The Dead Sea occupies the lowest part of this deep valley, and its surface is more than 1,300 feet *below* the level of the Mediterranean and Red Seas. On the north the river Jordan, rising in the slopes of Lebanon, drains the valley, and flows southward into the Dead Sea. On the south, another river, rising at a watershed two-thirds of the distance between the Dead Sea and the head of the Gulf of Akaba, flows northwards into the Dead Sea. The sea, therefore, receives the natural drainage of the whole of the valley between Lebanon and the watershed overlooking the Gulf of Akaba. It has no natural outlet, the evaporation from its surface balancing the supply of fresh water by the rivers. Consequently, its waters are charged with mineral salts, which, as the concentration proceeds, must become deposited as chemical strata. There can be little doubt that the whole fissure or valley was once an arm of the Red Sea, a continuation of the Gulf of Akaba northwards. By the raising of the whole district through past geological agencies the Red Sea retreated to its present limits; and changes of physical conditions caused evaporation to prevail over supply of water, and reduced the inland sea to its present proportions.

It will readily be seen that there are two physical problems of importance connected with the formation of the Dead Sea—viz., the hollowing out of the valley, and the drying up of the district.

The old tradition of the destruction of the "cities of the plain" by volcanic convulsion, and the formation of the sea on their site, is manifestly inadequate to account for all the phenomena. Those cities were most probably to the north of the existing sea; and whatever the peculiar form of the catastrophe which overtook them, there is clear geological evidence that the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea existed pretty much as they are now, long before any possible date that can be assigned to Abraham. The two theories of formation which have been most discussed are these: (1) A sudden dislocation resulting in a sinking down of the strata, and the formation of the valley; and (2) its production by the ordinary methods of atmospheric denudation. The difference of the strata on the east and west sides of the sea favour the former theory; and the presence of almost all the signs of ordinary atmospheric denudation are strongly in favour of the latter. Probably both agencies have concurred in the production of the valley. It is clear that the present rivers and the present flow of drainage are quite inadequate to effect such a result; because, whatever they may wear away from the land surface would be deposited in the Dead Sea itself, and tend to fill up the chasm. The river erosion theory, therefore, presupposes a considerable elevation of the land above its present level, so that the river flowing through the valley might make its way past the intervening watershed into the Gulf of Akaba.

Another physical problem of interest is the drying up of the district by diminished rainfall or increased

evaporation. The Dead Sea is only one of a series of inland seas in Central Asia; and there is strong reason for believing that the rainfall over the whole of these districts was in ages long gone by vastly greater than now.

Captain Maury, in his *Physical Geography of the Sea* (chap. xii.), argues that the uplifting of South America and the Andes is the cause of the inland seas of Asia. He maintains that the south-east trade-winds blowing over South America and the Andes must rise at the equator as *dry* winds above the lower stratum of air; and that they return to the surface of the earth, still devoid of moisture, as the counter trade-winds that cross East Europe and Western Asia. Hence the excessive evaporation of these districts, the dry winds sucking up all moisture. This theory, though very ingenious, is far-fetched and unsound. Apart from the objection urged by Sir J. Herschel, that the crossing of the winds (as suggested by Captain Maury) at the equator is utterly impossible (*Phys. Geog.*, p. 48), there is no need to go as far as South America in order to account for the dessication of Western Asia. At the comparatively recent time when the Sahara and Northern Africa were beneath the sea, Western Asia must have been a region of great atmospheric moisture. The uplifting of large districts in North Africa into dry land would have a much more potent effect upon Syria than any possible result of the Andes in South America.

The very peculiar geological conditions of the Dead Sea have resulted in the deposit of a number of minerals along its shores. *Gypsum, rock salt, brimstone,* and *bitumen* demand a word or two of notice.

Nitre, or more correctly *natron*, a natural carbonate of soda, which occurs abundantly in some lakes of Egypt, does not appear to have been found at the Dead Sea. This substance is mentioned in Prov. xxv. 20, "As vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart;" and in Jer. ii. 22, "Though thou wash thee with nitre, and take thee much sope, yet thine iniquity is marked before me." These passages are readily understood when it is remembered that the substance referred to is not what we call nitre or saltpetre, but is a substance closely allied to ordinary washing soda, and to the carbonate of soda which effervesces vigorously with acids.

Gypsum and Rock Salt are the natural deposits resulting from the evaporation of sea-water, and both occur abundantly in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Gypsum has already been discussed. *Salt* is of frequent mention in the Bible. Eating salt together is, in the East, a pledge of amity and friendship. Hence the "covenant of salt" (Lev. ii. 13; Numb. xviii. 19; 2 Chron. xiii. 5) was an indissoluble pact; and "salted with the salt of the palace" (Ezra iv. 14) meant not maintenance, but the sign of faithfulness to the king. Salt was used in the sacrifices and offerings of the Israelites (Lev. ii. 13; Ezek. xliii. 24), probably with the same idea of honour and fidelity. Salt is the condiment that sweetens food and preserves from putrefaction: hence the references of our Lord to His people as the "salt of the earth" (Matt. v. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50; Luke xiv. 34). The sterility of the salt districts of the Dead Sea appears to have suggested the figure of a "salt land," and the custom of "sowing with salt," as indicating barrenness, and utter desolation, and ruin (see Jer. xvii. 6; Judg. ix. 45; Deut. xxix. 23; Zeph. ii. 9).

Brimstone or Sulphur occurs nearly pure in lumps or balls in the deposits of the Dead Sea (Anderson, 187; Tristram, p. 279). This sulphur is most probably the result of deposit from the hot sulphurous springs which occur in places along the shores. It might possibly be the result of chemical reaction of decomposing carbonaceous matter upon gypsum. Any way, there it is; and its intense inflammability is used in the Scriptures as the symbol or figure of Divine wrath and vengeance (Gen. xix. 24; Deut. xxix. 23; Job xviii. 15; Isa. xxxiv. 9; Ezek. xxxviii. 22; Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10; xxi. 8).

Bitumen, in Hebrew *chēmâr*, sometimes translated "slime" (Gen. xiv. 10; xi. 3), has already been alluded to as the mortar used for cementing the bricks of Babylon. It is found in the neighbourhood of that city, and also in connection with the Dead Sea. The bitumen pits in the vale of Siddim caused the defeat of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, as recorded in Gen. xiv. The river-cradle of Moses was rendered water-tight by means of bitumen (Exod. ii. 3). There is a popular idea that the bitumen of the Dead Sea is a proof of volcanic action. This is a huge delusion. Some of the liquid hydro-carbons—naphtha, rock-oil, &c.—*may* be the result of the interior heat of the earth causing an upward distillation of carbonaceous strata. But bituminous matter results from the natural decomposition of organic remains, and occurs most abundantly in strata which are purely aqueous, and have no connection whatever with volcanic agency. To point to the bitumen of the Dead Sea as a proof of volcanic agency is a most extraordinary development of the imagination of enthusiastic travellers.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOB (*continued*).

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THIS divine drama has a double action. The main purpose of the poet was to combat the manner in which the theology of his time sought to justify the ways of God to man. The current belief on the subject had the merit of being simple and intelligible. It acknowledged only one principle of moral government, that of retributive justice, which was always assumed to be at work, apportioning in this world their due reward to good and evil men. According to this creed the righteous are always blessed with prosperity, while the wicked are always overtaken with ruin. But experience soon supplied matter for perplexing questions. The Book of Job does not stand alone, in the literature of Israel, in the attempt to deal with the difficulty raised by the contradictory facts. Two Psalms especially, xxxvii. and lxxiii., attempt to dissipate the anxious doubts occasioned by the failure of the popular theory. But these deal only with the question of the triumph of ungodly men. The Book of Job takes up the other side, which is surrounded by still more perplexity. Why does the Divine Ruler of the world permit good men to be afflicted?

This forms the main subject of the poem, and supplies one of its two lines of action. By his choice of the dramatic form, the unknown theologian is able to expose the falsehood and cruelty of the current theory in the persons of three able representatives, with a completeness that would have been impossible in any other style of composition. But he is enabled to accomplish more. The sufferer who is the victim of these well-meaning persecutions is the hero of a real tragedy, in whose fate are involved questions of universal interest. Can religion be entirely disinterested? Shall men be able to preserve their integrity under affliction which has crushed out not only happiness, but hope and faith? When innocence is of no avail, and justice is withheld, and God, withdrawn in dark impenetrable silence, does not answer even with the merciful summons of death, can a human soul, by maintaining the truth and freedom of its moral consciousness, conquer for itself a truer peace, and out of affliction bring a blessing? To one despairing of this life can there spring up a longing and a hope of another, in which innocence shall at length find its vindication and its reward? These are some of the questions that are answered in the Book of Job. And there are others which are not answered, which the inspired author of this great book could only himself suggest, and which waited for the fuller light of the revelation of Jesus Christ.

The poem consists of seven divisions—(1) chaps. i., ii., the opening, in prose; (2) chaps. iii.—xiv., the first dialogue or scene, commencing with a monologue by Job, and continued by a speech from each of the three friends, and a reply to each from the hero; (3) chaps. xv.—xxi., the second scene, constructed on the same plan; (4) chaps. xxii.—xxvi., the third scene, in which one actor is silent; two long speeches by Job, who has now put his antagonists to silence, conclude this scene (xxvii.—xxxi.); (5) xxxii.—xxxvii., occupied by a fourth speaker not previously mentioned; this part was not in the original plan of the poem; (6) xxxviii.—xlii. 1—6, Jehovah speaks from the tempest those majestic descriptions of His power, to which Job can only respond in broken accents of penitence and awe; (7) epilogue in prose.

1.—THE PROLOGUE (chaps. i., ii.).

The first purpose of the author was to present in one person a combination of the most perfect goodness and most complete prosperity that could be conceived, and then, by a quick succession of sudden calamities, to reduce him to the utmost misery. This is done in an epic introduction, which defies attacks on its authenticity, by the fact that without it the poem would not only be incomplete, but unintelligible. All the necessary conditions were exactly satisfied in the person of Job. His greatness and his misfortunes were a tradition[1] in the East. His piety and his patience were the theme of Hebrew prophets (Ezek. xiv. 14; James v. 11).

In a few simple and majestic words this model of patriarchal virtue and greatness is introduced. The traits of his character are brought out in detail in the course of the poem (xxix. 11—16; xxxi.), and show how nearly the standard of even Christian holiness was approached in the ideal presented by the four splendid epithets, "perfect, upright, fearing God, and eschewing evil." "There is none like him upon earth," was the testimony of Jehovah to Job's righteousness.

If such a man should fall into misfortune, plainly the current belief must be in error. Tradition asserted that Job had been overtaken by the worst of calamities. What was the interpretation of a fact so at variance with the orthodox creed?

With marvellous art and profound insight into the mystery of human life, the way is prepared for the discussion of this difficulty. It is necessary that the spectator should be admitted partially into the secrets of the Divine Ruler. He must be furnished with a

[1] The question of Job's historical existence is not necessary to the right understanding of the Book of Job. There have been some who held the whole work to be fictitious—a long parable like in kind to that of Dives and Lazarus. Others have understood it as entirely and literally historic. The truth probably lies between the two. The book is a poem founded on the facts preserved in the traditional accounts of Job, who belonged probably to the patriarchal age. The LXX., in the appendix before quoted, identifies him with Jobab, prince of Edom, mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 33. But this appendix is of very doubtful authority. The name Job, Iyob, appears to mean "the afflicted one" (Ewald, however, fetching it from an Arabic root, makes it "he that repents"). Was the earlier name changed to suit the lot of the sufferer?

reason for the affliction of the sufferer, which he himself, if he could perceive it, would acknowledge to be sufficient. Without this his sense of right would be too keenly stung to enable him to follow the course of the poem.

The necessary motive is supplied by Satan, the accusing angel, who, fresh from his self-chosen task of roaming earth in search of sin, fronts God in heaven itself with calumnies against His purest creatures and detraction of His most tried saints.[1] It is indeed a devilish suggestion, one too gross for human mind to invent, that all virtue is assumed, and piety itself but a selfish policy to cheat God. "Doth Job serve God for nought?"

Than that such a miserable suspicion should continue to exist in heaven or hell, better that not one only but all good men be stricken down with sudden ruin. The blows that rained on Job and left him a broken and desolate man, and the loathsome disease[2] which tired even the affection of his wife, and turned it into the bitterest of temptations, would have had their purpose had this only been recorded, that "Job sinned not with his lips." For the devil had predicted blasphemy and renunciation. "He will renounce thee to thy face." But his falsehood recoiled on himself, for not only was Satan silenced, not afterwards to appear[3] in the poem, but his fiendish spite produced those wonderful words of resignation which seem to descend from the clime of some eternal calm, and have been the strength and support of thousands of sorrowing souls. "We have received good at the hands of God, and shall we not also receive evil?" "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Thus is the integrity of the sufferer proved sincere. Job sitting on his ash-heap an utterly miserable man, the symbol of woe for all time, has already, and not for himself alone, disarmed the enemy of mankind of one of his most deadly weapons.

2.—THE FIRST SCENE (chaps. iii.—xiv.).

The prologue concludes with the touching description of the visit of the three friends, to whom the news of Job's calamity had been quickly[4] brought. It is a picture of true friendship, true sympathy. "Now when Job's three friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place; Eliphaz[5] the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite; for they had made an appointment together to come to mourn with him and to comfort him. And when they lifted up their eyes afar off, and knew him not, they lifted up their voice and wept; and they rent every one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their head toward heaven. So they sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his grief was very great."

When the long silence was at length broken, it was by that piercing cry in which the sufferer, his forced composure at last overcome, "cursed the day of his birth," and called for death and nothingness to end his cruel grief.

"Let the day perish wherein I was born,
And the night which said, There is a man conceived.
Let that day be darkness,
And let not God brighten it from above,
Neither let the light shine upon it.
* * * * * * *
Lo! let that night become barren,
Let no joyful voice come therein.
Let the cursers of days curse it,
Who can at will rouse the dragon.[6]
* * * * * * *
Because it shut not up the doors of my mother's womb,
Nor hid sorrow from my eyes."

In this wild and passionate outburst of feeling it is important to mark that there is no approach to the impiety which Satan hoped to provoke. The language of the sufferer is *reckless* and *vehement*, but it comes from the depths of a single and simple heart. As yet there is not even a complaint of injustice, not a question of the providence which has allowed the affliction. Existence indeed has become inexpressibly miserable, and for a time the active trust, once habitual to this pious soul, is paralysed. Sick in body and sick in mind, his one wish is for death to come to end the weary scene of monotonous never-ending pain that robs him of thought and rest, and even of hope.

"No more safety, no more rest, no more peace,
Trouble, trouble for ever.[7] (iii. 26.)

Everything has now been most skilfully prepared for

[1] The poetic interest as well as profound meaning of the scenes in heaven has caught the imagination of some of the greatest in modern literature. It powerfully impressed Byron. Shelley meditated a tragedy on Job. Goethe in *Faust*, Bailey in *Festus*, have actually imitated this scene, and by their attempt have only thrown into bolder relief its incomparable grandeur and simplicity.

[2] This disease is interpreted to be elephantiasis. Among its symptoms, which are in the course of the poem accurately and painfully described (see vii. 5—15; xvi. 8; xxx. 17, *sq.*), was that of fetid breath. This is mentioned in the one allusion to Job's wife put into his own lips (xix. 17). The words used by her, "Curse [*i.e.*, renounce, or leave] God, and die," may have been spoken in wish to see an end of his sufferings. The LXX., however, extends her words, and gives them a tone of selfish querulousness.

[3] It is worth mentioning only as an instance of the monstrous conjectures allowed themselves by expositors, that *Elihu* has been regarded as *Satan* come back in disguise "as an angel of light." Perhaps the wish in xxxiv. 36 would have been more appropriate on a fiend's lips.

[4] "Reports spread among the mounted tribes of the Arabian desert with the rapidity of telegraphic despatches."

[5] The character of each of these comes out with clearness and dramatic truth in the poem. In rank they were, of course, chiefs like Job himself, principal scheiks or emirs of large tribes. The LXX. calls Eliphaz and Zophar βασιλεῖς, Bildad τύραννος. The name *Eliphaz* is one of the points connecting the poem with Idumæa (Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11). *Teman*, his tribe or country, was the name of part of Arabia Petræa. *Shuah* is the name of a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), and perhaps connects him with the same region. Of Zophar or Naama nothing is known.

[6] In the A. V., "mourning;" margin, "leviathan." The allusion is to the constellation of the Dragon, which, according to the mythology of Eastern nations, stands ready to devour the sun and moon. "Those who curse the day" are magicians who know how, by incantations, to change days into *dies infasti*. Job prays, not that the memory of the day may be lost, but that the day itself may be blotted from the course of time. In the translations given in this paper, the English version has been carefully compared with those of Lee, Delitzsch, and Renan.

[7] Cf. "Ah, woe! ah, woe! pain, pain ever, for ever." (Shelley, *Prom. Unbound.*)

the entry of the three friends. Full as they were of the doctrines which they think it religious to impress on Job, they could not well be the first to break the silence. But his wild words supply a reason for addressing him.

Eliphaz, who speaks first in each dialogue, is evidently the oldest of the three, as he is the most dignified, the calmest, and the most considerate. He is the only one whose words convey sympathy with the pain they inflict. He comes forward under a sense of duty and with an apology.

> "If we attempt a word, we shall grieve you perhaps;
> But who can withhold himself from speaking?"

Nor could anything be more appropriate than the endeavour to recall the sufferer to the memory of the truths whose efficiency he had himself proved in administering consolations to others, when

> "He upheld the falling,
> And strengthened the feeble knees.

So Eliphaz covers his approach to the statement of the position which in common with the others he takes up, and even when he comes to it all is vague, impersonal, indirect. He appeals to Job's own memory to tell him of any case where a righteous man had been cut off, or an innocent man had perished. As to the other side of the doctrine, that the wicked invariably meet with retribution, he contrives to give his statement of it a greater air of indirectness by reference to the mysterious vision which had revealed to him the infirmity of human nature. At the close, in describing the blessings which penitence may secure, he allows himself to indicate Job more directly:—

> "In thy place I would turn unto God,
> And address myself to the Almighty."

The note touched so gently by Eliphaz is struck by each of the others in turn, always with increasing peremptoriness and decision, as Job, so far from accepting their interpretation of what had befallen him, hurls it from him in anger and disdain. Bildad, who throughout unites brevity with a quick and vigorous imagination, comes at once to the attack without a word of sympathy or solace. He asks abruptly the question whether God could pervert judgment or do injustice (viii. 3)—an admirable question for a calm philosophical discussion, but cruel when thrown in the face of one who was harassed and wrung by torture which seemed so mysterious and undeserved. It is true he glances by Job to fix the whole blame on his children (viii. 4). And this father, with his heart aching in its desolation, had watched with such pious care the morals of his house, had expiated so religiously the possible sins of his sons and daughters (i. 5)! As Eliphaz had appealed to a vision, so Bildad calls to the aid of his argument the wise proverbs of the ancients, and sketches the inevitable fate of the wicked in a number of most striking and beautiful similes drawn from the experiences of Egypt and the desert lands of the East (viii. 6—19). His general conclusion, summed up in an antithetical verse, combines an accusation and a threat:—

> "No, God does not cast away the innocent,
> He does not stretch out his hand to help the evil-doers."

Zophar, the youngest and most violent of the three, who sometimes descends even to coarseness in his tone (xi. 12; cf. xx. 7), does not advance the controversy a step. His speech contains a fine passage on the mysterious greatness of God, and the impuissance of man. But he only reiterates in a new form, and with forcible illustrations, the common position that retributive justice alone is a sufficient principle to account for all phenomena of the moral world. He appears indeed very desirous of Job's penitence and restitution, but, like Bildad, he closes an appeal which, if made under other conditions, might have been very effectual, with the implied condemnation:—

> "But the eyes of the wicked shall fail,
> And refuge shall be closed to them;
> Their hope is worth only a dying man's breath."

God cannot act unjustly. The friends were right to maintain that fundamental truth, without which it would be impossible to conceive of a moral order. But they should have left room for the doubt whether justice alone is a sufficient explanation of all the facts which make up the experience of life. At least, they might have made allowance for one too tortured to think with perfect calmness. They need not have been so hasty to impute evil. Friendship should have kept them from condemning him for a few hasty and passionate words; nay, should have clung to him in all extremes, even had he been proved guilty of the greatest impiety.

> "To him that is afflicted grief should be shown of his friends,
> Even though he has abandoned the fear of the Almighty."

Job felt this break in their sympathy, and felt it keenly. The disappointment shows itself repeatedly in the course of his speeches, and lends them much of their bitterness and fierceness of tone. A little confidence in his innocence would have helped him to bear his pain and win back something of his shattered faith. With sympathy, even silent sympathy, he might have discovered for himself where the creed in which he too had been educated was imperfect and incomplete. For he too had been taught to see the hand of God in outward dispensations. But now that he feels from the bottom of his heart that he is a sore contradiction of what he had learnt to believe, the repetition of the old half-truths only exasperates him to fierce defiance, and tends to shatter all his former faith into fragments.

"And thus, whatever of calmness and endurance Job alone, on his ash-heap, might have conquered for himself, is all scattered away; and as the strong gusts of passion sweep to and fro across his heart, he pours himself out in wild fitful music, so beautiful because so true; not answering them or their speeches, but now flinging them from him in scorn, now appealing to their mercy or turning indignantly to God; now praying for death; now in perplexity, doubting whether, in some mystic way he cannot understand, he may not perhaps after all really have sinned (vii. 20), and praying to be shown his fault; and then staggering further into the darkness,

and breaking out into upbraidings of the Power which has become so dreadful an enigma to him. 'Thou enquirest after my iniquity, thou searchest after my sin, and thou knowest that I am not wicked. Why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb? Oh, that I had given up the ghost, and no eye had seen me. Cease, let me alone. It is but a little while that I have to live. Let me alone, that I may take comfort a little before I go, whence I shall not return, to the land of darkness and the shadow of death.' In what other poem in the world is there pathos deep as this? With experience so stern as his, it was not for Job to be calm and self-possessed, and delicate in his words. He speaks not what he knows, but what he feels; and without fear the writer allows him to throw out his passion, all genuine as it rises, not overmuch caring how nice ears might be offended, but contented to be true to the real emotion of a genuine human heart."[1]

In this passionate music are struck two or three dominant chords which persist and prevail to the end of the whole sad strain. In the first place, Job never lets go the consistent profession of his real innocence. It is the more important to remark this, because the translation of our English Bible sometimes represents the speaker as utterly inconsistent with himself.[2] Beneath his desire for death was something more than the longing for rest from pain. He wants to pass away before his will and reason, overmastered by suffering, have consented to any sin.

> "Oh, that it would please God to destroy me!
> That He would let loose His hand and cut me off!
> That I might have at least this consolation,
> This joy in the sufferings that He heaps upon me,
> That[3] I have not violated the words of the Holy One."
> (vi. 9, 10.)

And so, when from his intense realisation of the awful power of God, he recoils back from the hope of an answer from one so self-sustained and arbitrary—

> "If I had called and He had answered me,
> I would not believe that He had heard my voice:
> He who crusheth me with a tempest
> And multiplied my wounds without cause;
> Who will not suffer me to take breath,
> But filleth me with bitterness;"

though he is driven to say—

> "Were I innocent, He would declare me guilty,"

he is yet true to his own conscience, and exclaims, in tones that are sublime though defiant—

> "Yes, I am innocent; life is nothing to me;
> I care no more to live."[4] (ix. 21.)

In contrast to the view of Providence which the friends with such wearisome reiteration parade as the adequate explanation of all the facts of existence, Job, conscious of the contradiction in his own case, refers everything to an arbitrary omnipotence which governs the world without regard to innocence or guilt, and disdains to give account of His deeds to creatures so mean as man:—

> "The earth is given into the hand of the wicked;
> He covereth the faces of the judges thereof.
> If it is not He, who then is He?" (ix. 24; cf. ver. 19.)

And yet he has not let go his trust in God as a God of truth. When in a hasty moment, under the influence of his bitter disappointment in them, he becomes unjust to his friends, and interprets as falsehood of heart what was only error of understanding, he confidently appeals to the God who "is no accepter of persons," and will be the first to confound those who think to do Him service by unfairness and untruth (xiii. 8—11).

It is this "belief in unbelief" which constitutes the strength of Job, and leads him through all his perilous wanderings of doubt at last to the higher trust and purer faith. Even now he turns from man and throws himself on God. He learns that even in the exercise of arbitrary power the Divine Being would respect his sincerity, and in some dim way he sees in this a hope of salvation:—

> "This, moreover, shall turn to my salvation,
> For a hypocrite dare not appear before Him." (xiii. 16.)

And so, as his old conception of God's character becomes more and more insufficient and unsatisfactory, so that with this God above him there is no hope but the hope of death, no comfort but in the eternal silence of the tomb, there begins to shape itself before him, as yet confused, indistinct, and far-off, another God of too pure eyes to behold evil, and awful in grandeur and power, but with something akin to the human in His heart, something sympathetic with the struggles and weaknesses of the creatures that He made. What if he could not yet think of this new tenderness in connection with his earthly lot, but only caught at the conjecture that beyond the grave (if men who die could live again) God would "have a desire for the work of His hands?" (xiv. 14, 15.) Yet the mere presentiment indicates the guiding hand which was leading the sufferer on to truth. His perception of his relation with his Maker was becoming clearer. A new and better faith was taking the place of the old.[5]

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[1] Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 201.

[2] See, *e.g.*, vii. 20, where "I have sinned," should be "If I have sinned." In xiv. 17, the word rendered "transgression" should be "condemnation." There is great difficulty in translating Job, arising from the fact that in Hebrew the same words are employed for moral evil and physical suffering.

[3] A. V., "I have not concealed the words of the Holy One," though sufficiently correct, does not bring out the meaning.

[4] This rendering is also adopted by Ewald. Delitzsch, however, translates, "Whether I am innocent, I know not myself," which is not in accordance with the context or consistent with Job's other utterances. Cf. x. 7, "Thou knowest that I am not wicked."

[5] Before passing on to the next division there are some passages in this which need explanation.

> "How long wilt thou keep thine eyes fixed on me?
> Wilt thou refuse me a moment to swallow down my spittle?"
> (vii. 19.)

This is an Arabian proverb, answering to our expression, "A breathing while."

> "For vain man would be wise,
> Though man be born like a wild ass's colt."
> (xi. 12 in A. V.)

This is a curious passage, and has been a great difficulty to

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

IV.—THE DEAD SEA.

THE *Dead Sea*, to use its modern and more familiar name, is usually called in the Bible the "Salt Sea," but is also styled the "Sea of the Plain," or *Arabah*; the "East Sea;" and once, in 2 Esdras v. 7, the "Sodomitish Sea." To the writers of the Talmud it was known as the "Sea of Sodom" and the "Sea of Salt;" to Josephus as the "Asphaltic" and "Sodomitic" Lake; and it is now called by the Bedawin "Bahr Lut," the Sea of Lot. The title "Dead Sea" appears not to have been used by Jewish writers, but it was current in the country when Jerome wrote, and it is also found in the writings of Pausanias and Galen: this name probably originated in the very general belief, which has survived even to our own day, that the waters of the lake covered the doomed Cities of the Plain, and were of such a deadly character that no bird could fly over them; that the shores were desolate and barren, and that the scenery was gloomy and forbidding. Recent investigation has completely disposed of these erroneous impressions, which possibly arose from the fact that at the northern end of the lake, the part most frequently visited by travellers, there is a dreary waste of mud without the slightest trace of vegetation.

Our knowledge of the "Dead Sea" and its shores is derived, for the most part, from the boat expeditions of Lieutenant Lynch, of the American Navy, in 1848, and of the Duc de Luynes in 1864; and from the land journeys of Seetzen, Robinson, De Saulcy, Captain Warren, R.E., and others.

The Dead Sea occupies the deepest portion of the great depression of the Jordan valley; it is oblong in form, the longest dimension being almost due north and south; and its width is nearly uniform, except near the southern end, where a long low peninsula, the Lisan, stretches out for some distance from the eastern shore, and divides its waters into two unequal portions. The lake has a length of forty-six miles, and an average width of ten miles; on either side the mountain-ranges run parallel to each other, and on the east they rise abruptly from the water's edge, leaving no margin, except at those points where small deltas have been formed at the mouths of the larger ravines that discharge their waters into the lake. The northern end, bordered by the plain of Jericho, is somewhat rounded, and at the southern end the shore is for some two or three miles perfectly flat and but slightly raised above the surface of the water; beyond this it is shut in by the salt mountain of Jebel Usdum and the rising ground that separates the waters of the lake from those of the Red Sea. The extraordinary depression of the surface of the lake, 1,292 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, according to the line of levels run across the country in 1865 by the Royal Engineers, together with the absence of any outlet for its waters, render it the most remarkable body of water in the world; and its great depth, 1,308 feet at the deepest point, is equally worthy of notice. The total depression of the bed of the lake is thus 2,600 feet, almost the same as the elevation of the Mount of Olives above the Mediterranean. The level of the lake varies as much as from ten to fifteen feet at different seasons of the year, rising when the melting snows and winter rains are brought down by the Jordan and by the smaller streams running directly to the lake from the mountains on the east and west, and falling during the long dry summer, when the supply of water is not sufficient to meet the enormous amount of evaporation constantly going on under the fierce rays of a Syrian sun. The water of the Dead Sea is clear and bright, but, owing to the large quantities of various salts held in solution, it is intensely salt, and has a nauseous bitter taste. The specific gravity, 1228, distilled water being 1000, and the Mediterranean 1025, is greater than that of any known water, and to this may be attributed the extreme buoyancy noticed by so many travellers. This peculiarity was well known to ancient writers. Aristotle relates that if men or animals were thrown bound into the lake they would not sink; Seneca says that bricks would float in it; and Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 8, § 4, tells us that when Vespasian went to see the Dead Sea, "he commanded that some who could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam as if wind had forced them upwards." So buoyant is the water, that it is difficult to keep the feet down when swimming, and there is a constant tendency to roll over when striking out. Sinking is almost an impossibility, for the body floats without the slightest exertion; and with a gentle movement of the hand to prevent turning over, a sitting posture can be retained with perfect ease for any length of time. Unless the body is well rubbed after bathing, a saline crust is soon formed by the rapid evaporation, and the water leaves a greasy feeling

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expositors. The choice seems to lie between three explanations:—

(1) "For before an empty head gaineth understanding,
A wild ass would become a man." (Delitzsch.)

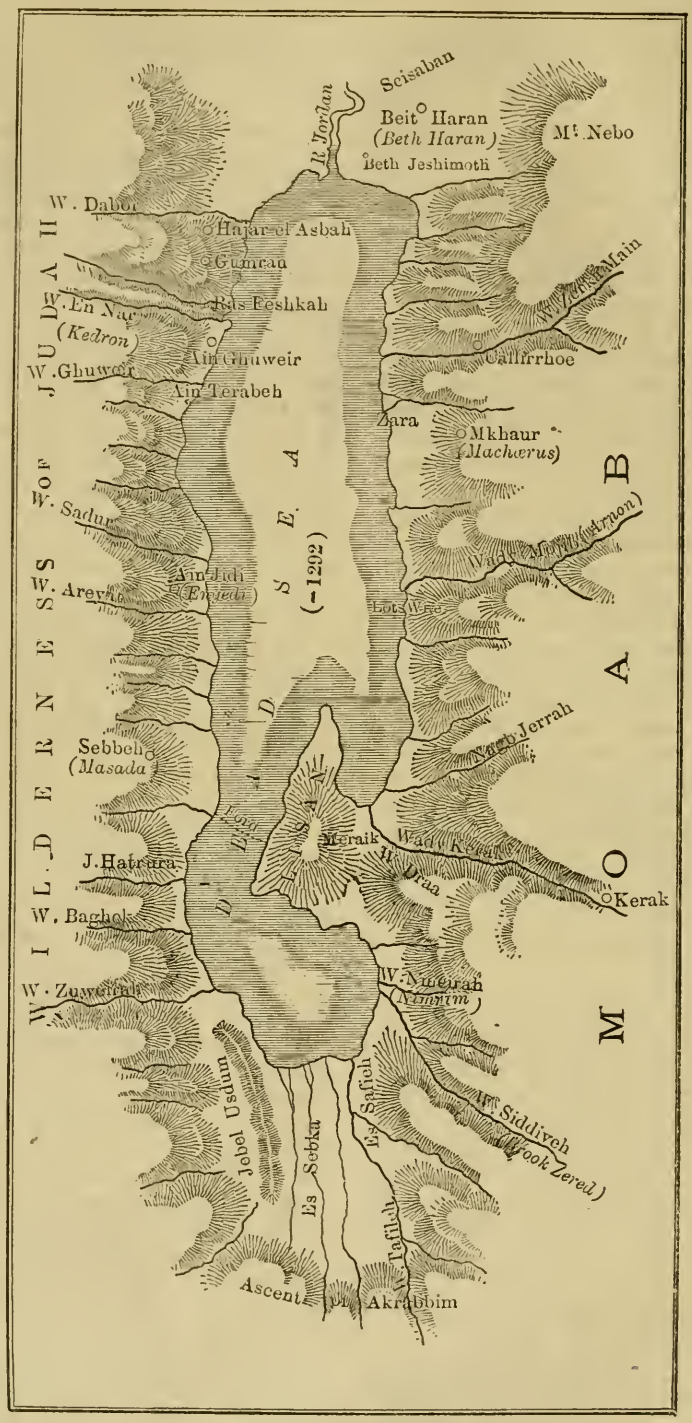
or—

(2) "Thereby even the fool would be born again to intelligence,
And the young ass would become a reasonable creature."
(Renan, Ewald.)

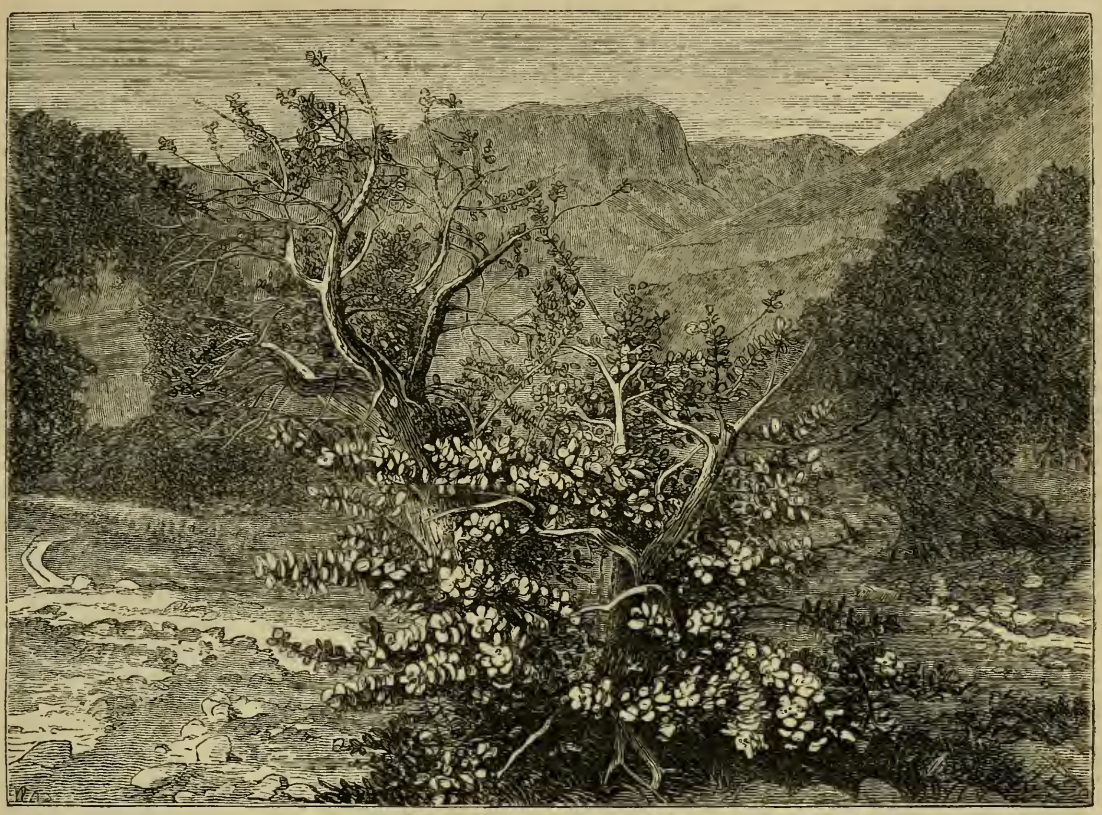
(3) "But man is furnished with an empty head (*i.e.*, receives at birth an empty undiscerning heart),
And man is born as a wild ass's colt" (*i.e.*, as stupid and obstinate). (Hupfeld.)

The preceding verses dwell on the penetration and certainty of the Divine insight into character and consequent discipline. (1) and (3) present man in contrast as stupid and undiscerning. In (2) the verse is taken as expressing the result of the Divine discipline.

on the skin; but with due precaution a bathe in the Dead Sea is far more invigorating and refreshing than one in ordinary sea-water. The effect of the great specific gravity was noticed by Lynch, the commander of the American Expedition, during his first day's sail on the lake, when the dense heavy waves raised by a strong north-westerly gale are said to have struck the bows of the boat like the "sledge-hammers of the Titans," and to have settled down again with great rapidity as soon as the wind ceased. The density of the water increases with the depth, and its composition varies at different places on the surface and at different depths. The salts deposited by the water consist almost exclusively of chlorides of magnesium, sodium, calcium, and potassium, with a certain quantity of bromides of the same bases. There is a total absence of iodine, but the amount of bromine is so large as to make it probable that the Dead Sea will at some future period become one of the principal sources from which this valuable substance is obtained. The quantity of salt held in solution is so great that the solid matter in a gallon of the water is more than eight times the weight of that in a gallon of sea-water. No trace of animal or vegetable life has yet been found in the lake; fresh-water shells, and occasionally fish, have been picked up on the northern shore, but they have always been dead, and appear to have been brought down by the Jordan. An experiment made by M. Lartet conclusively proves the deadly effect of the waters on animal life, for some small fish, which he removed from a very salt pool close by, died directly they were immersed in the lake. On the shores of the Dead Sea it is very different; there, wherever there is fresh water, an abundant vegetation springs up. On the eastern shore palm-trees are found, and in several places the bushes grow down to the water's edge. Nor is there any want of life, for numerous birds enliven the thickets round the springs with their song, and the rocks around re-echo to the call of the partridge, whilst ducks and divers may frequently be seen floating on the placid surface of the lake. Josephus says that "the sea in many places sends up black masses of asphaltum, having the form and size of headless bulls," and from this phenomenon it received the name of "Lacus Asphaltitis." Of late years the occasions on which masses of bitumen have risen to the surface have



MAP OF THE DEAD SEA.



OSHER, OR TREE OF SODOM, AT AIN JIDI (EN-GEDI).
(From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

been less frequent than they appear to have been formerly. After the great earthquake of 1837, a large quantity is said to have been found by the Arabs, who realised a considerable sum by its sale; and there have since been occasional finds. The appearance of the lake hardly bears out the description, "an infernal region," given to it by early travellers, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, when heavy-leaden clouds give a sombre hue to everything around. When, on the other hand, the surrounding mountains are lighted up by the bright rays of the sun, there is, perhaps, no place in the world that can equal this region for brilliancy and richness of colouring; and the vivid tints in Mr. Holman Hunt's picture of the "Scapegoat" are no exaggeration of those frequently witnessed on the shores of the Dead Sea. No one who has stood on the Mount of Olives and seen the mountains of Moab glowing under the rays of the setting sun, can ever forget the wondrous beauty of the scene, with the bright blue water lying in the depths below, and the burnished mountains rising beyond like the border of some enchanted fairy land. Striking atmospheric effects are occasionally produced by the enormous evaporation. Irby and Mangles noticed it "rising in broad, transparent columns of vapour, not unlike waterspouts in appearance, but very much longer." At other times the mist may be seen hanging over the surface of the water, or spreading out in a thin haze over the mountains; whilst at night the heated air often rushes up from the deep chasm in a strong fierce gale. The geology of the basin of the Dead Sea was carefully examined by M. Louis Lartet, the distinguished geologist who accompanied the expedition of the Duc de Luynes, and the conclusion he arrived at was that the lake "had never been in communication with the neighbouring oceans, although its waters formerly stood at a much higher level than they now do." The fact that a hill of cretaceous formation, 781 feet above the sea, separates the waters of the Dead Sea from those of the Gulf of Akabah, and that the cretaceous strata are covered with their own *débris* alone, and show no trace of any water-course running in a southerly direction, effectually disproves the theory of an ancient prolongation of the Jordan to the Red Sea; and that of an ancient marine communication with the surrounding oceans is equally disproved by "the absence of any marine organisations in the most ancient strata of the basin, the fluviatile character of the post-eocene deposits of the Arabah, the existing traces of the direction of the streams towards the Dead Sea, and the non-existence of any material elevation of the ground in the middle of the Arabah since the formation of the

present valleys." M. Lartet thinks that the position of the cretaceous and eocene beds on both sides of the Jordan valley, and the striking rectilineal character of the valley itself, seems "to favour the idea of the existence of a vast line of fracture through the middle of the country;" and that "the eastern side of the highlands of Judah must have undergone a considerable downward movement all along the line of dislocation, and thus originated the depressed trench which separates Palestine proper from the highlands on the other side of Jordan." The basin of the Dead Sea has thus been formed without any influence from, or communication with, the ocean; whence it follows that the lake which occupies the bottom of the basin has never been anything but a reservoir for the rainfall, the saltness of which originally proceeded from the constitution of the environs of the lake, and has greatly increased under the influence of incessant evaporation. M. Lartet found the ancient deposits of the Dead Sea extending up the Jordan valley as far north as Wady Zerka, where they were at least 300 feet above the present surface of the lake, so that the water must at one time have stood at that level, filling up a large portion of the valley, and have then deposited the marls which are so rich in salt and gypsum beds. At a later date volcanic eruptions have taken place to the north-east and east of the Dead Sea, and the last phenomena which affected its basin were the hot and mineral springs and bituminous eruptions which often accompany and follow volcanic action.

Having thus given a sketch of the general character of the Dead Sea and its basin, we may proceed to an examination of some of the most important places on the shores of the lake, commencing with the western side. The Jordan, as it approaches its final home, rushes through a flat expanse of whitish mud on which there is hardly a trace of vegetation, and its thick cream-coloured waters can be seen pursuing their course far out into the clear blue waters of the lake. Leaving to the right the curious artificial mound, Tell er-Rashidiyeh, and proceeding westward, we pass over a low barren plain, well known to travellers, and reach the foot of the mountains near some remarkable blocks of rock, one of which is known to the Bedawin as Hajar el-Asbah, and believed by M. Gannean to be the stone of Bohan mentioned as a point in the border-line between Judah and Benjamin. All along the northern shore of the lake are lines of driftwood marking the different levels at which the water has stood. South of Hajar el-Asbah, on a spur at the base of the cliffs, is Khirbet Gumran, which M. de Saulcy would identify with Gomorrah. The ruins are quite insignificant, a few rude walls, a small pool and fragments of pottery. The most remarkable feature is the number of tombs, about 1,000, covering the mound and adjacent plateaux; they are arranged in regular rows close together with their longest dimensions north and south, and their form is that of a small elliptical tumulus surrounded by rough stones with two larger ones at the head and foot; beneath the tumulus is an excavation, about four feet deep, in which the bodies were laid and covered with a layer of sun-dried bricks. Two miles south of Gumran, and about 300 yards from the shore of the lake, is the spring of Ain Feshkah; the water, which is slightly brackish, but quite drinkable, rises at a temperature of 82°, and flows off through a thicket of cane to the lake; in the spring and stream are numbers of small fish, and on the rocks behind the coney is occasionally found. South of the spring the level space between the mountains and the lake gradually narrows, till at the end of two miles the bold bluff of Ras Feshkah descends perpendicularly into the water, effectually preventing any progress along the shore. Beyond, the Wadies Samárah and En Nar run to the Dead Sea, the latter, a continuation of the Kedron, descending abruptly through a remarkable chasm in the rock which is quite inaccessible. Further south a small plain covered with tamarisk, acacia, and *nabk*, borders the lake; it receives the drainage of Wady Ghuweir, and contains two springs, Ain Ghuweir and Ain Terabeh. Between Ain Terabeh and Ain Jidi (En-gedi) several valleys come down from the Wilderness of Judah and pass to the Dead Sea through great fissures in the cliffs, which present scenery of the wildest grandeur; at the mouth of one of them, Wady Shukif, a hot sulphur spring rises at a temperature of of 95° within a few inches of the water of the lake. At Ain Jidi there is a plain about 1½ miles long, and 1¼ miles broad at its widest point; two valleys, the Wadies Sadur and Areyat, said to contain perennial streams, break through the mountains at either end, and on a little sloping spur between them the waters of Ain Jidi (En-gedi, the "fountain of the kid") burst forth and fall down in cascades to the sea five hundred feet below, giving life to a bright green strip of vegetation which presents a striking contrast to the surrounding desolation. There are no traces now of the vines, the balsam, and the palms mentioned by Solomon, Josephus, and Pliny. The plain is now covered with acacia, tamarisk, *nabk*, the henna, which may perhaps be the "camphire in the gardens of En-gedi;" and the *osher*, or apple of Sodom, with its wrinkled bark, its large round glossy leaves, and its golden yellow fruit pleasing to the eye, but cracking like a hollow puff-ball with the slightest pressure. The heat at Ain Jidi in summer is very great: Captain Warren, R.E., in July found it 110° after sunset, and this may perhaps have something to say to a curious optical delusion which has been noticed by several travellers, the appearance of dark moving spots passing over the surface of the water like floating islands. There are a few remains of buildings round the fountain, but those of the ancient city of Hazezon-tamar, "the city of palms," are some distance below at the foot of a succession of terraces, remnants perhaps of the vineyards of En-gedi. Hazezon-tamar is first mentioned in connection with the march from the south of Chedorlaomer, who, after smiting the Amorites who lived in the town, advanced and defeated the confederate kings of the "cities of the plain" in the vale of Siddim, possibly the small plain in which Ain Ghuweir

is situated. It was in the "strongholds of En-gedi" that David dwelt during one portion of his life in the Wilderness of Judah, and it was amongst "the rocks of the wild goats that he was sought for by Saul and 3,000 chosen men of Israel; whilst on the plain below the spring the Moabites and Ammonites assembled on their march against Jehoshaphat shortly before the extraordinary event occurred which relieved Judah from invasion (2 Chron. xx. 22—24). South of Ain Jidi, a plain varying in width from 1½ to 3 miles, and 150 to 250 feet above the sea, lies between the mountains and the lake, and extends southwards to Jebel Hatrura; the plain or rather terrace formed by the ancient deposits of the Dead Sea, is cut through by deep dry water-courses, the continuation of valleys coming down from the hills, and in these a few acacias may be seen, the sole relief to the dreary lifeless aspect of the district; on the shore are several hot sulphur springs. Along this plain the Bedawin pass when making a raid on the hill-country of Judæa, and the same route was followed by the Moabites and the Ammonites on their expedition against the kingdom of Judah.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

MEASURES OF TIME (*continued*).

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

WITH regard to the chronology of the New Testament, the only part which, notwithstanding long discussion, can as yet be said to have been brought within the province of reasonable certitude, is the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, together with the date of such Epistles as may be referred to the history therein contained. The pious student will fondly seek to attach a distinct date to each of the events recorded in the Gospel. But it is not a help, but a hindrance, to intelligent study to hold out the idea that this has yet been done. Even that primary question, the length of time which elapsed from the baptism to the crucifixion of Christ, is still matter of debate. While the term of three years is that which is generally thought most consistent with the requirements of the Evangelic record, one of the latest and most learned of the writers on sacred chronology is firm in the opinion that the time must be limited to a single year.

The one Gospel date which may be regarded as chronologically fixed, is that of the Crucifixion. The term of the procuratorship of Pilate, who held that office for the last ten years of the reign of Tiberius, first approximately fixes the time. The fifteenth year of Tiberius, according to St. Luke, preceded the Passion. The Passover, in the year in question, fell on the fifth day of the week. These requisites are found to concur in the year 783 of the City of Rome, or 30 of the A.D. reckoning. The names of Longinus and Quartinus, the Consuls for that year, are referred to in early Christian literature. And a reference exists to the computation of the vague Egyptian year, which gives a coincident result. Again, the habitual celebration by the Christian Church of the day of Pentecost on the Sunday, on which day of the week it falls when the Passover is on the Thursday, is a mute confirmation of the accuracy of the reckoning. Good Friday may be regarded as the best fixed day of the week in ancient history.

The Nativity, according to St. Matthew, occurred during the reign of Herod the Great, who died on the 20th of Cisleu, in the year of Rome 749. How long before the close of this reign the event occurred is not stated by any Evangelist. There is a reference by St. Luke to the fact of Christ being about thirty years old; but it is not distinctly said whether this was His age at His baptism, at His commencement of public teaching, or at His death. The same doubt attaches to the event as to which the date of the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar is given by the same Evangelist. If this were, as the first glance at the passage suggests, the commencement of the preaching of John, the whole course of the events comprised in the Gospel must have been crowded into a very few months. If the reference to the Passovers be taken as conclusive, the term of three years will be made out; but the reference to 15 Tiberius will be unexplained. In any case, the reference to Cyrenius, who is said by Josephus to have been sent into Syria to take an account of the national property on the deposition of Archelaus, nine years after the death of Herod,[1] and which, if it stood alone, would carry down the date of the Nativity to that time, is still matter of extreme perplexity.

Even with regard to the close of the Acts of the Apostles, several dates, although not very far apart, have been suggested by learned men. The point, however, which is decisive (unless conflicting evidence, as yet unknown, can be brought against it), is the statement of St. Jerome, in his *in Evangelistas ad Damasum prefatio*, that Festus succeeded Felix as Procurator of Judæa in the second year of Nero, being the twenty-fifth year after the Passion. The investigations of Lehman have tended rather to fix the latest than the earliest possible limit of the recall of Felix. The clear statement of St. Jerome cannot be disputed, except on equally plain ground of evidence.

This determination of the date of the arrival of Festus at Cæsarea enables us to trace the thread of the

[1] *Ant.* xx. 1, § 2.

narrative of the historian of the Acts of the Apostles with detailed accuracy, and to fix the principal events recorded, not only to the year, but often to the day. Thus the year of Paul's visit to Athens being known, and the season when the navigation was open being also known, there can be little doubt that the date of his defence before the tribunal of the Areopagus was on the 22nd, 23rd, or 24th of the month Hecatombeon, when this court held its sitting, immediately after the feast of the Θεοξενία, or festival of foreign gods, which was celebrated on the 20th of that lunar month. Again, the sacrifice of the priest of Jupiter, "before the city," at Lystra, may with a like propriety be referred to the festival of the Βουφόνια, which occurred on the 14th of Scirrophoreon, the month corresponding to the Jewish month Tamuz.

It may be more convenient to the student to throw the fixed and indisputable dates of the New Testament into the form of a table, specifying each successive year throughout the Acts of the Apostles. One further remark, however, deserves serious note.

The entire spiritual fabric of the Church of Rome rests on the assumption that Peter the Apostle was bishop of that city, and handed down his primate's power to his successor. Of this we have here to speak as matter of chronology alone. The accuracy of the date of the establishment of that see, and of the presence of Peter at Rome, is an integral and essential condition of the truth of the claim to primacy; as the date has been fixed by the solemn celebration of the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of Peter, and by the attribution, by equally infallible dogma, of the term of twenty-five years to his episcopate. These dates give the foundation of the see in A.D. 42, and the martyrdom in A.D. 66.

But A.D. 42 is the very year at the close of which, according to the Acts of the Apostles, Peter was in chains in Jerusalem. At the Passover of A.D. 43 took place his deliverance. Four years later, we find him at Antioch. In the next, a sabbatic year, he was at Jerusalem. Six years after that he was also at Jerusalem, unless he was not considered by the historian of the Acts to be a person of sufficient importance to except by name from the statement, "All the elders were present." In A.D. 57, on the arrival of St. Paul at Rome, the chief of the Jews there told him that they had received no letters concerning him, and that they knew that the sect to which he belonged was everywhere spoken against—a statement altogether irreconcileable with the hypothesis that Peter had, at that date, been for fifteen years ruling a Church in Rome. Finally, the references, in the First Epistle of Peter, to the conflagration which had occurred, to the sore trial of his hearers[1]—and to the commencement of the destruction at the Temple itself[2]—can hardly be attributed to a date anterior to the burning of the Temple and the destruction of the city; and, in that case, must date at least five years later than the legendary martyrdom of the Apostle. Whatever argument, then, may be adduced for the primacy of Peter, acceptance of the Romish dogma on that point is manifestly incompatible with a belief in the truth of the Acts of the Apostles.

[1] 1 Peter iv. 12, τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει.
[2] 1 Peter iv. 17, τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὸ κρίμα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου Θεοῦ.

FASTI APOSTOLICI; OR, TABULAR VIEW OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Years of Sac. Reckoning.	Septennate.	Ethnarch.	High Priest.	A.U.C.	Emperor	Procurator.	Events.	A.D.
4839	3	Herod Antipas	Joseph Caiaphas	783	Tiberius	Pontius Pilate	Crucifixion on Friday, 15th Nisan, being the 5th of April of our present Gregorian reckoning.	30
4840	4	. . . . .	. . . . .	784	17	4	Death of Stephen. Peter before Sanhedrin.	31
4841	5	. . . . .	. . . . .	785	18	5	Jews banished from Rome by Tiberius. (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 10.)	32
4842	6	. . . . .	. . . . .	786	19	6	Tumults in Samaria.	33
4843	A.S. 1	. . . . .	. . . . .	787	20	7	Paul in Jerusalem for fourteen days. Death of Herod Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis.	34
4844	1	. . . . .	. . . . .	788	21	8	Sedition about aqueducts. (*Bell.* ii. 10, § 4.) Tumults in Alexandria.	35
4845	2	. . . . .	Jonathan f. Annas	789	22	9	Agrippa in Rome. Petronius sent against Jerusalem.	36
4846	3	Agrippa	. . . . .	790	Caius	Marullus	Pilate sent to Rome by Vitellius. Death of Tiberius on 9th Nisan or 26th March.	37
4847	4	1	Theophilus f. Annas	791	1	. . . . .	Agrippa receives tetrarchies of Herod Philip and of Lysanias.	38
4848	5	2	. . . . .	792	2	. . . . .	Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch, banished. Peter at Lydda.	39
4849	6	3	Simon f. Boethus	793	3	. . . . .	Death of Caius, who was assassinated on 1st Adar. Agrippa made King. Peter at Cæsarea.	40
4850	A.S. 2	4	. . . . .	794	Claudius	. . . . .	Paul in Antioch.	41
4851	1	5	Matthias	795	2	. . . . .	Death of Apostle James. Imprisonment of Apostle Peter.	42
4852	2	6	Alioneus	796	3	Fadus	Death of Agrippa the Great, æt. 54. Claudius in Britain. Elymas blinded.	43
4853	3	7	. . . . .	797	4	. . . . .	Paul at Lystra, on 14th Scirrophoreon.	44

Years of Sac. Reckoning.	Septeanate.	Ethnarch.	High Priest.	A.U.C.	Emperor	Procurator.	Events.	A.D.
4854	4	. . . . .	. . . . .	798	5	. . . . .	Dearth (Acts xi. 30; *Ant.* xv. 1, § 2).	45
4855	5	. . . . .	. . . . .	799	6	. . . . .	Dearth. Theudas, false prophet, beheaded about this time (*Ant.* xxi. 5, §1).	46
4856	6	. . . . .	Joseph Camithus	Ludi Seculares	7	Tiber. Alexander	Dearth. Conversion of Queen Helena of Adiabene. Claudius yields sacred vestments (*Ant.* xv. 1, § 2).	47
4857	A.S. 3	Agrippa II.	Ananias f. Nebedeus	801	8	Cumanus	Paul in Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1). Death of Herod, King of Chalcis. Agrippa succeeds.	48
4858	1	1	. . . . .	802	9	. . . . .	Paul at Athens, on 20th Hecatombeon. 1st year of 207th Olympiad. Sedition at Passover. 1st Epistle to Thessalonians written from Corinth. Jews banished from Rome.	49
4859	2	2	. . . . .	803	10	. . . . .	Paul at Corinth. London fortified. Nero adopted by Claudius.	50
4860	3	3	. . . . .	804	11	. . . . .	Paul at Corinth and Ephesus.	51
4861	4	4	Jonathan	805	12	Felix	Paul at Ephesus, visits Antioch and Phrygia. Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abilene given to Agrippa.	52
4862	5	5	. . . . .	806	13	. . . . .	Paul at Ephesus. 1st Epistle to Corinthians written from Ephesus.	53
4863		6	. . . . .	807	Nero	. . . . .	Death of Claudius. Epistle to Romans written in Macedonia. Paul leaves Philippi, and is imprisoned.	54
4864	A.S. 4	7	Ismael f. Cabi	808	1	. . . . .	Death of Azizas, King of Emesa. Peter leaves Antioch.	55
4865	1	8	. . . . .	809	2	Festus	Paul before Festus. Sicarii prevail.	56
4866	2	9	. . . . .	810	3	. . . . .	Paul arrives at Rome.	57
4867	3	10	Joseph f. Cabi	811	4	Albinus	Paul abides at Rome.	58
4868	4	11	Annas	812	5	. . . . .	End of Acts of Apostles.	59

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

IT was in Corinth that St. Paul first came fully into contact with the highest forms of Greek civilisation. Thessalonica was in comparison provincial, and the Apostle's stay in Athens had been but brief. When St. Paul visited Corinth it was at the height of its restored fortunes; Romans[1] and Jews, together with Greeks, constituted its heterogeneous population; while the absence of political power, no less than its commercial prosperity, had tended to the growth of luxurious habits, and the culture of a *dilettante* philosophy; the natural consequence being a depravation of morals which made Corinth a bye-word even in the heathen world. The Apostle, entering the city alone, was saddened and dismayed by the prospect before him, needing at length the succour of a heavenly vision.[2] But his course was taken from the first. To the intellectual pride of Corinth he opposed, without any concealment or reserve, the most humbling doctrines of the Cross; while, disdaining those weapons of rhetoric which he might so easily have wielded, he declared with the plainest simplicity the testimony of God. Nor would he, like other teachers, derive his maintenance from those whom he taught. Resolved to be independent, contented to be poor, he spent the intervals of evangelic labour in tent-making, with Aquila and Priscilla. His efforts soon yielded rich fruit; and a church was gathered which henceforth was to occasion some of the chief joys and sorrows of the Apostle's life.

2. Again, as at Thessalonica and Berœa, the Jews excited a tumult against the Apostle, but not with the same success. The wisdom and adroitness of Gallio the proconsul foiled their aim, and he "drave them from the judgment-seat."[3] St. Paul therefore stood his ground, remaining in the city "yet a good while," quitting it only for a visit to Jerusalem, with the double purpose of celebrating the Pentecost,[4] and of discharging a vow. This having been accomplished, the Apostle commenced his third great missionary journey, in the course of which he came to Ephesus, and there entered upon a lengthy abode. Momentous

[1] Among the Corinthian Christians Latin names predominate: Justus, Crispus (Acts xviii. 7, 8), Gaius, Quartus (Rom. xvi. 23), Fortunatus, Achaicus (1 Cor. xvi. 17). Stephanas, Erastus, Sosthenes, and Phœbe, are Greek.

[2] See 1 Cor. ii. 3; Acts xviii. 9. That St. Paul was alone on his first entrance into Corinth is plain from the history. Silas and Timotheus came to him afterwards.

[3] Acts xviii. 16. The notices of Gallio in secular history are interesting. He was brother to Seneca, the distinguished philosopher, who says of him, "Nemo mortalium uni tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus." (No one else is so charming to his intimate friend as Gallio is to everybody.)

[4] "This feast that cometh in Jerusalem" (Acts xviii. 21). Wieseler shows that this must in all probability have been

events had meanwhile taken place in the Corinthian church.

3. The first of these was the visit of Apollos, the eloquent Jew of Alexandria, whose teaching brought a new influence to bear upon the Jews in Corinth, and speedily established a special school of thought in the church. Of this more will be said further on. A yet more serious matter was the growing disposition to tolerate in the church those sins of the flesh which made Corinth so infamous. Hearing of this while at Ephesus, the Apostle wrote a letter to the Corinthians which has not been preserved; warning them "not to associate with fornicators."[1] It has recently been conjectured with much shrewdness that a portion of this letter has become inserted in the Second Epistle, chap. vi. 14—vii. 1 inclusive. The connection of this passage with the paragraphs preceding and following is certainly very difficult, while chap. vii. 2 follows naturally on vi. 13. But whatever this supposition may be worth, it is certain that the letter contained a stern protest against fellowship with evil. Probably also it included some direction or request for a contribution to the necessities of the impoverished Christians in Jerusalem, from which city St. Paul had recently come. Not only was this letter written, but a brief visit was paid by the Apostle to Corinth, unrecorded in the history. That such a visit was made appears plain from 2 Cor. xiii. 1, "This third time I am coming to you" (see also xii. 14), words which it is impossible fairly to interpret with Paley, "This is the third time *I am ready* to come to you, although I have actually visited you but once."[2] The interview between the Apostle and the Corinthian church appears to have been very painful. He came "in heaviness" (2 Cor. ii. 1), God "humbled him among them" (xii. 21), while yet he had "spared" the most flagrant transgressors (xiii. 2). Having paid this visit, the Apostle returned to Macedonia, intimating an intention, which he was afterwards led to change,[3] to call at Corinth again on his projected tour to Macedonia, returning the same way, so as to give the church "a second benefit" (2 Cor. i. 15).

4. The state of the Corinthian church meantime grew more deplorable, and tidings arrived in Ephesus, brought by members of the family of a Christian lady named Chloe,[4] which occasioned the Apostle the deepest anxiety. At the same time a letter arrived from the Corinthians to Paul, in which his advice was sought respecting some important points of doctrine and church discipline. These two circumstances—the intelligence and the epistle—jointly determined him to write at large to the church. The Epistle therefore divides itself into two main portions, which we may entitle respectively the Tidings from Corinth, and the Corinthian Letter.

The time of writing was evidently towards the close of St. Paul's residence in Ephesus, and when he was anticipating the Pentecost (chap. xvi. 8). It would be therefore about the season of the Passover, a supposition which corresponds with the allusions in chap. v. 7.

I. THE TIDINGS FROM CORINTH. Before giving any answer to the questions proposed by the Corinthians, the Apostle dwells upon those crying evils existing among them which they had not thought it worth while to mention. St. Paul gives his authority for the charges brought, as if to show that he proceeds upon no surmise, and to give opportunity, if possible, for refutation. He also begins very tenderly, according to his wont; singling out every cause of congratulation, and especially the gifts which had been so largely bestowed upon the Christians of Corinth (chap. i. 1—9).

The charges brought are mainly three: the outbreak of a factious spirit (i. 10—iv. 21), a case of incest tolerated in the church (v. 1—13), and the habit of bringing their disputes before heathen courts (vi. 1—9). This section of the Epistle concludes with a general warning against complicity with heathenism (vi. 9—20).

(1.) *The Spirit of Factiousness.* The church in Corinth was divided into parties, maintaining internal strife rather than developing into outward schism. Each section claimed some great name as its distinguishing badge. Those who rebelled against every form of Judaism, and, in repudiating the Law as a ground of justification, probably passed to an Antinomian extreme, said, "We are of Paul." Others, admiring eloquence and philosophy, as applied to divine things, caring, it may be, little for doctrine, and choosing rather to live in a mystic sentimentalism, would say, "We are of Apollos." The Jewish party in the church claimed the great name of Cephas, Peter, the Apostle of the circumcision. Others, again, made the name of *Christ* a party watchword, probably denying even apostolic authority, and anticipating the modern cry, "Not Paul, but Jesus."[5] All these parties are sternly rebuked by the Apostle. "Is Christ divided?"[6] Not only are the

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the Pentecost. See Alford *in loc.* This seems to have been a favourite festival with St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 8; Acts xx. 16); the "birthday of the Church."

[1] 1 Cor. v. 9, "I wrote to you in the Epistle not to associate with fornicators." It is true that ἔγραψα here (the epistolary aorist) might refer to the letter now being written (chap. ix. 15; Gal. vi. 11; Philem. 19; 1 John ii. 14); but there is no previous passage in this First Epistle that bears out the Apostle's reference; besides which the contrast, "I wrote, but now I write" (1 Cor. v. 11), seems to point to two different communications. We therefore take ἔγραψα as in 2 Cor. ii. 4.

[2] See *Horæ Paulinæ* on 2 Cor. xiii. 1. Whether the lost letter or the unrecorded visit is to be placed first, is a question that has been variously answered.

[3] See *Introduction* to Second Epistle.

[4] 1 Cor. i. 11, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης—"We cannot fill up the blank," says Alford, "not knowing whether they were sons or servants, or other members of her family. Nor can we say whether Chloe was (Theophylact and others) an inhabitant of Corinth, or some Christian woman (Estius), known to the Corinthians elsewhere, or (Michaelis, Meyer) an Ephesian, having friends who had been in Corinth."

[5] Much has been written on these parties. See especially Dr. Davidson's *Introduction*, 1849, vol. ii., pp. 223—240.

[6] Chap. i. 13. Lachmann punctuates this as an exclamation, "Christ is divided!" *i.e.*, by your factions and disputes. So Dean Stanley. The interrogation, however, seems better to suit the context.

votaries of human authority upbraided, but those who assert an *exclusive* connection with Christ. It is possible to say "I am a Christian" in as sectarian a tone as that of some who say, "I am a Calvinist," or "I am a Wesleyan." The *spirit* in which these professions respectively may be made makes all the difference.

The corrective to this party spirit is supplied in three distinct forms.

α. The spirit of Christianity is not exclusive discipleship, but a common gospel. "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to evangelize." These words of Paul would no doubt have been echoed with equal earnestness by Peter and Apollos. They were no more responsible than he for the narrowness and strife of their respective adherents. Such is ever the history of parties. Men whose souls are truly and grandly catholic are made, by their misunderstanding admirers, the patrons of sectarian exclusiveness.

β. This Gospel, in its simplicity, actually excludes the human element. Neither the philosophy of the Greeks (as vaunted by the followers of Apollos) nor the symbolism of the Jews (to which Peter's self-styled adherents were devoted) might be suffered to impair its grandeur. The wisdom of man is "foolishness" with God, and "the foolishness" of God is wiser than men. Only in "Christ and Him crucified" is the truth to be sought; the revelation of truths which "eye had not seen nor ear heard, which had not entered into the heart of man."[1] Every human accretion shall be swept away in the day of "manifestation by fire." Such are the topics of this sublime discussion, closing with the great declaration that, so far from being the lords of men's consciences, the very ministers of Christ live for the sake of the Church—"Say not that you are ours; it is we who are yours!" The Church collective, the body and temple of Christ, is greater than the individuality of any minister. The Church was not made for the Apostles, but the Apostles for the Church; and the same may be said of the universe, past, present, and to come.

γ. The Apostle shows what he and his comrades really were—"ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God." To Him only are they responsible, while their humiliation and sufferings on earth are tokens that they belong to Him. Only the false are proud. In a strain of mingled tenderness and rebuke the Apostle closes this part of his letter, appealing to the self-denial and humility of himself and his brethren as marks of their true calling, and avowing a determination, if necessary, to exert his authority to punish in the name of Christ.

(2.) *The case of incest.* A gross act of immorality had been perpetrated in the church—a man marrying his stepmother while his father yet lived.[2] The case was thus doubly atrocious; but the church had tolerated the deed, the guilty man being retained—not with shame, but in a spirit of defiance—in the membership of the church. The Apostle demands the excommunication of the transgressor: "Put away from yourselves that wicked person;" enjoining, if necessary, his deliverance "unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh"—*i.e.*, the infliction, by supernatural power, of some sore bodily disease, the pain of which might bring him to a better mind.[3]

(3.) *Unworthy appeals to the law courts.* The transition from the preceding paragraph to this topic is immediate and natural. The church, having these dread powers within itself, to adjudicate, to exclude, and to punish, ought not to take any of its disputes before heathen tribunals. The privilege of settling their own quarrels had been granted by the Romans even to Jews;[4] much more should Christians disdain to seek decision in any other way. Nay, more: the saints would one day sit in judgment on the world; how little fitting, therefore, that they should now ask the world to judge amongst them!—"Is it so," the Apostle asks, "that there is not a wise man among you?"

(4.) The last two points lead to a vehement denunciation of every heathen practice. An objection is anticipated—perhaps had been actually made. Are not "all things lawful" to the Christian? Had not Paul himself declared as much? Yes, in matters indifferent, as in meats; but not in actions involving the principles of morality. To violate these is to profane the body, which belongs to Christ—the body, which is the temple of the Holy Spirit.

II. The Letter of the Corinthian Church.[5] The several points raised are noted below: on the whole, it may be remarked that no part of the Apostle's writings more strikingly illustrates his power of drawing universal lessons from special and occasional circumstances. The questions raised are mostly obsolete; the solutions declare principles that are imperishable.

(1.) *Is it good to marry?* (chap. vii.) This question takes a threefold shape.

α. Under present circumstances, and as a general rule, the single state is to be preferred. Only (1) those who cannot control themselves must marry; (2) those already married must not separate, excepting for spiritual purposes and for a time; (3) where a heathen is married to a Christian (although Christ has left no special rule on the point), it is generally best that the union should continue.

β. As to giving in marriage, the parents' prerogative, the matter is again one of Christian expediency, without any absolute command from Christ. Only in general, as

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 9 (Isa. lxiv. 4). The ordinary application of these words to heavenly joys is incorrect. The Apostle is referring to the truths revealed to men in Christ.

[2] Chap. v. 1, "His father's wife." That the father was yet alive is clear from 2 Cor. vii. 12, "For his cause that had suffered wrong."

[3] Chap. v. 5. See Alford. It does not appear that the sentence was actually inflicted; the penitence and grief of the guilty person having averted this further doom (2 Cor. ii. 7). As proofs that in special circumstances such penalties were inflicted by apostolic authority, may be cited the cases of Ananias and Sapphira, of Elymas; with the hints given in 1 Cor. xi. 30; 1 Tim. i. 20; and perhaps 1 John v. 16.

[4] Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 10, § 17; xvi. 6, § 1; Acts xviii. 14, 15.

[5] See a very ingenious conjectural reproduction of this letter in Mr. Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i., pp. 386—391.

things are in the Church, it is best to withhold, unless there be danger in any way of dishonour: then, "let them marry."

γ. "Widows had better not marry again, but they may."

(2.) *May a Christian man eat flesh that has been offered to idols?* (chap. viii.—xi. 1.) This was a very practical matter, as the traffic between the temples and the shambles was constant, and the purchaser could never be sure that the carcase from which his joint was cut had not been slain before some altar. Now this *really* made no difference; for as an idol is "nothing in the world," it could not claim the victim. Yet so strong was "the consciousness of the idol," that some converts from heathenism would be unable to get rid of the feeling that they were doing wrong, and would thus be morally injured. For the sake of these, therefore, it would be well that the "strong" should forbear to exercise their Christian liberty. Especially, where the common meal was spread in the precincts of the idol temple, would it be wise to abstain. Not that the place made any actual difference; but as, to some who might recline at the table, the act would be a conscious participation in idolatry, they must have no example of ours leading them to so great a sin.

α. This view is sustained by the Apostle's own example. He too forbore to press, in another way, his obvious rights for the sake of others. As a teacher of the church, he was entitled to maintenance from the church on two distinct grounds—the general practice among men (ix. 7) and the express command of God (vv. 9, 10, 13, 14). Moreover, others had claimed this power and received support (ver. 12). Yet, lest he should scandalise any or be misconstrued, he withheld his claim, and laboured for his own maintenance. Such was his unalterable resolution; such his self-discipline. Turning for a moment to the Isthmian games, so familiar to the dwellers in Corinth, he represents this self-denial as his training for the race of life and the immortal crown.

β. The thought of self-discipline leads to that of watchfulness; and, with an especial reference to his Jewish brethren in Corinth, the Apostle illustrates his warning by the example of those who "were overthrown in the wilderness" (x. 1—15). The thought here is that no privilege, however exalted, can suffice to prevent apostacy and ruin. Idolatry was the "temptation" then, as it is the temptation now, but to the watchful and sincere "the way of escape"[1] is always open.

γ. The evil of idolatry is further illustrated by its utter antagonism to all that pertained to Christian fellowship: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons" (x. 16—22).

δ. Coming back to his former point, St. Paul declares anew the law of Christian freedom (x. 23—xi. 1). The representation which he has made of the evils of idolatry will sufficiently deter from even *apparent* connivance at so awful a sin. "Give none offence," *i.e.*, Be stumbling-blocks to none; and "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." It is plain that chap. xi. 1 properly belongs to the preceding chapter.

(3.) *How should the women be attired in worship?* (xi. 2—16.) The freedom which the Gospel gave to the female sex appears to have been in danger of abuse. Women in the Christian assembly were tempted to lay aside those decencies of costume which were elsewhere maintained in public. This was decidedly a mistake. Women must wear the veil in Christian service "because of the angels"—"as *they* veiled their faces in the presence of God."[2] The whole passage is very instructive, as bearing upon the relation between Christianity and the conventionalisms of society.

(4.) *Concerning the Lord's Supper* (xi. 17—34). Here there was decided ground for blame. The Corinthians, it would appear, had prided themselves on strict adherence to apostolic direction in the matter of ordinances. In the preceding case, St. Paul had acknowledged their fidelity—"I praise you" (xi. 2). But in the matter of the Eucharist, they had grievously deviated—"I praise you not" (vv. 17, 22). The special offence was, that they had turned the Lord's Supper into a meal, for which every one brought his own portion, and selfishly enjoyed it without respect to others. Thus in the same professedly sacred repast the rich banqueted at one table, while the poor at another were fain to be satisfied with crusts. Such impiety and greed are sternly rebuked; the Apostle taking occasion to detail the institution of the Lord's Supper, as delivered by Christ to him personally. The narrative is in close accordance with that of St. Luke (xxii. 19, 20), but with somewhat fuller detail, and proves the close, immediate fellowship of the Apostle Paul with the risen Lord.[3] The sin was one peculiar to the primitive age—an "eating and drinking unworthily," which drew down swift "condemnation." Hence an outbreak of disease and death in the Corinthian church[4]—the manifest "judgment of the Lord."

(5.) *Concerning spiritual gifts* (xii. 1—xiv. 40). The nature and regulation of these gifts were points of great importance in the early Church. The dispensation was one of miracle; and those to whom special powers were imparted were often so flushed with the honour and excitement as to forget the source of these endowments and the purpose for which they were designed. The following truths therefore needed to be clearly set forth:—

α. The source of these gifts—the Holy Spirit (vv. 1—6).

β. Their diversity, for the sake of one common end (vv. 7—20).

γ. Their equal importance—each in its place (vv. 21—30).

δ. The supremacy of *Love* (xii. 31; chap. xiii.).

[1] Chap. x. 13, τὴν ἔκβασιν.

[2] Stanley on chap. xi. 10. No perfectly satisfactory explanation of this verse has yet been given. There is, however, no reasonable doubt that the word "power" (ἐξουσία) means here the *veil*.

[3] "I *received* of the Lord" (chap. xi. 23), *i.e.*, at some particular time, we know not when.

[4] Chap. xi. 30. See above under I. (2).

Then follows (chap. xiv. 1—22) a detailed discussion of the gift of tongues, setting forth its value as a sign, but showing the superior worth of a service, such as that of prophecy, rendered "with the understanding." It is plain that the Corinthians were apt to value the mystic utterance, comprehended only by the few, more highly than that which appealed to the mind and heart of all. The Apostle corrects the mistake, and concludes by setting forth—

ε. The necessity of order and arrangement in Divine service (xiv. 23—40).

(6.) *The Resurrection of the Dead* (xv. 1—58). This in all probability was among the topics on which the Corinthians sought the guidance of the Apostle. Some among them denied the resurrection—"Gentile believers" probably, "inheriting the unwillingness of the Greek mind to receive that of which a full account could not be given (see vv. 35, 36); and probably of a philosophical and cavilling turn."[1] These objectors are met by St. Paul with the argument that to deny the resurrection of the dead is to deny the resurrection of Jesus. The Gospel, therefore, has nothing for us but a dead Christ, and the Christian hope is gone! In setting forth this great topic the Apostle has three main lines of thought—

α. Christ's resurrection a certainty (vv. 1—11).

β. The resurrection of man dependent on that of Christ (vv. 12—34).

γ. The mode of the resurrection, mysterious, yet conceivable (vv. 35—58). "He enters into no details, he appeals to two arguments only: first, the endless variety of the natural world; secondly, the power of the new life introduced by Christ. These two together furnish him with the hope that out of God's infinite goodness and power, as shown in nature and in grace, life will spring out of death, and new forms of being, wholly unknown to us here, will fit us for the spiritual world hereafter. . . . . The Christian idea of a future state is not fully expressed by a mere abstract belief in the *immortality of the soul*, but requires a redemption and restoration of *the whole man*.[2]

(7.) One practical topic yet remains: the *Collection for the destitute Christians of Judœa* (xvi. 1—4). Part of the interest of the Apostle's directions here is the way in which they dovetail into the history, with the allusions in the Second Epistle, and in Romans xv. 25—27. The correspondence is so absolutely complete, yet so inartificial, as to produce upon the mind the impression of a mathematical demonstration. Paley's argument is too familiar to need reproduction here;[3] it is enough to say that no adversary has been bold enough to attempt its refutation.

III. The Apostle concludes his letter with some intimations of his future movements, especially his purpose of visiting Corinth on his way *from* Macedonia[4]—his former plan having been, as shown above, to call there both on his journey out and home. He had his reasons, however, for altering his arrangement, as will be shown in the *Introduction* to the Second Epistle. Timothy had already been sent with Erastus into Macedonia, and might probably reach Corinth—whether he actually went thither is uncertain. Apollos had also been requested to re-visit the city, but shrank from doing so, very likely from the perverse use that had been made of his name. Stephanas, now in the Apostle's company, with two of his comrades, was on the point of returning, and as the earliest Achaian convert, and a minister in the church, is commended to the esteem of the brethren. Salutations, with a stirring autograph sentence, and a doubly tender benediction, close the Epistle. Sosthenes, of whom nothing more is known,[5] appears to have acted as amanuensis, and there is no reason for doubting that part of the Euthalian subscription which specifies Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, as the bearers of the Epistle. Titus either accompanied them or speedily followed.

5. On the whole, no part of the Apostle's professed writings is more indubitably his than this Epistle. In none do we see more of the heart of the pastor, counsellor, and friend. He speaks with authority, as an ambassador of Christ; but at the same time with melting tenderness to all who have gone astray. His style glows with even unwonted eloquence; and the discourse on Love in the thirteenth chapter, with that on the Resurrection in the fifteenth, will always hold a foremost place among those writings which bear in themselves the indisputable stamp of inspiration from God.

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[1] Alford on 1 Cor. xv. 14.

[2] Stanley, 1 *Corinthians*; detached note on chap. xv.

[3] *Horæ Paulinæ*, on Rom. xv. 25—27.

[4] Verse 5, "I do pass through Macedonia"—*i.e.*, such is my intention. The words have been misunderstood as showing that he was in Macedonia *when he wrote*: hence the erroneous appendix to the chapter—"written from *Philippi*." There is no doubt at all that Ephesus was the place of writing.

[5] He *may* have been the former chief ruler of the Corinthian synagogue (Acts xviii. 17); but this is unlikely. The name was a very common one.

THE URIM AND THE THUMMIM.

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THE deep longing of humanity for Divine guidance has expressed itself in many ways. The perplexities of life, the great crises of existence, the social and spiritual problems that force themselves into prominence and baffle man's intellect and judgment, lead either to the wail of despair, or to the earnest heartfelt supplication to God, "Send forth thy light and thy truth, let them lead me" (Ps. xliii. 3).

This longing of human nature may be regarded in a twofold way. On the one hand, in imperfect and false forms of religion it will express itself in a mystical and superstitious manner; where religious ideas are low and religious faith is distorted, the appeal for Divine direction will assume the form of witchcraft and divination. On the other hand, in the true revelation of the Almighty God we may expect that this longing of His intelligent, moral, and spiritual creatures will be met and satisfied; and that as that revelation progressed from its earlier and elementary stages to the full and complete development of His spiritual power, we shall find different methods of Divine guidance and different ways of making known the Divine will.

Heathen nations have had their modes of divination, and of appeal for the decision of the gods. The oracles of Dordona, Jupiter Ammon, and Delphi; the astrology of Persia; the arrow divination (Ezek. xxi. 21), and the "magicians, astrologers, and sorcerers" (Dan. ii. 2) of the Chaldæans; the "divining cups" of Egypt and other nations (Gen. xliv. 5); the *auspicia* and *auguria* of the Romans; the curious judicial "ordeals" of the ancient Saxons in England, of Madagascar, and other lands—these and many other similar things are illustrations of the admitted weakness of human judgment and foresight making appeal to a supposed Divine authority and direction.

"Enquire of the Lord" is a phrase often met with in early Scripture history. Rebekah is represented in one of the crises of her life as going "to enquire of the Lord" (Gen. xxv. 22). During Jethro's visit to Moses we find the Lawgiver vindicating his judicial office in these words: "Because the people come unto me to enquire of God: when they have a matter they come unto me; and I judge between one and another, and I make them know the statutes of God and his laws" (Exod. xviii. 15, 16). In the tribal war against the Benjamites, "the children of Israel enquired diligently of the Lord" (Judg. xx. 27). During the troublous times of Saul, David, and Samuel, this "enquiring of the Lord" frequently appears (1 Sam. ix. 9; x. 22; xxii. 10, 13, 15; xxiii. 2, 4; xxx. 8; 2 Sam. ii. 1; v. 19, 23; xxi. 1; 1 Chron. xiv. 10, 14). Subsequently Jehoshaphat, Benhadad king of Syria, Josiah, and others are represented as "enquiring of the Lord" (1 Kings xxii. 5, 7; 2 Kings viii. 8; xxii. 13, &c.). And the singular embassy of Ahaziah to enquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron, thus neglecting Elijah the prophet of Jehovah, is another most curious illustration of this longing for Divine knowledge and instruction.

It will be observed by those who have followed the preceding passages and quotations, that this enquiring of the Lord was sometimes in connection with the ephod and breastplate of the high priest, sometimes with the so-called teraphim or images, and sometimes by the mouth of the authorised prophet of Jehovah. The teraphim appear to have been little images which were kept in the house, and consulted for guidance in times of emergency. Laban clearly believed them to be "gods," when he pursued his daughter Rachel to recover those she had stolen (Gen. xxxi. 30). Micah, when manufacturing his Levite into a priest, equipped him with "an ephod and teraphim" (Judg. xvii. 5, 11, 12; xviii. 14, 20). During the times of the judges and the early kings these teraphim are occasionally mentioned; they were "put away" in the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 24); but after the captivity they reappear (Zech. x. 2), perhaps in consequence of Chaldæan influence (Ezek. xxi. 21—23).

Turning now from these illustrations of the longing of humanity for some actual material representation of Divine direction and decision, we notice that in the early manifestations of God to man this longing was met, and in different ways did Jehovah make known His counsel and guidance to those who "enquired" of Him. The pillar of cloud and of fire which led the Israelites during the exodus and the wilderness wanderings (Exod. xiii. 21), and the Shechinah glory of the mercy-seat of the Ark; the clouds, and fire, and smoke of Mount Sinai, and the like manifestation of the Divine presence at various times—all teach that God met the longing of His people, and satisfied by manifested guidance the yearning of those who enquired of Him (Exod. xix. 9; xvi. 7, 10; xxiv. 16; xl. 34, 35; Numb. ix. 15, 16; Lev. ix. 6, 23; 1 Kings viii. 10, and others).

Between the time of Moses and the period when the prophetic office became recognised as the authoritative and inspired exponent of the Divine will, "the Urim and the Thummim" in the breastplate of the high priest was the medium through which God communicated His guidance in matters of great national importance and perplexity. This title first appears, without the least explanation, as if it was perfectly familiar in the times when the Book of Exodus was written: "And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart when he goeth in before the Lord; and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually" (Exod. xxviii. 30). But if the Urim and the Thummim

were perfectly familiar to those for whom these words were first written, they have not been so in modern days. For the last two thousand years at least there has been considerable difficulty in understanding accurately what they really meant. Conjectures have been numerous, but accurate and definite knowledge has been slight. The Rabbi Kimchi remarks, "He is on the safest side who frankly confesses his ignorance; so that we seem to need a priest to stand up with Urim and Thummim, to teach us what the Urim and Thummim were" (quoted in Jennings' *Jewish Antiquities*, i., p. 233). So Dr. Lightfoot confesses, "There are so many opinions about what Urim and Thummim was, and so great obscurities made how the oracle was given by it, that it may seem to require another oracle to tell us how that oracle was given" (vi. 278). In this doubt and uncertainty it is perhaps satisfactory to conclude with Dr. Jennings, that "amidst this great variety of sentiments we may indulge this consolatory reflection, that if a more clear and certain knowledge of this subject had been necessary or useful, the Scripture account beyond all question would have been made distinct and particular" (*Jewish Antiquities*, p. 238). No one now can be "a priest with Urim and Thummim," nor can claim to speak with the authority of an ancient oracle; but we venture to think that this subject is not so profitless as these writers suggest, and that its devout investigation will bring us very near to problems of great importance in the spiritual history of mankind.

As to the mere meaning of the words there is but little conflict of opinion. The plural form is quite in accord with Hebrew usage in regard to similar expressions. "Light and perfection" is perhaps as accurate an English rendering as can be given. It should be remembered, however, that in the Hebrew not only the definite article but also the sign of specific definition is used with both words, indicating (though in this some distinguished Hebraists think otherwise) a specific difference between the two terms. Some have considered the words as equivalent to "perfect illumination," thus blending the two ideas into one. The chief argument alleged in favour of this is that the oracle is sometimes referred to simply as "the Urim," without any mention of "the Thummim" (Numb. xxvii. 21; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6)—a slippery argument at the best; but if it be worth anything it is more than balanced by the inversion of the terms, "thy Thummim and thy Urim," in Deut. xxxiii. 8.

Whilst there is nothing in the mere meaning of the terms to determine their usage and significance, there is almost as little in the historic narrative concerning the thing itself. The passage already quoted is part of the Divine command to Moses. In Lev. viii. 8 we read of the fulfilment of the command; and in subsequent history we find the transmission of the sacred symbols to Eleazar and the descendants of Aaron (Numb. xx. 28 comp. with Numb. xxvii. 21). The tribe of Levi, in the final blessing of Moses, is dignified by its special possession of the Thummim and the Urim (Deut. xxxiii. 8, 9). And after this we find only dim and regretful references to the glory that was departed (1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65).

The different opinions that have been held as to the nature of the Urim and the Thummim, and as to the method by which God made known His will thereby, may be ranged in two leading classes. *First:* the Urim and the Thummim were the four rows of precious stones in the high priest's breastplate, the oracle being made known either by some supernatural lighting up of the stones, or by some supernatural designation of the successive letters of the answer from amongst the letters of the names of the sons of Jacob which were carved upon the stones, or by an audible voice to the high priest when, arrayed in his robes and breastplate, he stood before the ark. *Second:* the Urim and the Thummim were stones or other substances which were placed within the folds of the breastplate, and which were employed in oracular utterances in ways that will be indicated below. The former class represents the opinions which have been most widely held both by Jewish writers and by Christian expositors. Josephus apparently regarded the Urim and Thummim as including both the twelve stones of the breastplate and the two sardonyxes which the high priest bare on his shoulders; for he says, "As to those stones, which we told you before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes, the one of them shined out when God was present at their sacrifices; I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote. . . . Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this: for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them when the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance" (Whiston's *Josephus*, p. 77; *Ant.* iii. 8, § 9).

Those who have held this form of theory, and also maintained that the answer was given by the simultaneous or successive illumination or prominence of the letters, are met by the difficulty that the letters of the twelve sons of Jacob, which were engraven on the stones of the breastplate, do not contain all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Accordingly the Talmudists state that the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were likewise engraven over the name of Reuben; and under that of Benjamin the words *shibtê Jah*, "the tribes of the Lord;" and thus the alphabet was completed (see quotations in Jennings' *Jewish Antiquities*, i., p. 235). Kalisch, in an able treatment of the whole subject in his Commentary on Exod. xxviii. 30, "considers the Urim and Thummim identical with the precious stones;" takes the term as implying only one notion—"the perfectly shining gems;" and believes that this "perfect light or brilliancy" represented "the absolute banishment of terrestrial selfishness, the highest possible degree of self-denial;" and that the

high priest bearing these symbols of purity upon his heart "became, by the sight of the gems, powerfully impressed with the grandeur of his mission; his mind gave itself up entirely to the duties of his office; all earthly thoughts vanished before him; he was raised to a prophetic vision, and in this state of enthusiastic sanctity God deigned to reveal to him His will and the fates of His people; and both the high priest and the people were convinced of the truth of such inspirations" (Kalisch on Exod. xxviii. 30, 31). There is much that is touching and true in the latter part of this theory, and we shall return to it subsequently.

The curious conceits and conjectures of those who have held this first class of theory, are perhaps equalled by the strange mysticism and vague guesses of those who have held the second. The point of agreement in this second class of theory is, that within the folds of the *choshen* or breastplate, and hidden from the popular view by the enveloping stones, were placed the Urim and the Thummim. Jahn, Michaelis, Gesenius, and others regard the Urim and Thummim as three very ancient stones, one for an affirmative, another for a negative, and the third for a neutral answer, and that the high priest employed them as lots. Züllig and Winer understand the Urim as cut and polished diamonds, partly with the name of God engraved on them, and the Thummim as rough unpolished diamonds, which the high priest used as dice (see the notes on these two opinions in Kalisch, *loc. cit.*). Others have understood the term to indicate a stone or plate of gold, with the sacred cabalistic name of Jehovah—the *Tetragrammaton* or *Shem-hammephorash*—engraved thereon. Philo considered it as referring to two images of the two virtues or powers, δήλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν ("revelation and truth"). Others have followed him, tracing the origin of the images to Egyptian custom, and believing that the contemplation of these images exerted a subjective influence on the mind of the high priest, and raised him to the ecstasy of prophetic vision. Dr. Spencer adopted in part this view of Philo, but maintained that the answer was given by the audible voice of an angel.

Professor Plumptre has ventured on "one more theory." This theory blends the view of Philo and Spencer with the latter part of that of Kalisch, and adds some modifications characteristic of its author. It is quite impossible to do justice to this theory in a few sentences. The reader must therefore be content with its main features, and may refer to the original article for full illustration. The Thummim is identified with the figure of Truth, Ἀλήθεια, which was suspended by a golden chain from the neck of the priestly judges of Egypt, and with which they touched the lips of suitors when giving evidence before them. The Urim, in like manner, is identified with the figures of porcelain, or jasper, or cornelian, or lapis lazuli, or amethyst, which are found right over the heart of every priestly mummy of ancient Egypt. These figures were in the form of the "mystic scarabæus," or Egyptian beetle, which in Egyptian mythology was the symbol of life and light. Taking their form and origin thus from Egyptian customs, the Urim and the Thummim would be perfectly familiar to the Israelites of Moses' days; and would therefore need no description, nor any account of their manufacture. These symbols, hidden in the breastplate beneath the twelve stones that represented the twelve tribes of Israel, Aaron bore upon his heart before the Lord. And in matters of great national importance affecting the welfare of those twelve tribes, the high priest, gazing intently upon those symbols in the presence of Jehovah, was raised above all disturbing elements—selfishness, prejudice, fear of man—and passed for the time into the mysterious half-ecstatic state of prophetic trance and vision. He received insight from the Eternal Spirit, and declared the decision of Jehovah. But this revelation by Urim and Thummim was only temporary. Other influences, half sensuous, half spiritual, higher in their tone and power than the mere contemplation of symbols, were to take its place. The sense of hearing was to supplant the sense of sight. The harp of David heralded the coming change; and when music—in its marvellous variety, its subtle sweetness, its spirit-stirring power—became the lawful help to the ecstasy of praise and prayer, the utterances of the prophets, speaking by the mouth of the Lord, superseded the oracles of the Urim and the Thummim.

Two or three general considerations will materially aid the attempt to estimate the value of these different and conflicting theories. All opinions which connect the Urim and the Thummim with the diamond are clearly incorrect; because, as has been shown in the article on "Precious Stones" (BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 348), there is strong evidence that neither the diamond nor the Oriental gems were known in the time of Moses. In like manner those who regard the oracle as the sudden lighting up or flashing forth of the gems in the centre of the breastplate are also unsatisfactory, because neither lapis lazuli nor agate (the two centre stones) correspond at all with any such phenomenon. The same remark may be made respecting the idea of Josephus concerning the two sardonyxes on the shoulders.

Further, the theory of Kalisch as to the "perfectly shining gems" as one notion is fallacious, not only because there is a specific grammatical distinction between the two terms "Urim" and "Thummim," but also because many of the stones were not "perfectly shining," and never could be made so by any natural agency. And the idea of the illumination or prominence of the letters carved upon the stones may also be rejected as introducing needless complications, and being perfectly unthinkable. It may indeed be noticed that the colours of the stones of the breastplate were arranged with a striking regard to the natural gradation of rainbow tints. The red and yellow tints are on one side, and the green and blue on the other. But this does not favour the supposition of a special illumination either of particular stones or of particular letters; and this form of theory may justly

be regarded as a gratuitous assumption having no foundation whatever in fact.

Again, the first class of theories above-mentioned may be rejected *en bloc*, because the passage in Exodus (chap. xxviii. 30, 31) draws a clear distinction between the stones of the breastplate and "the Urim and the Thummim." The latter were to be placed *in* the breastplate of judgment. The preposition *ĕl*, as Kalisch urges, does indeed admit quite *unforcedly* the interpretation that the Urim and the Thummim were externally fixed to the breastplate; but it is manifest from the use of the same words, *nâthan ĕl*, in reference to the Ark in Exod. xxv. 16, that the preposition means *in* or *into*, and not *upon*. The "testimony," or two Tables of the Law, were placed *within* the Ark; the Urim and the Thummim were placed *within* the breastplate. Kalisch reasons vigorously against what he calls the hiding within the breastplate of the Urim and the Thummim; and asks vehemently, "Where, throughout the whole Mosaic legislation, do we find an analogy to such mysterious concealment? It is the distinguishing mark of Mosaism that the whole people, down to the lowest individual, shared the same knowledge, and were admitted to the same sources of information; that the priests had no exclusive privilege whatever." And again, "If these were hidden in the breastplate, unseen by all the Israelites, was it not to be apprehended that the people might connect with them superstitious notions? What were those mysterious objects which had the power of manifesting the fates of Israel?" It seems a very presumptuous thing for a Gentile to say of the writings of a Jew, but these statements appear to us to do grievous despite to the genius of Mosaism. Its symbolism on the one hand, its concealment on the other, appear repeatedly. The cloud that veiled God's presence on Mount Sinai; the veil that separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple; the cherubim overshadowing the mercy-seat that covered the Tables of the Law; the twelve stones of the breastplate, radiant with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, that hid mysteriously the Urim and the Thummim—these all are constituent and component parts of the symbolic teaching of that sublime and awful Being who manifests His glory by concealment.

A reference to a singular and striking incident in the history of the Ark will perhaps make this clearer. On the return of the Ark after its capture by the Philistines, it came to the little town of Beth-shemesh. The inhabitants allowed their curiosity to overcome their respect for the great symbol of God's presence; and although the mercy-seat in its golden glory shone on their gaze, telling things unutterable of the sprinkled sacrifice of the great Day of Atonement, and of God's mercy through such sacrifice to the penitent and contrite, they dared with impious hands to place aside this mercy-seat and gaze within—on what? On the Tables of the Law—the emblems of God's power and majesty. The seat of Mercy covered and hid the Power; and when that Mercy-seat was irreverently removed, the Power blazed forth and punished the transgressors (1 Sam. vi.).

And in like manner there is a peculiar symbolism in covering over the Urim and the Thummim by the twelve tribal stones. The rich and precious productions of the earth, graven with the names of the tribes of Israel, were symbolic of their land and nation; and, borne on the heart of the high priest before the Shechinah glory of the Ark, represented the whole assembled tribes paying homage to the great Jehovah. And in times of great perplexity, when the fate of the nation was in suspense, the high priest, taking from the breastplate the Urim and the Thummim, was raised thereby to prophetic vision, and was able to declare the decision of God. The symbolism of this is quite in unison with the symbolism of the Ark. Concealment! Are there not now "secret things which belong to God," as well as "things that are revealed and belong to us?" And in the early stages of Divine teaching the symbolism and the concealment must have been greater than now.

From these considerations, the first class of theories must be altogether repudiated. Neglecting the incongruous notion of Dr. Spencer that the response was given by an audible supernatural voice, the theories of the second class resolve themselves into two kinds—those which regard the response as given either by lot, or by some external and objective indication of the will of God; and those which attribute the response to the subjective influence of the sacred symbols on the whole spiritual nature of the high priest, raising him to that state of inspired ecstasy in which he received the prophetic afflatus, and was able to declare the decision of God. It appears decisive against the former that lots were perfectly familiar amongst the Israelites, and are repeatedly referred to in the Scriptures (see Numb. xxvi. 55; xxxiii. 54; Josh. xiii. 6; 1 Chron. vi. 63; Prov. xvi. 33; Ezek. xlvii. 22, &c.). Had the Urim and the Thummim been nothing but a casting of lots, or a throw of diamond dice, it would not, amongst a people with whom similar determinations were familiar, have been invested with the strange solemnity that surrounded it. It was something exceptional and unique, called into exercise only on occasions of great national importance, and deriving its significance from the momentous issues of its decisions.

The subjective theories, on the other hand, are in full agreement with the known facts of human consciousness, and lead naturally onwards to the magnificent developments of prophetic power and insight which the Hebrew monarchy presented. During the transition period between the great Lawgiver and the full establishment of the prophetic office, occurred the transfer of the *true* theocracy of Jehovah to the *mediate* theocracy of the Jewish king and the Jewish prophet. When the people, in their haste and political ambition, demanded a king, the power of the Urim and the Thummim began to decline. When Saul, the chosen king of the people, refused the prophetic teaching of Samuel and

violated his allegiance to God, he lost this Divine decision; whilst David, through Abiathar (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9—12), retained it in a modified form. And when at length the God-chosen king ascended the throne, and Jehovah established his house for ever, the previous theocracy became embodied in the kingly office, and the Urim and the Thummim gave place to the grand succession of Jewish prophets.

The Urim and Thummim derive their significance, therefore, from the direct government of the Israelites by Jehovah. By means of these mysterious symbols He guided the destinies of the nation in matters of great public importance and perplexity. And when at length a visible king reigned by Divine appointment, the counsel of the Urim and the Thummim passed into the public ministry of the prophets, which modified and controlled the political organisations of the kings.

But if the *office* of the Urim and the Thummim departed with the establishment of the Jewish monarchy and prophets, their *influence and symbolic teaching* still survive. Archbishop Trench (*Seven Churches*, p. 125) traces in the promise to the Church at Pergamos a reference to these ancient symbols—"To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a *white stone, and in the stone a new name written*, which no man knoweth save he that receiveth it" (Rev. ii. 17). Whether this suggestion be correct or not, it well agrees with the general teaching of the New Testament. That which in the olden Jewish times was the prerogative of the few, becomes in Christian days the privilege of the many. Christ makes all His faithful followers "kings and priests unto God" (Rev. i. 6; v. 10). And much of the sacred symbolism that gathered around the ancient priesthood, now gathers in another form around the believer in Christ. Mere symbols have given place to true spiritual power. The whole history of religious feeling, from the first dawn of light upon Abraham's mind till the consummation of the promises in Christ, has been one long struggle of the spiritual reality against its material surroundings. Symbols had their effect in leading the mind up to the underlying essence; but when at length, in the full light of Gospel truth, we have the Spirit of God made manifest in the hearts and consciences of Christians, the symbols have done their duty, and pass away as obsolete memorials of an imperfect past. The Spirit of God which once underlay the symbols, and spake through them to the devout mind, now communicates directly with the heart, and needs no material intervention.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

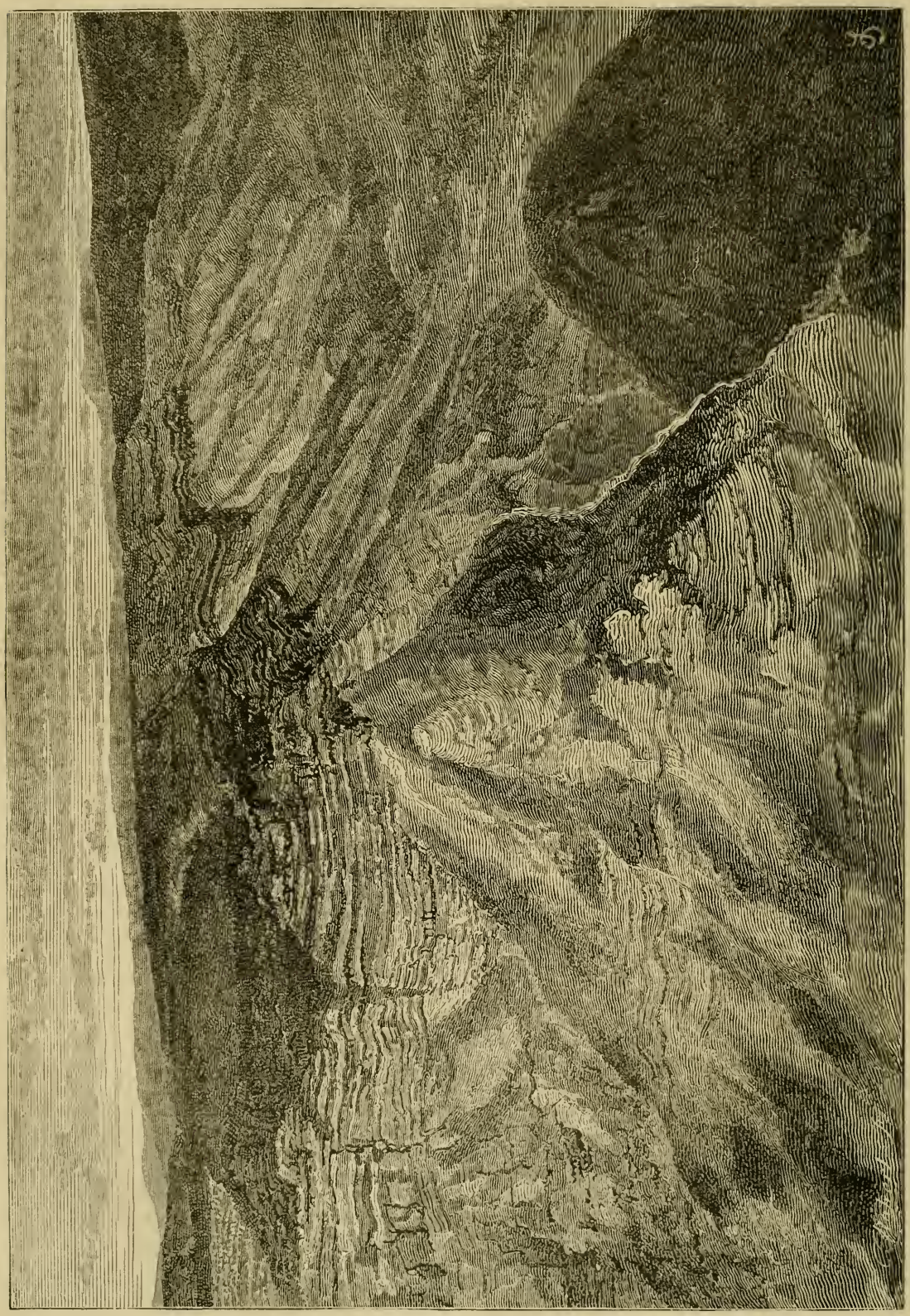
IV.—THE DEAD SEA (*continued*).

A LITTLE more than half-way between Ain Jidy and Jebel Hatrura is Sebbeh, the ancient fortress of Masada, situated on a platform, 620 paces long and 210 wide, at the top of a cliff 1,500 feet above the Dead Sea. The platform is isolated by tremendous chasms on all sides, and was enclosed by a wall running along the edge of the precipice and affording no foothold outside it; on a slight projecting ledge at the north end, about 70 feet below the platform, is a strong circular fort in almost perfect repair, and still lower are the remains of a quadrangular fort. Within the walls of the fortress are the ruins of a reservoir, a chapel, probably of Crusading date, an archway, a network of walls, and a series of rooms, corridors, and chambers—perhaps the remains of Herod's palace. The place was approached by two paths, one on the east, the other on the west, and one of them, according to Josephus, was called the "Serpent," as "resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings." Both of these paths are in existence, and have been described by travellers.

The fortress of Masada was built by Jonathan Maccabeus in the second century B.C., and afterwards strengthened by Herod the Great, but its chief interest is in connection with the celebrated siege of which Josephus gives a most vivid description. After the fall of Jerusalem the fortress was seized by Eleazar and 1,000 men, and besieged by Flavius Silva. The first operation of the Roman general was to establish a camp, which may still be seen on the plain to the west, and erect a wall of circumvallation, still in very fair repair, to prevent the escape of the besieged. In order to approach the fortress a gigantic causeway was constructed with great labour across one of the ravines, and upon this a tower plated with iron was erected, and a battering-ram brought against the walls. The masonry after some little time gave way, but only to disclose an inner wall of huge beams which the Jews had put up to deaden the blows of the ram; this was with some difficulty set on fire, and the Romans then retired to their camps, intending to carry the place by assault next morning. During the night, however, the besieged, stirred to madness by an exhortation addressed to them by Eleazar, killed their wives and children, and then choosing ten men by lot to slay the rest, lay down by their sides and offered their necks to the chosen executioners; when these ten had slain their comrades, they cast lots amongst themselves as to who should kill the other nine, and then slay himself. The last man, after seeing that every one was dead, set fire to the palace, and then running his sword through his body, fell down near his relations. When the Romans entered the place next morning they were surprised at

the perfect silence, and fearing an ambush, gave a loud shout, which brought out from one of the caverns two women and five children, the sole survivors, who had managed to conceal themselves whilst the slaughter was going on. The number of persons who perished in this remarkable manner is said to have been 960.

A little beyond Jebel Hatrura is Wady Umm Bagkhek, with its tiny rill of sweet water and a profusion of oleanders, canes, ferns, &c.; there are traces of an old road in the valley, and near its mouth the ruins of a castle dating from the time of the Crusades. Further to the south is Wady Zuweireh, and here too there are the remains of a mediæval castle, perhaps one of the posts by which the road to Kerak in Moab was secured. In front of the valley is a plain of some extent, which Dr. Tristram found in January, 1864, carpeted with tropical plants in full bloom, many of them new species of Indian or Nubian genera; on a second visit, however, in 1872, a little later in the year, he found it perfectly barren, owing to the lateness of the rains. In Zuweireh, M. de Saulcy believes he finds traces of the name Zoar, and in the little tower of Umm Zoghal close by he sees the ruins of the town itself; but, as we have previously shown, Zoar must have been far to the north. A little more than a mile beyond Wady Zuweireh is the salt mountain of Jebel Usdum; Dr. Tristram describes it as a huge rock of salt, about 350 feet high, from one to one and a-half miles wide, and about seven miles long, completely isolated from the surrounding mountains; it is penetrated by fissures, "choked with glittering stalactites of salt, though the general aspect of the mount is anything but glittering until closely inspected." Portions of the salt cliff are continually splitting off and falling, leaving perpendicular faces; and "wide as the hill is, there is no plateau on the top, but a forest of little peaks and ridges, furrowed and scarped angularly in every direction." Every year the rains make changes in the form of the mountain, washing away some of the pinnacles, and forming others to take their place: one of these Captain Warren, R.E., describes as a "gigantic Lot with a daughter on each arm, hurrying off in a south-westerly direction, their bodies bent forward as though they were in great haste, and their flowing garments trailing behind;" and another large pillar of salt is called by the Bedawin "Lot's wife." Along the southern end of the Dead Sea stretches the Sebka plain, a great flat of fine sandy mud about fifteen feet above the level of the lake, and extending from its shores for about ten miles in a southerly direction. Nothing can be more dreary than the aspect of this plain, without a plant or leaf to relieve the glare from its surface. The Sebka is furrowed by several small water-courses, and at its eastern extremity is separated by the Wady Tufileh from the Ghor es-Safieh, "a wild thicket and oasis of trees of various kinds with fertile glades and opens of irregular shape, rising gradually to the mountains of Moab." This fertile tract extends about six miles south of the Dead Sea, and is well watered by numerous rivulets; the chief source of its wealth, however, is the broad rushing stream which comes down the Wady Siddiyeh; this valley was the boundary line between Moab and Edom, and is possibly the brook Zered named in Deut ii. 13, 14, as the point at which the wanderings of the Israelites ended. Its course is fringed with oleanders, tamarisk, &c., and its waters abound with small fish and fresh-water crabs. North of Wady Siddiyeh are the ruins of a castle of the Crusading period, and still further north, where the mountains approach more closely to the sea, is Wady Nmeirah, with some ruins which have been identified by some writers with Nimrim of Moab; but it seems more probable that the place alluded to in Isa. xv. 6 as the "waters of Nimrim" is higher up the valley, at the springs of Nmeirah, where there are said to be the ruins of an old town. Proceeding northwards along a barren plain at the foot of the hills we reach the curious peninsula called by the Bedawin Lisan, or the "tongue;" the Lisan, formed by the ancient deposits of the Dead Sea, presents a scene of utter desolation, but the beds of marl and gypsum have been cut up by the rains into quaint picturesque forms, which have been compared by travellers to ruined cities or dismantled fortresses; in one of these water-courses called Meraikh are the ruins of a large tower of solid masonry, probably built to secure the passage of the ford across the Dead Sea, which was in use when Irby and Mangles visited the country, but has been impassable for many years owing to the high state of the water. Into the gulf which separates the northern end of the Lisan from the mainland the Wady Kerak discharges its waters, a broad perennial stream, fringed with date-palms and oleanders, that fertilises the Ghor el-Mezari, as the level space between the foot of the mountains and the lake is called. On the south bank of Wady Kerak, a side valley falls in, which is known to the Bedawin as Wady Draa; there are here some ruins bearing the same name, which possibly represent the early Christian Zoar, described as being on the road from the southern end of the Dead Sea to Kerak, and once an episcopal see under the Archbishop of Petra. Soon after passing the mouth of Wady Kerak we come to the Nagh Jerrah, up which a good broad road, though somewhat steep, leads from the Ghor to Shihan (Sihon) and the plains of Moab. Some distance to the north, and nearly opposite En-gedi, the Bedawin pointed out to Professor Palmer a tall isolated needle of rock 1,000 feet above the sea, to which they gave the name of "Lot's wife;" the pillar at a distance bears a certain resemblance to an Arab woman with her child upon her shoulders; the colouring at this point is very fine, the red sandstone being streaked with bright bands of yellow, violet and purple. A little further the Arnon (Wady Mojib) issues from the mountains through a wild romantic gorge, scarcely sixty feet wide, into which the sun rarely penetrates, so lofty are the perpendicular walls of rock that form its sides; the stream is perennial, and in winter as much as forty feet wide and one foot deep. Proceeding northwards again we reach the plain of Zara, a wide open belt of land stretching along the edge of the lake; the surrounding rocks present



VIEW FROM MASADA. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

every variety of gorgeous colouring; and on the plain, amidst groves of tamarisk and acacia, there is rich abundant pasturage, with great tufts of grass ten feet high, and near the shore-line an impassable thicket of cane. The plain is full of hot springs, many of them slightly sulphurous, and near its northern limit are a few broken basaltic columns and rude remains, marking the site of Zareth-shahar, one of the towns allotted to Reuben (Josh. xiii. 19). On the hill-side above the plain are the ruins of Mkaur (Machærus), 3,800 feet above the sea, and covering more than a square mile of ground. Machærus is frequently mentioned by Josephus in connection with the wars of the Jews, and he tells us that Herod greatly strengthened the fortifications and built a magnificent palace there; its chief interest, however, is derived from its having been the place in which John the Baptist was imprisoned and afterwards put to death by order of Herod Antipas. Dr. Tristram, who visited the ruins in 1872, gives an interesting description of the citadel, built at some distance from the town, in which he found two dungeons, "one of them deep, and its sides scarcely broken in," with "small holes still visible in the masonry, where staples of wood and iron had once been fixed," and he concludes that one of these "must surely have been the prison-house of John the Baptist." Three miles north of the plain of Zara is the mouth of the gorge of Wady Zerka Main (Callirrhoe), so narrow that it is not seen until it is reached. "Picture," says Dr. Tristram, "a wild ravine never more than 100 yards wide, and in some places only thirty, winding between two rugged lines of brilliant red cliffs, 600 feet high, which stand perpendicular, but sometimes seem to meet. The water, in a large and rapid lukewarm stream, rushes to the sea, over and among boulders of granite, sandstone, and conglomerate, under the dense shade of tamarisk-trees, choked with cane-brakes, waving their tall feathery heads. An emerald fringe of maiden-hair fern, hanging from the rocks, skirts the line of the stream to the very mouth of the gorge." Some distance up the gorge are the celebrated hot springs of Callirrhoe, to which Herod resorted during his last illness in the vain hope of obtaining relief from its baths; the springs are mentioned both by Pliny and Josephus, and have been visited during the past century by Seetzen, their discoverer, in 1807, and after him by Irby and Mangles, the Duc de Luynes, Dr. Chaplin, Mr. Klein, Captain Warren, R.E., and Dr. Tristram. The springs are all on the right or northern side of the valley, and issue from the rock at the point of junction between the new red sandstone and the limestone; this side of the valley is cut up by deep precipitous ravines, each supplying a hot spring, "which sometimes emerges at the top, and comes dashing down; and at others, bubbles up with tremendous force at the foot." Within three miles there are ten large springs ranging in temperature from 130° to 143°, according to Dr. Tristram; Captain Warren, however, gives the temperature of one as high as 167°. The scenery in the gorge is very striking; on either hand rise lofty walls of rock tinged with red, violet, and yellow; bright green palms nestle in the ravines amidst thick brushwood, where many a strange tropical plant may be seen; round the springs are curious sulphur terraces deposited by the water, whilst the most startling and weird effects are produced by the columns of steam that are continually rising from the boiling caldrons in the lower depths of the chasm. Northwards from the mouth of the Zerka Main the mountains are cut by several ravines of no great importance, except that of Wady ed-Deid, down which a plentiful stream, rising near Medeba, runs through a thicket of willow and oleander to the lake. At this point the plain of Seisaban, with its exuberant fertility, far exceeding that of the oasis of Jericho, may be said to commence; this tract extends northward for about ten or twelve miles, and is everywhere well watered by springs or streams coming down from Jebel Nebbeh (Mount Nebo) and the mountains of Moab. At one point not far from the north-east corner of the Dead Sea are some mounds which may possibly mark the site of Beth Jesimuth, and more to the north is a conspicuous mound crowned by the tomb of a Moslem *wely*, or saint, called Beit-harran, without doubt the modern representative of Beth-haran, one of the fenced cities built by the children of Gad, and mentioned in Numb. xxxii. 36 with Beth-nimrah, which we have identified in a previous paper with the mound of Nimrin, a short distance higher up the Jordan valley. In the article on the Jordan valley the Seisaban has been alluded to as the site of the encampment of the Israelites before they passed over Jordan, and it would be difficult to find a more suitable locality for the establishment of a large camp.

It only remains to notice briefly the continuation of the great fissure of the Jordan valley to the Red Sea. Beyond the Sebka at the southern end of the Dead Sea some hills of moderate elevation are met with, and the road leading over them is probably the "ascent of Akrabbim," mentioned in the Bible as a point in the southern boundary of Judah, and in 1 Macc. v. 3 as the scene of Maccabeus' victory over the Edomites; from this point the ground gradually rises till in the neighbourhood of Petra it attains a height of 781 feet above the sea, and it then falls to the level of the Red Sea at Akabah (Elath).

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOK OF EZRA.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IT has been shown in a previous article upon the two Books of Chronicles,[1] that originally the Book of Ezra was, in all probability, not a distinct work, but the concluding section of that large history of the Jewish people which the writer of Chronicles considered to be needed by the circumstances of the times in which he lived. It has been noted that there is a remarkable uniformity of style between the two works; and that, the concluding section of the one being identical with the opening section of the other, and the said section terminating abruptly in Chronicles, it is scarcely possible to frame any other tenable explanation of the facts, than by supposing that one author wrote the whole as a single composition, but that subsequently his work was broken up, the last portion, which treated of a special period of the history, being detached from the rest, and so made into a distinct and separate narrative. The occasion of this separation was, it would seem, the composition of another history by a contemporary, which treating of the same period, and dealing with very similar circumstances, seemed more akin to the post-captivity section of Chronicles than that section was to the narrative whereto it was attached by the author. Ezra was separated from Chronicles, not to stand by itself, but to be attached to Nehemiah, and to be considered as forming the opening section of a post-captivity history, which began with the decree of Cyrus and terminated with Nehemiah's reforms in B.C. 431. Such a mode of manipulating historical writings is not uncommon in the East, where the *amour propre* of authors is little considered, and the main object is to arrange the history conveniently for the learner. In the Jewish Church there seems to have been from very early times a superintending body, which had histories completed or curtailed,[2] which compiled works from existing materials,[3] and which regarded itself as entitled to arrange the Scriptures in the most convenient form, whether by separating an integral work into parts, or by uniting separate productions into a whole.

Ezra was, until the third century A.D., united with Nehemiah, the two "Books" constituting together what was then called "the Book of Ezra." Origen is the first writer who notes that the works are really separate; and even he lets us see that the separateness was not in his time generally recognised.[4] It was not till towards the close of the fourth century[5] that the division came to be commonly adopted, and that distinction to be made between a "Book of Ezra" and a "Book of Nehemiah," to which we are accustomed.

It is allowed on all hands that portions of the Book of Ezra are from the pen of Ezra himself. In chap. vii. 27, 28, and in the whole of chaps. viii. and ix., the first person is used, where it is plain that Ezra himself is intended; and so much of the work is on this account universally admitted to be his. Some writers[6] are of opinion that the rest of the Book is from a different hand. Others assign to Ezra the last four chapters,[7] but think that the first six are the composition of a different author. A minute examination of the text has convinced the present writer that the entire work is from first to last the production of one pen; and he has no hesitation in assigning to Ezra the composition of the whole.[8]

A division of the Book, however, into two distinct portions must be freely granted; and it must be allowed that Ezra is not *in the same sense* the author of both. The narrative contained in the first six chapters, commencing with the first year of Cyrus in Babylon, or B.C. 538,[9] and terminating with the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis,[10] or B.C. 515, is divided by a gap of no less than fifty-seven years from the narrative of the last four chapters, which belongs to the seventh and eighth years of Artaxerxes Longimanus,[11]

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[1] See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. III., p. 137.

[2] The concluding chapter of Deuteronomy must have been added to the work of Moses by some such authority, which may also have curtailed the Second Book of Samuel. (See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. III., p. 3, note 2.)

[3] The original "Books of the Kings," which Jeremiah used in composing the existing "Books," were such compilations, gradually made out of the works of the Prophets by some authority.

[4] Origen speaks of "the first and second of Esdras, *which together make up Esdras.*" (Ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. § 25.)

[5] Jerome is the first writer who speaks of a "Book of Nehemiah." (*Ep. ad Paulin.*, Op., vol. iv., part ii., p. 574.)

[6] As De Wette (*Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.* § 195), and Bertheau (*Exeget. Handbuch*, vol. iv., part ii., pp. 7, 8).

[7] As the present Bishop of Bath and Wells. (See the *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 606.)

[8] An outline of the grounds on which this opinion is formed has been given in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., pp. 386-7. The unity of the work is apparent, not merely from its uniformity of style, but from the correspondency of plan between the second section (chaps. vii.—x.), admitted to be by Ezra, and the first section (chaps. i.—vi.), whereof his authorship is doubted.

[9] This date is determined by the Canon of Ptolemy. There is no need to suppose that the Jews regarded "the reign of the kingdom of Persia" as commencing two years later (B.C. 536), for the prophetic *round* number seventy years need not have been fulfilled *exactly*. The Captivity commenced B.C. 605 (Dan. i. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 13; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7). The decree of Cyrus was issued B.C. 538, in the sixty-eighth year after. The foundations of the Temple were laid B.C. 537 (Ezra iii. 8), in the sixty-ninth year after the commencement of the Captivity.

[10] That the Darius of chap. iv. 24, chap. v. 6, 7, and chap. vi. 1—15, is Darius Hystaspis, and not Darius Nothus, follows from the fact distinctly stated in chap. v. 2, that Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who brought the people from Babylon in B.C. 538 (Ezra iii. 2), and commenced the rebuilding of the Temple in B.C. 537 (*ib.* iii. 8), were still living in his second year. The second year of Darius Nothus was B.C. 423, or 115 years after Zerubbabel and Jeshua were full-grown men. (Compare Hagg. i. 1, &c., and Zech. iii. 1; iv. 9.)

[11] That the Artaxerxes of chap. vii. 1—27, and of Neh. ii. 1; xiii. 6, is Longimanus, is generally allowed. It is rendered almost certain by the fact that the high priest contemporary with him was Eliashib (Neh. iii. 1; xiii. 4), the *grandson* of Jeshua (*ib.* xii. 10). Artaxerxes Longimanus was the grandson of Darius Hystaspis.

or to B.C. 458 and 457. Ezra himself lived in this latter period, and was sent from Babylon into Judæa by Artaxerxes, on a special commission (vii. 14), in the year B.C. 458, when he was certainly not less than thirty,[1] and probably not more than fifty years of age. His own birth, therefore, would have fallen into the period B.C. 508—488; and he can scarcely have had any personal knowledge of the events which occurred during the period B.C. 538—516. They belonged to the time of his father or his grandfather. Thus, while he is to be viewed as the original and sole author of the second section (chaps. vii.—x.), towards the first section (chaps. i.—vi.) he stands in the position of a compiler. He could not have written it at first hand, but must have derived his knowledge of the events contained in it either from inquiries or from documents. An examination of the work itself indicates a strong probability that documents were its main source. The decree of Cyrus (i. 2—4), the letter of Rehum (iv. 8—16), the reply of Artaxerxes (iv. 17—22), the letter of Tatnai (v. 7—17), the decree of Darius (vi. 3—12), are plainly documents. Copies of them would necessarily exist in the Persian archives in Ezra's time, and might probably exist also at Jerusalem. The lists contained in chap. i. (vv. 9—11) and chap. ii. (vv. 2—61, 64—67, and 69), consisting as they do almost wholly of names and numbers, must also, it would seem, have been derived from documents, since they are far too exact to be the result of mere inquiry.[2] This conclusion, which it would be natural to draw from Ezra alone, is confirmed by a comparison of Ezra ii. with Nehemiah vii. and 1 Esdras v., which contain lists parallel to those in Ezra ii., but clearly not drawn from them—lists of which the most reasonable account is, that they were taken from the same document that the writer of Ezra used, a document which was illegible in parts, and in others difficult to decipher.[3] If this be allowed, then the documentary portion of the first section of Ezra will amount to 112 verses out of 157, or to considerably more than two-thirds of the whole; and Ezra's own direct contributions to the narrative will be reduced to forty-five verses, or less than three-tenths.

It has been supposed by some that Ezra found the documents in question already embodied in an historical work from the pen of Zechariah, or Haggai, the prophets of the return from the Captivity. But this supposition is entirely unsupported by evidence. While, on the one hand, there is no resemblance in style between the first section of Ezra and the admitted prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, on the other, there is the closest resemblance between the peculiarities[4] of the narrative connecting the documents in this section and the peculiarities observable throughout the second section, which is generally allowed to be Ezra's. If, therefore, Ezra found any general narrative of the events in question already in existence, and regarding it as authoritative, followed it, at any rate it is clear that he did not copy it or embody it as it stood, but re-wrote the whole in his own words.

The subject-matter of Ezra is the history of the chosen race from the accession of Cyrus to the spring of B.C. 437, the eighth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; or rather perhaps the history during such space of *that portion* of the chosen race which took advantage of the decree of Cyrus, and returned to its native country, Palestine.[5] The time covered is eighty-one years. The scene is in part Babylon, in part Judæa, in part the intermediate country. The narrative opens with the statement that "in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, *that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled*, Jehovah stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia," to make a certain proclamation, the terms of which are given. The prophecy of Jeremiah, whereto allusion is made, is contained in his twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth chapters; where he announces that "after seventy years Babylon shall be punished and the Jews delivered from their captivity."[6] Cyrus seems to have taken Babylon in the sixty-eighth year after the Captivity commenced, thus anticipating the *round* number used by Jeremiah by a couple of years. Having been acknowledged as king, he almost immediately issued his decree allowing "all the people of Jehovah" to return to their own land. The terms of this decree are recorded by the writer of Ezra in three verses of his first chapter (vv. 2—4). He then proceeds in general terms to relate the result—the actual return of a part of the people under a leader, whom he calls Sheshbazzar in one place (chap. i. 8) and Zerubbabel in others (chaps. iii. 2; iv. 2; v. 2, &c.); he gives a list of the sacred vessels which they brought back with them (chap. i. 9—11), of the chiefs who headed them (chap. ii. 2), of the families into which they were divided, and the number of each family (chap. ii. 3—39), of the Levitical and other septs connected with the service of the sanctuary (chap. ii. 40—58), and of the exiles who did not know their pedigree (chap. ii. 59—61); estimating the whole number of those that returned at something a little short of 50,000 (chap. ii. 64, 65). To this account he adds the number of their horses, mules, camels, and asses (chap. ii. 66, 67). He then proceeds to narrate the restoration of the Temple—how the rich men subscribed towards it (chap. ii. 68, 69); how Jeshua the high priest, and Zerubbabel the prince of Judah, took the lead, first erecting the altar of burnt-offering (chap. iii. 2, 3), then keeping the Feast of Tabernacles (*ib.* ver. 4), after this obtaining timber from Phœnicia (*ib.* ver.

[1] This follows from his being a "ready scribe" (Ezra vii. 6), and teacher of the law (*ib.* ver. 10), when he received his commission.

[2] On similar grounds it has been concluded that certain lists in Herodotus were drawn from Persian documents. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 56.)

[3] Compare the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 395 (note on Ezra ii. 64).

[4] On these peculiarities, see the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 387, note 7.

[5] It should be remembered that a large proportion of the Israelites preferred to remain in the countries to which the Babylonians had transported them (Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 1), and remained there permanently, their descendants being still found in the country at the present day.

[6] Jer. xxv. 12; xxix. 10.

7); and finally, in the second year of Cyrus, B.C. 537, commencing the actual foundation of the building with songs and shoutings, but at the same time with tears, "so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people," who wept doubtless because the scale and style of the new construction fell far short of the old[1] (*ib.* vv. 8—13).

With his fourth chapter the author enters upon a new phase of the history—the opposition made to the proceedings of Zerubbabel by the mixed race which, till the Jews returned, had held possession of the land.[2] He tells us how, on Zerubbabel's first arrival, these people offered to unite with him in the work of restoration, how their offer was refused, and how from thenceforth they did all they could to oppose and prevent the building (chap. iv. 1—4). After making futile representations to two Persian kings, Cyrus and Ahasuerus,[3] they addressed a letter to a third, Artaxerxes,[4] which produced a favourable reply. The building was peremptorily stopped. The "adversaries" triumphed. "Then ceased the work of the house of God at Jerusalem"—the workmen being compelled to desist "by force and power" (*ib.* vv. 7—24).

Ere long, however, another change occurred. Artaxerxes, the opponent of the Jews, was succeeded by Darius; and, so soon as that king had firmly established himself, "in his second year" (iv. 24), the Jews took heart, and resumed the work of construction (chap. v. 1, 2). Once more the "people of the land" interposed, and addressed a letter to the new monarch, inquiring whether the building was to be allowed (*ib.* vv. 6—17). Darius, having caused a search to be made, found at Ecbatana a copy of the decree of Cyrus, and at once wrote a reply to the inquirers, sanctioning Zerubbabel's proceedings, and requiring them to lend him their assistance (chap. vi. 1—12). Upon this all opposition ceased, the work progressed rapidly, the heathen lent their aid (*ib.* ver. 13), and "in the sixth year of Darius" (B.C. 515) the building was completed (Ezra vi. 15). A feast of dedication was then held, of which the writer of Ezra gives an account towards the close of his sixth chapter (vv. 16—18); and this was followed by a passover, celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month, according to the command of Moses and the practice of the more religious among the kings.

With these events the sixth chapter of Ezra concludes, and the seventh opens with a new and much later history. "In the seventh year of Artaxerxes," we are told (and this Artaxerxes must be a later king than Darius),[5] Ezra, the son (descendant) of Seraiah,[6] went up from Babylon to Jerusalem with a special commission from the Persian monarch (chap. vii. 14). The Artaxerxes intended is generally supposed to be Longimanus; and in this case there is (as has been observed) an interval of fifty-seven years between the conclusion of chap. vi. and the opening of chap. vii. If he is a later Artaxerxes (Mnemon), the interval will be still longer (117 years); but this is improbable.[7] There can be little doubt that Longimanus is meant—the monarch who succeeded his father, Xerxes, son of Darius, in B.C. 465. Assuming such to be the case, the gap in the history is one of fifty-seven years, and includes the last thirty years of Darius Hystaspis, the entire reign of Xerxes, and the first six years of Artaxerxes I., extending from B.C. 515 to B.C. 458. We must suppose that either Jewish history was for this period a blank—so far, at any rate, as Palestine was concerned[8]—or that Ezra, on reaching Jerusalem, found no important documents relating to the period, and so passed it over in silence. His own commission, however, and his execution of it, he regarded naturally as events of interest; and he proceeded to append to his account of the return under Zerubbabel, a further account of a second return of exiles, under his own guidance, from Babylon to Palestine.

Commencing with a statement of his own descent (vii. 1—5), and of the nature of his office (*ib.* ver. 6), and first giving in brief the main facts of his journey (*ib.* vv. 6—10), he proceeded to place on record the commission which he received from the great king (*ib.* vv. 11—26), the names and number of those who went up with him (viii. 1—14), the circumstances which happened on the journey (*ib.* vv. 15—32), the arrival at Jerusalem and delivery of the sacred vessels to the priests who had the charge of the Temple treasures (vv. 33 and 34), and the solemn sacrifice made by the second body of exiles (ver. 35), in imitation of that which was offered by the first body under Zerubbabel (chap. vi. 17). It is remarkable that on both occasions the returned exiles considered themselves as representatives of *all the tribes*, and not of Judah only; they offered burnt-offerings and sin-offerings "for all Israel"—*twelve* bullocks, *ninety-six* (12 by 8) rams, and *twelve* he-goats—"according to the number of the tribes of Israel." (Compare with this the statement in 1 Chron. ix. 3, that in Jerusalem dwelt at this time "of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, *and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh.*")

From this account of his commission and its execution, Ezra passes (in chaps. ix. and x.) to a matter which seemed to him, on his arrival at Jerusalem, of the utmost importance, and one requiring all his atten-

[1] Compare Zech. iv. 10.

[2] See 2 Kings xvii. 24—41.

[3] This Ahasuerus *must*, it would seem, be Cambyses.

[4] This Artaxerxes is probably the pseudo-Smerdis who succeeded Cambyses, B.C. 522, and is called Tany-*oxarces* by Ctesias.

[5] See the order of the names in chap. vi. 14, and the first words of chap. vii., "It came to pass *after these things*," &c.

[6] Seraiah had been high priest under Zedekiah (2 Kings xxv. 18; 1 Chron. vi. 14). He was probably separated from Ezra by three or four generations.

[7] It is generally allowed that the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah is identical with Ezra's Artaxerxes. As Eliashib, the grandson of Jeshua, was high priest in Nehemiah's time (Neh. iii. 1; xii. 10), the Artaxerxes who sent him to Palestine can scarcely be Mnemon, whose twentieth year (*ib.* ii. 1) was B.C. 385, or more than a century and a half after the manhood of Jeshua (B.C. 537).

[8] The events related in the Book of Esther probably fell into this interval; but they may not have caused much stir in Palestine, where the Jews were too strong to have been in much danger.

tion. He found the law disregarded in a most vital point, and his people (as it seemed to him) on their way to complete apostacy. The returned exiles, who had perhaps been unable to bring with them an adequate number of their own countrywomen, had intermarried in certain cases with the neighbouring idolatrous nations —had become to some extent entangled in the idolatries of these various races, and were in danger of being assimilated to, if not even absorbed into them. Ezra describes in impressive language the horror with which he learnt of these proceedings "And when I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat down astonied" (chap. ix. 3). On his astonishment followed his prayer (vv. 6—15)—a prayer which recalls the tone and echoes the phrases of Daniel (Dan. ix. 5—19).

Ezra relates how the people were affected by seeing his horror and his grief—how they too burst into tears and "wept with a great weeping" (chap. x. 1)—how by the mouth of a certain Shechaniah they confessed their sin, and expressed their desire to turn from it, inviting Ezra to initiate proceedings for the reform of the abuse and the general purification of the people (vv. 2—4). He then tells us what measures were taken —how first of all the people renewed their covenant with God by solemnly making oath that they would put away their heathen wives (ver. 5)—how then after some delay (vv. 7—15) a standing commission was appointed to carry out the whole matter (ver. 16)—and how finally in the course of three months the commission brought its labours to an end, having effected a complete separation of the heathen from the Israelitish element, and sent the foreign wives, with their offspring, out of the country (ver. 17). In conclusion, a list is given of those whose wives were divorced, by which it appears that the entire number was less than might have been supposed, being only 113 in a population which must have exceeded 60,000, and which cannot have contained fewer than 10,000 households. The "strange wives" were thus not many more than one in a hundred; but the example had been set in high quarters, and so was likely, if unchecked, to have rapidly spread. Among the 113 Israelites who had transgressed, twenty-seven belonged to the priestly tribe of Levi, and of these seventeen were actual priests, and four members of the high priest's family!

Little objection is taken to Ezra by modern writers of the Rationalistic school. As it contains no record of anything miraculous, there is nothing in it to provoke sceptical criticism. Its difficulties are merely historic, and are in fact limited entirely to the question of the proper identification of the several Persian kings mentioned in the narrative. There can be no doubt that the first-named is the Cyrus who took Babylon in B.C. 538, and died in B.C. 529. Some suppose that the Ahasuerus who is the next king mentioned by name (Ezra iv. 6) represents Xerxes; that the third king, Artaxerxes (*ib.* ver. 7), is Longimanus; that the Darius of chaps. iv.—vi. is Darius Nothus; and the Artaxerxes of chaps. vii.—viii., Artaxerxes Mnemon; and it must be allowed that this exposition is the only one which removes all difficulty as to the names. But the view is rendered untenable by the fact, which appears in Zechariah and Haggai no less than in Ezra, that Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who led the exiles from Babylon to Palestine in the first year of Cyrus (B.C. 538), and commenced the building of the Temple in his second year (B.C. 537), resumed the work in the second year of the Darius of the Book of Ezra (chap. v. 2; Hagg. i. 1; Zech. i. 1; iv. 14), and brought it to a completion in his sixth.

As the sixth year of Darius Nothus was B.C. 420 (or 118 years after the taking of Babylon by Cyrus), it is simply impossible to regard him as the king under whom the Temple was completed, since in that case both Zerubbabel and Jeshua must have lived to the age of 150! Thus the Darius of Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah *must* be the first Darius of Persia, or Darius the son of Hystaspis. But if this be so, the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes who intervene in Ezra (chap. iv. 6, 7) between him and Cyrus, can only be the two Persian kings whose reigns exactly filled up this interval—viz., Cambyses and the pseudo-Smerdis. The only difficulty in this case is to account for the names. Why did the Jews call the son and successor of Cyrus by a name corresponding to the Persian Xerxes, when his true name was Cambyses? And why did they call his successor, whose real name was Gomates, and who was known in Persia as Smerdis, by the entirely different royal appellative of Artaxerxes? To these questions it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to give wholly satisfactory answers. We can only say that the Persian kings and princes did often bear more names than one. It was a common practice for the king to change his name upon his accession. As a prince the second Darius was known as Ochus;[1] he took the name of Darius on ascending the throne. Similarly, Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon) till his accession bore the name of Arsaces.[2] The pseudo-Smerdis was known to some of the Greeks as Tanyoxares or Tanyoxarces.[3]

It is quite possible that Cambyses as crown prince bore the name of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), and only took the name of his grandfather on becoming king. The Jews may have known him at Babylon under his original appellation, and may therefore have simply retained it. The pseudo-Smerdis, whose great object was to conceal his real name, may have indulged in a free use of various royal titles. The Persian names were significant, and might be taken as epithets—Artaxerxes meant, according to Herodotus,[4] "the very warlike." At any rate, whether the explanation here offered be accepted or not, the historical and chronological scheme on which Ezra has been arranged must

[1] Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.*, § 49. Manetho called him "Ochus" after his accession. (Clem. Al. *Cohort. ad Gentes*, § 5.)
[2] Plut. *Vit. Artax.*, § 2; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.*, § 57.
[3] This name is given to him by Ctesias (*Exc. Pers.*, l. s. c.).
[4] Herod. vi. 98.

be regarded as established. The four kings of the earlier section of the Book *must* represent Cyrus the Great, his son Cambyses, the pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspis. The Artaxerxes of the latter section may possibly be Mnemon, but on the whole it is far more probable that he is Longimanus.[1]

[1] See note 11, on page 42.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

If Stephanas and his two companions were the actual bearers of the first Epistle to the church in Corinth, the Apostle, in his anxiety about its reception, soon afterwards commissioned Titus, who was at the time occupied in the business of the collection, to visit the city, and report the effect of the instructions and warnings that had been given. New troubles at the same time arose in Ephesus. The intention of St. Paul to remain there until Pentecost was unexpectedly frustrated by the riot of Demetrius and the silversmiths. This heavy trial, coming at so anxious a time, well-nigh broke the Apostle's heart. "We were pressed," he says, "out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life."[1] Times there had been when that uproar in the Ephesian theatre would have been but a small thing to the brave soldier of Jesus Christ. But his heart was now so full of concern and sorrow for the Corinthians, that he could not bear the stress. Bodily weakness was superadded to the mental conflict. He "called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia."[2] His main anxiety was to meet with Titus, who ought by this time to have been returning from Corinth. Down to Troas the Apostle bent his way, but for awhile was disappointed. His intention was "to preach Christ's Gospel" in that sea-port town; and everything was favourable for the task. "A door was opened" to him "by the Lord;" but it was in vain. Titus had not arrived, and the Apostle could not bend his mind even to evangelic labours before he had heard from Corinth. Restlessly he crossed over to Macedonia, and at last was "comforted by the coming of Titus;" so comforted, that at the very mention of Macedonia, the Apostle breaks into the ascription, "Thanks be unto God!"[3]—for Titus had brought good news. The Corinthians had not only repented, but had zealously set themselves to put away the evil. "I am filled with comfort," exclaims the Apostle; "I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation." In the hallowed excitement of such joy this second Epistle to the Corinthians is written, in some Macedonian town; perhaps Philippi, or Thessalonica, or Berœa—dispatched by Titus, probably with Luke or Trophimus (chap. viii. 18), and Tychicus (chap. viii. 22); and then did the Apostle, with free and exulting heart, "round about unto Illyricum fully preach the Gospel of Christ."[4] This work accomplished, the Apostle bent his steps to Corinth for his "third visit," to find, let us hope, that his two letters had wrought their work, and that words which through all generations since have lived in the hearts of the disciples of Christ, had not failed in their salutary effect upon those who heard them first, as read from the apostolic scroll.

2. The intelligence brought by Titus, although on the whole so cheering, was not without its disquieting elements. True, these were overborne by the fact that the Corinthians had repented of their grosser sins; but it was nevertheless necessary that St. Paul should still write on some points with decision, even with severity. The Judaizing party in the church—the same, probably, who had said, "We are of Cephas," in bygone days—had acquired strength, had even become "the majority" of the teachers,[5] and lost no occasion of disparaging the apostleship and even the character of Paul. There is, therefore, a twofold current of thought through all this Epistle; an exquisite tenderness and joy, combined with manly earnest self-vindication; rebukes pathetic in their very sternness from a heart so loving; and "boastings" uttered with a kind of ingenuous shame, although the intent was not the exaltation of self, but the glory of the Lord.

3. Accordingly, it is impossible to reduce the contents of the Epistle to any formal order. Each mood by turns predominates, and any outline must take notice only of the prominent thoughts in the several sections, without regard to the numerous hints and side-touchings which betray the feelings that struggled all through for mastery in the Apostle's mind. The general order, however, may be stated as follows:—

I. After a general introduction and salutation (in which Timothy, who had now rejoined him, is included) (i. 1—11), St. Paul at once vindicates his own sincerity and fair dealing in the matter of the delayed visit (i. 12—ii. 4). He avows that he had changed his intention of taking Corinth on his way to Macedonia (1 Cor. xvi. 5), and he gives the reason. It was not that he was untrue to his promise, nor light in purpose,

[1] Chap. i. 8.
[2] Acts xx. 1. Meyer thinks that some unfavourable news as to the effect of his first Epistle had by this time reached St. Paul.
[3] Chap. vii. 6; ii. 13, 14.
[4] Rom. xv. 19; which must be referred to this part of St. Paul's history. Compare Acts xx. 2.
[5] Chap. ii. 17, οἱ πολλοί.

but to spare the church and himself. In a word, he could not see them until he knew in what spirit they had received his letter.

II. This matter being set clear, St. Paul now in the strength of his affection declares his forgiveness of the man who had sinned, suffered, and repented (ii. 5—11). Characteristically, the Apostle declares that to remain unforgiving would give an advantage to Satan, by driving the sinner to despair.

III. The way is now clear to speak of the coming of Titus, and the joy it brought (ii. 12—16), suggesting the image of a triumph, with the incense of its sacrifice floating upwards, and filling the air with fragrance; yet to some doomed ones in the procession the scent would be that of death! for there were rebels still.

IV. The foregoing thought seems to suggest the impassioned vindication of himself and his brother apostles, into which he now breaks forth (ii. 17—vii. 16). He had asked the question, "Who is sufficient for these things?" and replies in substance, "We are, by the grace of God!"

(1.) Some, who decried his character and work, had brought letters of commendation, probably from Jerusalem, which had imposed upon the Corinthians. Paul appeals to their own consciousness as the true commendation of his ministry (iii. 1—6).

(2.) With the image of a letter still in his mind, he declares the clearness and transparent truth of the apostolic ministry (iii. 7—iv. 6). Nor does he speak of his own labours merely—it is the "ministration of the Spirit," as contrasted to the older ministration of Law. His illustrations are here taken from the "vanishing glory" of the countenance of Moses descending from the mount[1]—a countenance still veiled! The glory of the Gospel, on the contrary, is permanent, and shines upon us with no intervening veil. Such, the Apostle seems to say, is the contrast between our teaching and that of the men who would lead you back to Judaism.

(3.) From this sublime delineation of a faithful ministry, St. Paul turns now to the human side (iv. 7—v. 10). Where there is so much glory there must be somewhat to show that the true power is with God, not with us. Hence the Apostle is led to depict the trials and supports of apostolic life, "bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest." Death and life, life out of death, the faith that rests on the unseen, the hope that springs toward heaven, and gazes unappalled on the solemnities of the judgment-seat, are the topics of the paragraph. "Such a life," Paul seems to say, "is ours."

(4.) Hence there is *deep sincerity* in our aims and conduct, as befits those who must be "made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ" (v. 10, 11), with the constant power of an all-sufficient *motive*. "One died for all, then they all died" (v. 14). We died to live in Christ; our very being is henceforth absorbed in His. Here is the first utterance of that great conception, of life in the risen Christ, which was to reappear more fully in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans.[2] The *truths* on which all this rests, the doctrines of "reconciliation" and of "righteousness," are then declared, as if in similar anticipation of the profounder doctrinal discussions which were to follow (v. 18—21).

(5.) But at present the Apostle returns to his theme, and, as his heart warms, becomes more intensely personal (vi. 1—vii. 3).[3] "Receive not the grace of God in vain. . . . Receive *us*," is now the substance of his appeal. "The almost lyrical and poetical character which belongs to this burst of feeling," says Dean Stanley, "may be fitly compared to Rom. viii. 31—39; 1 Cor. xiii. 1—13, which occupy, in a similar manner, the central place in those Epistles." With a fine appropriateness the Old Testament[4] is made to furnish language for his glowing appeals. The "acceptable time" and "the day of salvation" which the prophet dimly saw has come; and at the close of the chapter promise after promise gathered from Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, in one glorious rush of utterance declare what God will do for those who accept his truth.

(6.) The reference to the return of Titus is resumed as by one who has given vent to all his sadder emotions, and can now freely utter his triumph and joy (vii. 4—16). He even ceases to regret the severity of his former Epistle. "I do not repent, though I did repent"—for the reproof has done its work; "godly sorrow" has wrought true "repentance," and joyful confidence is restored!

V. The claims of the collection for the impoverished Christians of Judæa are now urged with inimitable force and delicacy (viii. 1—ix. 15). It was doubly generous in the Apostle, while defending himself from the aspersions of the Judaizers, to retain a compassion so tender for the community so apt to misunderstand and condemn him. This, however, was his true character. If the incentives by which he urges ready liberality on the Corinthians are to be classified, they might be stated thus:—

(1.) The example of the Macedonian churches (viii. 1—8).

(2.) The self-sacrifice of CHRIST (ver. 9).

(3.) The former alacrity of the Corinthians themselves (vv. 10—15).

(4.) The character of the messengers—Titus, and two other brethren[5] (vv. 16—24).

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[1] Chap. iii. 13. "So that the children of Israel gazed not to the close of that which was vanishing away."

[2] Gal. ii. 20; Rom. vi. 1—13, &c.

[3] This paragraph contains the remarkable digression, "without connection with what either precedes or follows" (vi. 13—vii. 1), which has already been mentioned in our Introduction to the first Epistle, as possibly an extract from the Apostle's earlier letter to the church in Corinth.

[4] Isa. xlix. 8; Lev. xxvi. 12; Isa. lii. 11; Jer. xxxi. 1, 9, 33; xxxii. 38; Ezek. xxxvii. 26, 27; Zech. viii. 8.

[5] Who these brethren were cannot be determined with any certainty. *Luke* has been suggested by many, partly from the reference to "the Gospel" in verse 18; but in the language of the New Testament the Gospel always means the preaching of the Gospel, never the written record. Trophimus, again, was an Ephesian, well known, and connected with the Apostle in this

(5.) St. Paul's own confidence in the Corinthians (ix. 1—5).

(6.) The return which Divine bounty will make to the generous (ix. 6—11).

(7.) The thanksgiving and prayer of the recipients, both bringing glory to God, and forming a new link between Jewish and Gentile Christians (ix. 12—14). This last thought occasions the outburst of praise for the one great gift of which we all are recipients, and which is truly "unspeakable" (ver. 15).

VI. The Apostle having closed this practical matter, occupies the remainder of the Epistle with a re-assertion of his authority and claims (x. 1—xii. 10). It may be that St. Paul here resumes his pen after a pause. Perhaps "in the interval news had come again from Corinth, indicating a relapse of fervour on the part of the church at large, and a more decided opposition to him on the part of the Jewish section of the church. Or, after the full outpouring of his heart, he may have returned to the original impression, which the arrival of Titus had removed. As the time of his visit either actually drew nearer, or was more forcibly impressed upon his imagination, he was again haunted by the fear already expressed (ii. 1), that he should have to visit them, not in love, but in anger."[1]

(1.) He asserts his apostolic authority (x. 1—7).

(2.) He vindicates his boasting (x. 8—18).

(3.) He pleads, in defence, his affection for the Corinthians (xi. 1—15).

(4.) He details his claims more fully (xi. 16—33).

α. If his opponents were Hebrews, so was he (ver. 22; compare Phil. iii. 4, 5).

β. His toils and sufferings were apostolic (vv. 23—31). Many of his trials here recounted took place in unrecorded journeys, or are passed over by the historian.[2]

γ. He *began* his public Christian career by a notable escape from danger (vv. 32, 33).

δ. He had been raised to the third heaven, and disciplined by the "thorn in the flesh" (xii. 1—10). Thus, out of exaltation came weakness, and in weakness strength. The date of the rapture, "fourteen years ago," places it soon after the escape from Aretas, just described. With regard to the trial that followed, we only know that it was some humiliating and disabling affliction: whether *temptations* to sin (as to sensuality, held by most Roman Catholic theologians); or *trials from without*, as persecutions,[3] which scarcely comports with the definite character of the affliction, and the Apostle's importunate prayer for deliverance; or *bodily affliction* [a very ancient tradition says excruciating headache,[4] others suggest an impediment in speech (chap. x. 10), and it has been plausibly maintained that the malady was one that affected the eyesight[5]]. In any case, the assurance of Divine support transformed the feebleness into a new source and aliment of spiritual strength. "I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

VII. Summary of his self-vindication, and appeal to the Corinthians (xii. 11—xiii. 10). That the Apostle had been compelled to assert his own claims, was their doing; a necessity which ought not to have been forced upon him, for his apostolic career spoke for itself. Was he behind others in anything? Only in one—that he had not cast himself upon the support of the church. With a fine irony he adds, "Forgive me this wrong." Again he indignantly repudiates the charge of acting insincerely by them,[6] and declares his intention of dealing with the church in faithfulness when he should arrive. If severity were needed, none could be more grieved than the Apostle himself; and if he writes sharply, it is that he may obviate the necessity for sharper speech. He would always rather "build" than "destroy."

VIII. Salutation and farewell. The benediction which concludes the whole "is the most complete of all which occurs in St. Paul's Epistles;" "remarkable," Alford well says, "for the distinct recognition of the Three Persons in the Holy Trinity, and thence adopted by the Christian Church in all ages as the final blessing in her services." The blessing is invoked upon "all," even upon those with whom he had most strenuously contended, or whom he had most sharply reproved. No better introduction could be imagined for the visit which he was so soon to pay, as the sequel of these two immortal Epistles, to the people whose conduct and spirit had occasioned some of the deepest joys and keenest sorrows of his life.

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alms-errand (Acts xxi. 29). He also left Corinth in St. Paul's company at the close of the visit which speedily followed this second Epistle. The third brother (ver. 22) may have been Tychicus, an Ephesian likewise (Acts xx. 4), a friend and associate of Titus (Titus iii. 12), and conversant with St. Paul's affairs (Eph. vi. 21).

[1] Stanley, 2 *Corinthians*, Introduction to, chaps. x.—xiii.

[2] Five scourgings from the Jews, not one related in the Acts. "Thrice beaten with rods" (a Roman punishment)—only one instance related (Acts xvi. 23). "Once stoned," at Lystra (Acts xiv. 19). "Thrice shipwrecked"—not one instance recorded up to this time. "Perils by countrymen" (Acts ix. 23, 29; xiii. 50; xiv. 5, 19; xvii. 5, 13; xviii. 12. "Perils by heathens" (Acts xvi. 20; xix. 23).

[3] Persecution of Judaizers: Chrysostom, and many Greek fathers.

[4] Jerome, Tertullian.

[5] See Brown's *Horæ Subsecivæ*. Compare Acts ix. 9; xxiii. 5; Gal. iv. 15; vi. 11.

[6] The words in xii. 16, "being crafty, I caught you with guile," are, of course, to be read as an indignant quotation of his enemies' words—"Is *that* what they say?"

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

THE LOCAL COLOURING OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Epistle to the Romans occupies, in some respects, a very peculiar position. The circumstances under which it was written, the structure of its argument, will be dealt with elsewhere, under the heading of the "Books of the New Testament." The special fact to which I now desire to call attention is that it is the first extant epistle of St. Paul's addressed to a church which as yet he had not seen. He knew it, indeed, by report, "for their faith was spoken of throughout all the world," but of direct personal communication with the church as such there had been none. And, therefore, in the comparative absence of local questions, such as so largely fill the Epistles to the churches of Thessalonica and of Corinth, there was a fitting opportunity for such a treatment of the great doctrines of the Gospel, of the great problems of the history of Israel and mankind, as that on which St. Paul enters here. His thoughts seem to take a wider range, the horizon of his mental vision is enlarged, his Epistle becomes a great *Apologia*, and he seeks

> "—— to the height of his great argument
> To vindicate the ways of God to man."

2. On the other hand, the Epistle displays a close personal knowledge of many distinct congregations or churches among the Christians at Rome, and the number of names of those to whom loving messages are sent is larger than in any other. How are we to reconcile this apparent inconsistency? The answer is to be found, it is clear, in the fact that the decree of Claudius which banished all Jews from Rome must have included Christians as well as non-Christians. To the former class apparently belonged Aquila and Priscilla, seeing that no mention is made in the Acts of their having been hearers of St. Paul or converted by him, and that from the first they were companions and fellow-workers. But if they were disciples at that time, then probably there must have been other believers among the artisans whom they employed and the friends who had sought with them a refuge at Corinth. Others would be attracted by their influence and example, and those who were able to instruct the eloquent Jew of Alexandria in the Gospel of Christ may well have been among the pillars of the church of Achaia, perhaps even among the teachers of the church of Rome before they were driven from that city.[1] It is noticeable how, as we study the list of names, fact after fact confirms the conclusion to which we have thus been led. Andronicus and Junia (probably Junias as a man's name) were "in Christ" before the Apostle who salutes them (Rom. xvi. 7). Epænetus, the "first-fruits of Achaia, the "well-beloved," the first Christian convert, is named next to Aquila and Priscilla, as having probably been converted by them, and returned with them to Rome (Rom. xvi. 5), while St. Paul in writing to Corinth names the household of Stephanas by the same honourable title (1 Cor. xvi. 15). Those who had been St. Paul's fellow-workers, Timotheus, Tertius (possibly the same as Silas or Silvanus), Gaius, in whose house the church of Corinth found its chief place of meeting (Rom. xvi. 23), all these are on intimate and friendly terms with the Christians of Rome. And on this hypothesis we may include in the list of these early converts those of the household of Narcissus, of whom traces have been discovered in inscriptions still extant (Rom. xvi. 11), and Rufus, whose mother had received St. Paul with a kindness which made him feel that he owed to her nothing less than filial love (Rom. xvi. 13), and who has been identified, on fairly good grounds, with the son of Simon of Cyrene, whom St. Mark mentions in chap. xv. 21.[2] In these then, not in St. Peter or St. Paul, we may see the real founders of the church of Rome, the first preachers of the Gospel in the great imperial city.

3. The besetting temptation of the church in that city had been, it is obvious, that which arose out of their position, as attacked by the unbelieving Jews. At first the church was probably entirely Jewish, and the Jews' trans-Tiberine quarter was the scene of continual riots, in which the name of Christus (pronounced *Chrestus*) had been heard so often, that he was looked upon as their author, and which led to the decree of Claudius. When they returned with a larger infusion of Greek and therefore Gentile blood, they probably sought a home elsewhere in some remote district of the city. And so when St. Paul arrives at Rome, while the Christians there sent out deputations of the brethren to meet him as far as to Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, the Jews who live together in their old suburb (the decree of Claudius which expelled them having been rescinded or treated as null and void) speak of the Church of Christ as a body of whom they know personally little or nothing, except as "a sect everywhere spoken against" (Acts xxviii. 22). This was the state of things when St. Paul reached

[1] The inferences drawn from the fact that Claudius is said to have expelled the Jews because they were constantly disturbing the peace, under the command of Chrestûs ("impulsore Chresto"), have been already noticed in the BIBLE EDUCATOR; see also the paper on "Aquila and Priscilla" in the writer's *Biblical Studies*.

[2] See the paper on "Simon of Cyrene" in the writer's *Biblical Studies*.

Rome, and it was due in part to the influence of his counsels. But when he wrote to them from Corinth the danger was still fresh in his memory, and thought of as still imminent. And therefore he dwells with an emphatic and exceptional fulness on the duty and necessity of obedience to civil authority, teaches them that even the government of a Nero is better than anarchy, and therefore a Divine ordinance, a "minister of God for good," as able, and, it might be, willing to defend them against the lawless attacks of their Jewish enemies, should those attacks be renewed, as he himself had been defended from them at Corinth by the intervention of Gallio.

4. The close connection between the congregations which St. Paul had known at Corinth and those whom he has in view in writing to the Romans may serve to throw light on the difficult and obscure questions connected with the disputes referred to in chap. xiv. Who, we ask, were those who held it to be unlawful to eat anything but herbs? Who were bold enough to eat meat? In what way could the eating meat become a stumbling-block to the weak? Have we come into contact with a simple asceticism, or with an Essene superstition, or with a Gnostic idea that all animal food, as such, was impure and unlawful? Many treatises have been written on this chapter, maintaining this or that theory; but the right answer is, I believe, to be found in the fact on which I have now dwelt, that the greater part of the Christians at Rome whom St. Paul addresses had previously been under him at Corinth. The controversies in the former city were but the expansion and echoes of those which had disturbed the latter, leading the weak, over-scrupulous brother to avoid any animal food that was exposed for sale in the market of a heathen city, through the fear that it might possibly have been slain as a sacrifice to an idol; while the strong, holding that "an idol was nothing in the world," was ready to eat what had been so offered, even at the risk of offending others, or of shrinking, in the presence of heathen friends, from the confession of his faith. Assume that the questions discussed by St. Paul in 1 Cor. viii., ix., x. were transferred to Rome, when a large portion of the members of the Corinthian church had returned to the city from which they had started, and we have an explanation, natural and adequate, of the teaching in Rom. xiv. The principle applied to the points at issue is the same in both. St. Paul's own convictions are clearly in favour of the bolder and stronger view. "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself," not even that which had been offered in sacrifice to idols, but this was modified in action by the tenderest sympathy and consideration for the weaker conscience of the over-scrupulous. What was objectively right might thus come to be subjectively wrong, and a man might be led by the influence of example, or through fear of shame, into doing what his conscience did not approve of. For such persons abstinence from what was to them doubtful was the only wise and right course, and abstinence for their sake from what might otherwise have been done with a safe conscience was enjoined by the Apostle even on the strong as an obedience to the higher law of love.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

It is now admitted by nearly all commentators who admit their Pauline authorship that the three letters which we know by this title were written after the Apostle's liberation from his imprisonment at Rome, and after he had carried into effect the intention expressed in the letters to the Philippians and to Philemon, of re-visiting the scenes of his former labours. It is not difficult, on this assumption, to track his course, and to get at least an outline of the incidents of his journey. Accompanied by some of the faithful disciples who had been with him at Rome, certainly by his beloved son in the faith, Timotheus, he seems to have made his way to the Asiatic churches who owed so much to his teaching. In many ways the visit must have been a painful one. The first love had waxed cold. All in Asia were "turned away from him" (2 Tim. i. 15), two even from whom better things, it would seem, might have been expected, Phygellus and Hermogenes, being named as the most conspicuous instance of this desertion. All the more did his mind dwell gratefully on any ministrations which, like those of Onesiphorus, showed that the old loving-kindness and affection had not quite died out (2 Tim. i. 18). When he had last parted from the representatives of these churches, they "all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words that he spake, that they should see his face no more" (Acts xx. 36, 37). Now when he left, leaving the reluctant Timothy behind him, there were, it would seem, no other tears but those which the master and scholar had wept over each other (2 Tim. i. 4). But worse even than this personal desertion was the falling away of these Asiatic churches from the purity of their first faith. The germ of wild speculative heresies which St. Paul had even seen among the ministers of the church, and of which he had warned them on the occasion of that most memorable parting, had grown with a portentous rapidity. Hymenæus, Philetus, Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17) appear to have been the chief heresiarchs, teaching that the resurrection was past already, that its meaning was exhausted in a spiritual conversion from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, that there was no real return to life after death, no judgment of the risen dead. He endeavoured to check the progress of the error by the strongest exercise of his apostolic authority, and passed upon them the sentence which at Corinth had been reserved for the sin of the incestuous adulterer (1 Cor. v. 5). They were "delivered to Satan," and that solemn sentence was followed by some sharp bodily suffering by which, the punishment being corrective and not destructive, they were to be taught "not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 20).

The coincidences connected with the personal character of Timothy will be found, I believe, to have a special interest. At the close of their long companion-

ship and friendship the mind of the Apostle goes back to the days when he had first known the mother—probably the widowed mother—Eunice, and the grandmother Lois, and had seen their unfeigned faith, and noted how the boy who was growing up under their care had from a child been taught to know the Holy Scriptures (those, of course, of the Old Testament), as entering into his daily life. He, the young disciple, himself of Lystra, had witnessed those early persecutions which attended the Apostle's efforts in his missionary work among the Gentiles (Acts xiv. 19)—had, in the interval, gained a good report not only among the believers in his own town, but also in Iconium, where he was probably known as a messenger, if not as an evangelist (Acts xvi. 2). Year by year he had become more and more dear to the Apostle's heart, was as his "true son," "like-minded" in all essential points, one in whose devotion he could entirely confide. Yet there were, it is clear, drawbacks even here, and the character of Timothy presented some weak points about which St. Paul was obviously anxious. He was placed at a comparatively early age, say thirty-four or thirty-five, in a position where he had to exercise authority over many men older than himself, and he seems to have tended to that shrinking from the exercise of authority which is often found in meditative and devout minds. And therefore his master plies him throughout with counsels on this head. He is to let no man despise his youth (1 Tim. iv. 12), is not to "neglect," but rather to "stir up" (*i.e.*, re-kindle) "the gift that is in him" (2 Tim. i. 6), is to "keep that which is committed to his trust" (2 Tim. i. 14). With an unusual solemnity he charges him "before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels," to yield to no influence which may be brought to bear on him to bias his decisions (1 Tim. v. 21), or again, "in the sight of God who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed the good confession," to keep the commandment "without spot and unrebukeable" (1 Tim. vi. 13, 14). His peculiarities of age and temperament brought with them other dangers. His total abstinence from wine, probably under a Nazarite vow, like that which St. Paul himself took, but permanent instead of temporary, might seem to favour the heresy of those who commanded men to abstain from this or that kind of food, forgetting or denying that "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving" (1 Tim. iv. 4). It tended, at any rate, with such a constitution as his, to weak health, and weak health brought with it the danger of hasty and impulsive action, of suddenly "laying hands" (whether as ordaining, or, more probably, as "absolving") on those whom a fuller and calmer inquiry would have led him to reject. It might bring with it the very temptations which, at first, it was designed to counteract, and so, in the delicate and difficult task of inquiry into other men's sins, he was to "keep himself pure" (1 Tim. v. 22), to "flee all youthful desires" (the Authorised Version, "lusts," suggests too exclusively one form of evil), which might mar the completeness of his character and work (2 Tim. ii. 22).

It is, at least, a noteworthy fact that the two disciples to whom these Epistles were addressed should have been severally examples of the apparently contrasted, but really consistent courses of action which St. Paul adopted under different circumstances. With regard to Titus, who had accompanied him to Jerusalem (probably on the journey of Acts xv.), he lays stress on the fact that "he, being a Greek," was "not compelled to be circumcised" (Gal. ii. 3). There he was contending for a principle, and the case of Titus presented itself as a crucial instance, and would have been binding as a precedent. Of Timothy, on the other hand, it is recorded that because the Jews of the district in which he lived knew that his father was a Greek, Paul "took and circumcised him" (Acts xvi. 3). Then, as there was no pressure from without, the act was not the abandonment of a principle, but a voluntary concession, in entire harmony with the Apostle's plan of becoming "all things to all men, if by any means he might save some" (1 Cor. ix. 22). In this case, too, the mother was a Jewess, and the received rule of the Rabbis in such cases was that the child of a mixed marriage inherited from the nobler side, whether it was that of father or of mother; and therefore to have sent to them as an Evangelist, not an uncircumcised Greek, like Titus, but a Jew neglecting the appointed symbol, not yet formally discarded, of God's covenant with his race, would have been a gratuitous insult to their feelings. And we note, if I mistake not, a corresponding difference in the tone adopted in the epistles to the two disciples in reference to the errors of the Judaising sects. Both, indeed, are warned against "fables," "Jewish fables," the teaching of those who profess to be "doctors of the law" (1 Tim. i. 7); but it is clear that the tone is sharper in the Epistle to Titus than it is in those to Timothy, as though the former had been more openly attacked. Among the many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, it is specially "they of the circumcision," of whom he is told that their "mouths must be stopped," that they must be "rebuked sharply."

Of the coincidence connected with the names of Claudia and Pudens, Luke and Mark, I have already spoken. Among the other names, however, which meet us in this Epistle there are some that cannot be passed over in this relation, though a few lines will suffice for each.

(1.) "Alexander the coppersmith wrought me much evil" (2 Tim. iv. 14). In the riot caused by Demetrius and his craftsmen, we find the Jews, obviously with an animus hostile to St. Paul, putting forward a certain Alexander to "make a defence," *sc.*, to vindicate himself and them from the supposition that they were involved in any complicity with St. Paul's action (Acts xix. 33). The name was too common for us to infer the identity of the one opponent with the other; but it is at least probable that a "coppersmith," a worker, *i.e.*, in bronze, would have some business relations with the silver-

smith and his followers, and that this may have led the Jews of Ephesus to select him as their spokesman. The Alexander who is mentioned in conjunction with Hymenæus is, on the other hand, probably a different person, an heretical teacher calling himself a Christian, while the other was an open antagonist.

(2.) The mention of Apollos in the Epistle to Titus (iii. 13) has a special interest. Assuming the release from the imprisonment at Rome and the renewed activity of St. Paul among the scenes of his old labours, it shows that Apollos also, of whom our last glimpse was at a distance of some ten or eleven years, had during this interval continued his activity, and that St. Paul's feelings to him had undergone no change. Just as in writing to the Corinthians, he never allows his indignation against the Apollos party to lead him to a word of bitterness against the individual teacher, and recognises that he and the man whom some looked upon as his rival had, each of them, their special calling and ministry in the Church of Christ, so now his feeling towards him is simply one of anxious friendliness. The Alexandrian Jew, "mighty in the Scriptures,' "Zenas the lawyer," given by special devotion to a study of the Law, like that of Hillel or Gamaliel—these are they whom the Apostle desires to see, as the noblest representatives of Christian Judaism, for whom he wishes such provision to be made that nothing may be wanting.

(3.) Lastly, we may note the probable significance of the earnest entreaty that Timothy, whom the Apostle expected to arrive at Rome before his martyrdom, would, when he came, bring with him the cloak that he had left at Troas, "the books, but especially the parchments" (2 Tim. iv. 13). They point, it is clear, to some hurried departure, hastened on, it may be, by threatening danger and the desertion of his friends, so that the baggage which might have delayed his progress had to be left behind. And now that he has the prospect of some months in prison, he wants the cloak which might give some warmth, even in the Mamertine dungeon, to his feeble and aged limbs. In those last hours he wants the "books" which had been the solace and guide of his life, the separate volumes of the Old Testament, the Law, the Prophets (including most of the historical books), and the Holy writings. Not even his well-stored memory, nor the fulness of spiritual illumination, nor the sense of communion with an ever-present and Divine friend, can allow him to dispense with that daily study of the written Word. And with these he wants the "parchments." What these were is left to conjecture. They may have been books of greater value, and of more costly material. But it is, I believe, more probable that the Apostle, who so constantly appealed to his rights as a Roman citizen, and who must have known that that appeal would not be officially received unless the claims were formally attested, referred, when he asked for the parchments, to his documents, to which he might appeal in proof of the claim which exempted him from torture, or from the death of a rebel or a slave.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

BY C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., MASTER OF THE TEMPLE.

"In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will."—EPHES. i. 11.

THE opening of the Epistle to the Ephesians contains the amplest, though not the most systematic, statement of St. Paul's doctrine of the Christian's salvation. It will be interesting to compare it briefly with his language elsewhere on this mysterious yet (in his treatment) profitable and practical subject.

The passage here before us extends, in one long sentence, from the 3rd to the 14th verse of the first chapter. (1) It opens with a general ascription of praise to God. *Benedicenti benedicamus.* "Blessed be God, who blessed us with all spiritual blessing"—that sort of benediction which (with Him whose "favour" is "life," and who neither feels nor speaks without doing) is benefaction too—"in the heavenly places" (compare i. 20; ii. 6; iii. 10) which are the home of the Christian because they are the home of Christ (Phil. iii. 20; Col. iii. 3)—"in Christ," the all-comprehending, all-containing One. (2) Next, in verses 4 to 6, this grand self-fulfilling "benediction" is declared to be in accordance with a Divine choice, an election prior to created being, an election centred and summed up in the foreseen and foreordained Christ; an election having for its direct aim the holiness of its objects, a holiness as in God's sight, a holiness of which the very element and atmosphere is love (verse 4). Further, this election is a predestination too; a definite designation of its objects, as by a line of boundary and demarcation, for a certain position and relationship, described as one of adoption and sonship, towards God Himself, by the agency and instrumentality of Jesus Christ; and all this in accordance with the will, not of man, but of God, and to the praise, not of man, but of God, in whose grace alone we find grace, and are endued with grace—the word ἐχαρίτωσεν suggests both these ideas —"in" [within, inside, as contained in] "the beloved One" (verses 5, 6). Thus far the subject has been that originating will and purpose of God, in the eternal past, which, in the absolute certainty of the Omniscient and the Omnipotent, can "call those things which be not, as though they were" (Rom. iv. 17). (3) Next, in

verses 7 to 12, we read of the fulfilment of this eternal purpose in time. "We have the redemption," it is ours, "through the blood of Christ." And what is it, in this its present possession? It is the remission, the dismissal, of all sin (verse 7). How ascertained, how certified to us? By the communication to us of the secret of the Divine will; of that purpose which, having Christ for its centre and sum, pointed onward to "a dispensation of [belonging to] the fulness of times"—in other words, to a Divine stewardship, an exercise and communication of bounty, to be introduced when the preliminary periods of necessary preparation should be fulfilled; a purpose which had for its direct aim the gathering up of all the scattered and sin-broken unities of earth and heaven in Christ Himself (verses 8—10). In that Divine Person we Christians—we who, as the 12th verse expresses it, "have hoped by anticipation," have set our hope, in the foreview of things still unseen, "in Christ"—form the assigned and allotted heritage of God Himself (ἐκληρώθημεν), to set forth the praise of His glory—to reflect, in thanksgiving of word and act, the manifestation which He has thus made of His own being and attributes (verses 11, 12). (4) Finally, in verses 13 and 14, the place of St. Paul's present readers, as representatives of the Gentile Christendom, within the pale of the Divine purpose and performance, is strongly and emphatically asserted. They too, like earlier disciples, hearing the Gospel, believed, and, believing, were sealed with the same Holy Spirit of promise, who is Himself the earnest of our inheritance, "unto" [pointing to, and preparing for] the actual redemption, by resurrection, of "the acquisition"—that is, of God's already purchased possession—that so, in eternal ages, the manifestation thus made of His Divine wisdom, power, and love may be the subject of adoring contemplation to a universe reconciled and reunited in Christ.

The involved structure and redundant fulness of this paragraph contrast strongly with the exact precision and almost severe terseness of Rom. viii. 29, 30. "For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified." We have here five steps distinguished. Two of these belong to a region "far above out of our sight," and can be but faintly imaged in language or conception. (1) The Divine "foreknowledge." This originating act of the Divine grace cannot with any consistency be resolved into one of mere prescience. The whole object of St. Paul in this passage is to trace to God's will and God's agency the work of human salvation. If it be only that God foresees how man will resolve, and according to that foresight of the human volition foreordains and predestinates, man is the originator, and God but the recorder—man's is the primary part, and God's the secondary, in the work of salvation—and the Apostle's whole argument founders at the outset. The "foreknowledge" spoken of is evidently a fore-approval; it denotes the resting of the mind of God beforehand upon the person with complacency and love. It corresponds to the "good purpose of His will," or "the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will," in the 5th and 11th verses of Ephes. i. (2) The Divine "predestination." The demarcation, as by limit and boundary, in the Divine purpose and counsel, of those who are first "foreknown." The word occurs twice in the passage before us in Ephes. i. In both Epistles the possible Antinomian perversion is precluded by the strongest assertion of the characteristic feature of the predestination; a conformity of spirit, and eventually of body also, to the holy Saviour Himself. "To be conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom. viii. 29). "That we should be holy and without blame before Him in love" (Ephes. i. 4). Where this likeness is not, neither is the predestination. (3) The Divine "call." The Gospel is made audible, in due season, to the destined heir of salvation. This is the copula, the connecting link, between the two eternities. This is the point of transition from the purpose to the performance—from the first two to the last two steps of the Divine procedure—from the foreknowledge and predestination to the justification and glory. It is expressed in the parallel passage to the Ephesians by the clause, "having made known unto us the mystery of His will" (Ephes. i. 9). (4) The Divine "justification." They who, hearing the Gospel of grace, believe and accept it, are at once justified—cleared from guilt, forgiven freely, and admitted into a life of love and blessing. "We have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins" (Ephes. i. 7). (5) The Divine "glorifying." "Them He also glorified." This is that final recognition of the sons of God, that future perfection, both in character and condition, of those who have been here disciplined into holiness, which is the completion and consummation of the Gospel redemption. St. Paul puts even this last act, which is necessarily future for all, into a past tense, as though for the purpose not only of asserting its absolute certainty, but also of indicating the retrospective character of the whole passage, and guarding his readers against a presumptuous self-appropriation, in this life, of its language of individual assurance. They who shall eventually see heaven, whosoever they be, shall have been the objects of a whole series of Divine acts, to which they will owe as much the first rising of the soul's desire and inquiry after God, as the "bringing forth of the headstone with shoutings" in the day of resurrection and glory. The "glory" here is equivalent to the "redemption of the purchased possession" in Ephes. i. 14.

There is another and briefer passage on the same great subject in 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14. "Because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth; whereunto He called you by our Gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ." Here (1) the "foreknowledge" and "predestination" of Rom.

viii. are abbreviated into the one term "choice;" (2) the "call" is set prominently in view, exactly in the place which it occupies alike in Rom. viii. and Ephes. i., as the connecting link between the eternal purpose and its realisation; (3) the "justification," or "possession of redemption" in "the forgiveness of sins," is replaced by that "belief of the truth" which appropriates, and that "sanctification of [or by] the Spirit" which evidences it; (4) the crowning particular is twice brought into view, first in the general form of "salvation," and then in the more precise expression, "the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ." So free and elastic are the theological terms of Holy Scripture; so consistent, so harmonious its enunciations of doctrine. So practical, moreover, so admonitory, are its introductions of abstruse, mysterious, even metaphysical truths. The passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians is a thanksgiving for the "unspeakable gift." The passage in the Epistle to the Romans is an assurance that all things *must* "work together for good to them that love God." The passage in the Epistle to the Thessalonians emphasises the security of the Christian from that "deceivableness of unrighteousness" which is the punishment of the caviller and the unbeliever. There is no such thing in Scripture as a dry, formal, or theoretical presentment even of the deepest or least comprehensible of God's truths.

In what has been said it has been assumed that the direct bearing of these statements concerning predestination and election is upon individuals and not upon communities. Such is the natural interpretation of the Church of England's 17th Article, which is indeed but the transcript (in paraphrase) of St. Paul's language in the passages quoted above. We regard it as the declaration of a Divine purpose of love, formed in eternity, wrought out step by step in time, for all such as shall eventually come to salvation. It is the thought, so humbling to human pride, that all good is of God; as much the first impulse and inclination towards repentance and faith, as the actual admission of the man "washed and sanctified" into the everlasting kingdom in heaven. St. Paul, taught of God, traces back this glorious consummation to a date prior to the very existence, not of the individual only, but of the race. He bids no man to say of himself, while he is yet in this body, "I am one of the elect—I can never perish—I am predestinated to salvation." But he bids each man say, as he enters the golden gates, "I come hither, not of my free will, but of God's grace—He laid the first stone of this blessedness when as yet I was not—He willed, He purposed, He loved, He called, He justified, now He has glorified—of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things." Thus only is "boasting excluded," when the origination, as well as the completion, of the individual salvation is ascribed to God, and God alone. The hard and proud logic which would infer reprobation from election, has no place and no footing within God's theology. All good is of God—all good and no evil. Enough if we can grasp separately, in the present, the contrary yet not contradictory principles of Divine grace and human responsibility, and wait for their reconciliation in a world and in a condition of which, in this life, we can have but the feeblest and faintest conception.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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REPTILES.

We now come to the class *Reptilia*, air-breathing, cold-blooded Vertebrates, which together with the class *Aves* form the subdivision *Sauropsida* of modern zoologists. The *Reptilia* embrace creatures such as crocodiles, turtles, tortoises, lizards, and serpents. Frogs and toads are now commonly placed in a distinct class, the *Amphibia*, because either for longer or shorter periods, or throughout the whole of their lives, they are provided with gills for aquatic respiration in addition to lungs for aërial respiration. In the *Reptilia* the heart is generally composed of two auricles opening into a single ventricle, but in the *Crocodilina* the ventricular part of the heart is separated into two cavities. In all reptiles the venous and arterial blood are more or less intermingled; the anterior limbs are sometimes absent; the caudal vertebræ frequently form a series equalling in length the rest of the body; the jaws usually possess teeth, and these are constantly reproduced during the life of the animal. But in the *Chelonia* (tortoises) the jaws are covered by a horny sheath as in birds; in the *Crocodilina* alone the teeth are provided with sockets; the tongue may be flat and immovable as in crocodiles, tortoises, and some lizards, or it may be long, bifid, and protrusible, as in serpents and other reptiles. In the *Chelonia* the body is enclosed in a bony case; in the *Crocodilina* the outer skeleton consists partly of horny scales developed by the outer layer of the skin, and partly of large bony plates produced by the inner layer of the skin. According as bony plates are combined with these scales, and constitute an osseous skeleton or not, the *Reptilia* are divided into two large groups, the *Loricata* and *Squamata*; the former group contains the *Chelonia* (tortoises, turtles) and the *Crocodilina* (crocodiles, gavials, and alligators); the latter the *Sauria* (lizards) and *Ophidia* (serpents). The word "reptile" does not occur in our English Bible; the creatures designated are usually called "creeping things," but the term is used in a much wider sense. There are two Hebrew words, viz., *remes* and *sherets*,

rendered "creeping things" in our version; and both these terms include not only reptiles properly so called, but any crawling creatures, whether possessing feet or not, whether living in the land or in the water (Gen. i. 21, 26, 28, 30; vii. 21; Lev. xi. 41, &c.). Reptiles are very numerous in Palestine, the nature and climate of the country being peculiarly suited to this class of animal life. "The limestone rocks and chalky hills afford the cover and the security, both in summer and winter, in which the serpent tribe delight. The sandy downs and wilderness of Judæa are the natural home of the myriads of lizards which dart over the plains, and on the slightest alarm conceal themselves in the sand. The tropical heat and dry atmosphere of the Jordan valley are favourable to their reproduction to an extent only limited by the supply of food" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 255). Of the *Chelonia*, the common land tortoise (*Testudo græca*) is found everywhere in abundance during the warm months; in the winter it conceals itself in holes in the earth or under rocks. Numerous birds of prey, especially the bearded vulture or lämmergeier, feed upon these tortoises, whose hard carapaces these birds break by letting them fall from a great height upon the rocks; the natives also eat both the animal and its eggs, which are hard and round, and about the size of a pigeon's eggs. Tristram procured on Mount Carmel another species of land tortoise, with a carapace somewhat flattened behind, the *Testudo marginata*. Water-tortoises (*Emys Caspica*) also abound in all the streams and marshes, especially in Lake Huleh (Waters of Merom), in the mud of which and in the bank-holes they conceal themselves during winter. The marsh or water-tortoises are not slow in their movements like the land species, for they swim with facility, and move on the land more quickly. The habits of the water-tortoises differ in some other respects from those of the land species, the latter being vegetarian in their food, while the former are carnivorous, feeding on living animals, as fish, frogs, river mollusks, &c.

It is uncertain whether the *Crocodilina* are represented in Palestine at present. Tristram thinks we have good evidence of the existence of the crocodile in the marshes of the Zerka, or "crocodile river," and says that the Arabs are familiar with it, but he never saw one himself. The *Sauria* are well represented; twenty-two species of lizards belonging to eighteen genera were collected in Palestine by Tristram's party; the large spiny-tailed dhab (*Uromastix spinipes*) is well known in the wilderness of Judæa; the chameleon (*Chameleo vulgaris*) is also common; geckos (*Ptyodactylus gecko*), with their strange fan-shaped feet, abound over the whole country, among rocks, in ruins, and on the walls and the ceilings of houses. Various species of the green lizard (as *Lacerta viridis* and *L. lævis*) are conspicuous in the woods and cultivated grounds; still more common are the wall lizards (*Zootocinæ*), of which several species occur in the Holy Land, swarming by thousands on the rocks and walls in the warm weather. The large fulvous skink, or sand lizard (*Plestiodon auratus*), with body prettily spotted with orange and red, is found in the sandy and rocky districts near the Dead Sea. The family of *Scincidæ* both in structure and habits seems to establish a sort of connection with or transition to the great division of serpents by the intervention of certain species such as those of *Anguis* and *Acontias*. In shape they are serpent-like, and the legs are sometimes rudimentary and concealed beneath the skin; they do not climb like the true lizards, but confine themselves to dry sandy places.

The sheltopusik, a snake-like lizard (*Pseudopus Pallasii*, Cuv.), with only two rudimentary hind legs and elongated body, is very common in Syria; and though generally regarded as dangerous it is perfectly harmless, feeding on other small lizards and mice in the cultivated plains.

The *Ophidia* or serpents of Palestine are very numerous, the conditions of the country favouring their increase, as in the case of the *Sauria*. Eighteen species were secured by Tristram's party, but a much larger number, it is probable, remains to be described. Thirteen of these eighteen species belong to the Colubrine sub-order of snakes, the *Serpents propres non vénimeux* of Cuvier, the harmless snakes of Dr. Gray (*Syn. Brit. Mus.*). The greater number of these Colubrine snakes belong to the genera *Ablabes* of the family *Coronellidæ*, and *Zamenis* of the family *Colubridæ*. Many are brilliantly coloured, slender, and generally of a small size, but some species are very large. The *Tropidonotos hydrus* of the family *Natricidæ*, "Fresh-water snakes," is exceedingly common in the marshes and lakes; of the sand snakes, the *Eryx jaculus* is, perhaps, the most abundant. Of the venomous snakes of Palestine there are four genera: the *Naja haje*, or "deadly cobra," a colubrine snake with grooved fangs; four viperine snakes, two true vipers (*Vipera Euphratica* and *V. ammodytes*); the Xanthian Katuka (*Daboia xanthina*), and the Toxicoa (*Echis arenicola*), "a very common and dangerous reptile in the hotter and drier parts of the country." The horned viper (*Cerastes Hasselquistii*), a small but very venomous snake, well known in the sandy deserts of Egypt and Arabia, has been repeatedly observed in Palestine, and is well known in the southern wilderness of Judæa.

The *Amphibia* are represented by the edible frog (*Rana esculenta*), which abounds in the marshy places of Palestine, and is equally common in Egypt; by the green tree-frog (*Hyla arborea*), a beautiful little creature which sits on trees and catches flies as they pass; and by one species of toad (*Bufo pantherinus*), a southern form, abundant in all parts of the country. Neither the common frog of this country (*Rana temporaria*), nor the toad (*Bufo vulgaris*), has been observed in Palestine.

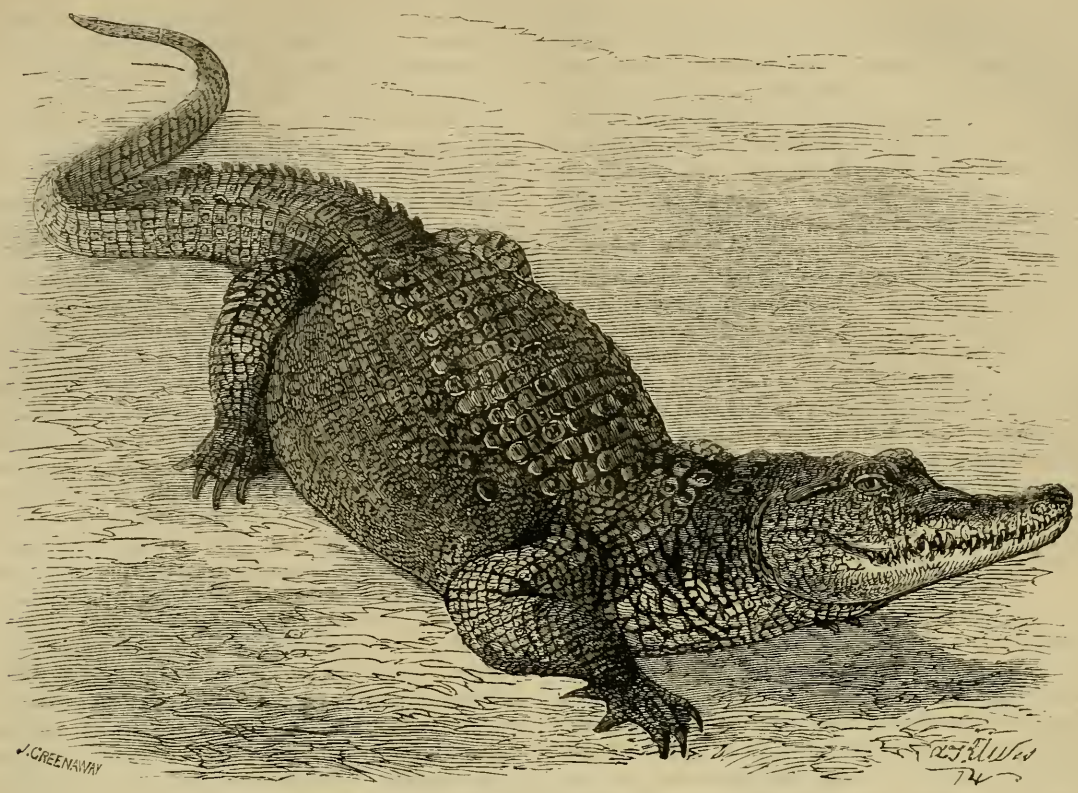
We now proceed to notice the Reptilia and Amphibia which are mentioned in the sacred writings.

The *Chelonia*—the order of Reptiles including the tortoises, turtles, and terrapenes, characterised by the body being enclosed between a double shield, out of which they protrude the head, tail, and extremities—are not definitely mentioned in the Hebrew Bible.

THE DHAB.

The English version in Lev. xi. 29 enumerates "the tortoise" amongst the "unclean creeping things" forbidden as food, but the Hebrew word *tsâb* probably denotes rather a large species of lizard than a tortoise. Land-tortoises and marsh-tortoises, as we have seen, are common in many parts of Palestine at the present day, and no doubt formerly existed in the country, and would have been known to the Jews, who would have included them amongst the "unclean creeping things." The Hebrew term *tsâb* will be considered when we come to the saurians or lizards.

The *Crocodilina*, the other order of the *Loricata*, is represented by the common crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*), which under the name of *livyâthan* is frequently alluded to in the Old Testament, though this word is used also in a generic sense, to signify any huge monster of the deep or of the rivers. For instance, in the passage in Ps. civ. 25, 26, "This great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts; there go the ships; there is that leviathan whom thou hast made to play therein," some large whale or other cetacean is intended, for "the great and wide sea" here must refer to the Mediterranean, and not to any river as the Nile. In the Authorised Version the Hebrew word is always left untranslated, with the exception of Job iii. 8, where it is rendered "mourning." It occurs five times in the text of the Old Testament, and once in the margin (Job iii. 8). In Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14, "Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength; . . . thou breakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness," the Egyptian crocodile is clearly intended. The heads of Leviathan symbolically represent the princes of Pharaoh (the great crocodile or "dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers," Ezek. xxix. 3), and his army who were destroyed in the Red Sea, and whose dead bodies cast on shore were devoured by the jackals and other wild beasts of the desert, here poetically called "the people inhabiting the wilderness." A similar figure may be seen in Prov. xxx. 25, 26, "The ants are a *people* not strong;" "The conies are but a feeble *folk*." In the passage in Isa. xxvii. 1, "In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea," the Hebrew word (*livyâthan*) may denote some large snake or python, typifying the Egyptian power, or the Hebrew *nachash* may be used in this passage not restrictively to a serpent, but to any fierce monster. The passage (Job iii. 8) in which Job curses the day of his birth—"Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning" (margin, "leviathan")—is obscure, and a better translation is,



THE CROCODILE.

"Let the cursers of the days curse it, those who can rouse the crocodile." "There is evidently an allusion to ancient and wide-spread superstitions: one of the earliest and most natural corruptions of religious feeling was a desperate struggle against the powers of nature: the sorcerer was believed, and believed himself to be able to arrest the course of day and night by incantations. It does not follow that Job adopted the belief, though he found in it an apt expression for his feelings" (Canon Cook in *Speaker's Comment*. iv. 28). The leviathan or crocodile is here, according to the same writer, "in all probability a symbol of the dragon, the enemy of light, who in old Eastern traditions is conceived as ready to swallow up sun and moon, and plunge creation into original chaos or darkness."

The most detailed account of Leviathan is to be found in the forty-first chapter of Job, a description which, though clothed in the hyperbolical garb of Oriental poetry, very graphically represents the crocodile of the Nile. "Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook, or fasten his tongue with a cord?" The tongue of the crocodile adheres to its jaws nearly up to its edges, hence the impossibility of putting a noose round it. "Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fish-spears?" The scaly armour of the crocodile is so hard that a rifle-ball often will, unless tipped with steel, glance off it as from adamant.

"Who can discover the face of his garment, or come within his double bridle?" (ver. 13): *i.e.*, "Who can lift up his outside covering" (detach his scaly skin)? The expression "double bridle" is usually explained by "the double row of teeth." The teeth of the crocodile are in one visible single row, but the teeth are hollowed at the base so as to form sheaths for the germs of teeth destined to replace them, so that the row is in fact a double one. "His eyes are like the eyelids of the morning" (ver. 18). In illustration of this idea, it is curious to notice the following passage from Horapollo: "To express sunrise, they (the Egyptians) depict the two eyes of a crocodile, because the eyes of the animal rising from the deep appear before its whole body" (*Hieroglyph*, i. 68). Some of the Egyptians, as the inhabitants of Ombi and Crocodilopolis, paid great honour to the crocodile. "Those who live not far from Thebes," says Herodotus, "and those who dwell round Lake Mœris look on these animals with great veneration. In these places the people keep one crocodile in particular who is taught to be tame. They adorn his ears with ear-rings, put bracelets on his fore-paws, giving him each day his portion of bread with a certain number of victims; and after thus treating him with great attention when alive, they embalm him when he dies, and bury him in a sacred place." Strabo gives a curious account of a tame crocodile he saw at Arsinoe, or Crocodilopolis ("crocodile-city"), as was its ancient

name. The creature was kept in a lake, and was tame and gentle in disposition; it was called *Suchus*. Visitors used to bring it bread, flesh, and wine. On one occasion the priests took a small cake, cooked meat, and a mixture of honey and milk, and went to the animal, which was lying by the edge of the water. Some of the priests then opened the crocodile's mouth, and another put into it the cake, then the meat, and then poured down the draught of milk and honey. Other Egyptian people, however, amongst whom the most celebrated were the Tentyrites, regarded crocodiles with far different feelings. The people of Elephantine, so far from considering crocodiles sacred, used to eat them. Differences of opinion in religious matters have often been a fertile source of quarrels; and as the people of Ombi treated the crocodile with every mark of veneration, and their not very remote neighbours, the Tentyrites, hunted and destroyed this saurian on every opportunity, a fierce hatred arose amongst these two people, a fact noticed by Juvenal, who speaks of the quarrel as an

"Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus."

These people of Denderah seem to have been very skilful in destroying crocodiles. Pliny speaks of them as men of small stature, but gifted with great presence of mind. He affirms that they swim in the river after a crocodile, and jump on its back. This reminds us of the celebrated exploit of the late Charles Waterton, perhaps the only Englishman who has ever ridden a crocodile. An authority quoted by Kitto, speaking of the crocodiles of the Rio San Domingo (W. Africa), says they "are so tame that they hurt nobody. It is certain that children play with them, riding upon their backs, and sometimes beating them, without their showing the least resentment." The author of the passage in the Book of Job, however, expresses the general fact, and represents the crocodile as a dangerous pet, when he asks, "Wilt thou play with him as with a bird, or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?" The crocodile of the Nile, which is found also in the Senegal and other rivers of Africa, is a formidable animal, and often seizes men as they sleep on the shore. The vertebræ of the neck bear upon each other by means of small false ribs, so that lateral motion is difficult; hence a quick turn will serve to place a man out of immediate danger. Ordinary bullets will seldom pierce the crocodile's scaly armour, but hard steel-tipped bullets from a good rifle will find an entrance. Amongst some of the Egyptians, as we have seen, the crocodile was an object of worship; its mummies are still to be found in some of the catacombs, and several may be seen in the British Museum.

Crocodiles lay eggs, twenty or thirty in number. They are about the size of those of a goose, and are deposited on the sand, where they are hatched by the heat of the sun. Numbers of the eggs and the newly-hatched young ones are devoured by ichneumons, vultures, and other predacious animals. The true crocodiles are found in Africa, Asia, and America; there are none in Europe or in Australia. The alligators are peculiar to America, the gavials to India. Numerous remains of crocodilean reptiles are found in a fossil state in our own country, from the lias to the early tertiaries.

The *Saurians* appear to be denoted by the Hebrew words *tsâb*, *anâkâh*, *letâûh*, *côach*, and *tinshemeth*.

Tsâb occurs only in Lev. xi. 29, as one of the "unclean creeping things" disallowed as food; it is rendered in our version by "tortoise." It is probable that the Hebrew word is the same as the Arabic *dhab*, "a large kind of lizard." The Septuagint renders it by "land crocodile." From the description of the word *dhab*, as given by the Arabian naturalist Damir, it appears to be either the *Psammosaurus scincus*, the *Monitor terrestris* of Cuvier, or else the Mastigure (*Uromastix spinipes*), a kindred species, very common in the deserts of North Africa and Arabia, as well as in the wilderness of Judæa. The Egyptian Mastigure is a large lizard attaining the length of two feet, of a green or greyish-green colour above, and with scattered spines on the upper side of the thigh, and conical tubercles on the sides and loins; but the chief peculiarity of this lizard consists in its tail, which is broad and thick, covered with a series of whorls of sharp hard-edged scales, which it uses with effect when irritated. According to the statements of the Arabs, the dhab is a match for the horned cerastes, whose hole it enters, and whose body it chastises with vigorous blows of its spiny tail. The Hebrew *tsâb* is derived from a root meaning "to be slow," and this is true of the Egyptian mastigure, which has a slow and awkward gait, turning its head from side to side with great caution as it walks. Dr. Tristram kept a specimen alive for some months; it was very docile, and would come at his call, sleeping in the sun during the day, supporting itself on its tail, with the nose and fore-legs leaning against the wall. The dhab rarely bites, but when it does so, "nothing will induce it to relinquish its grasp." Its food consists principally of beetles, but it does not hesitate to attack larger animals, as chickens, when in confinement. Some of the ancients tell strange stories about the mastigure. Old Topsel says: "The tail of this crocodile is very sharp, and standeth up like the edges of wedges in bunches above the ground, wherewithal when he hath mounted himself up upon the back of a beast, he beateth and striketh the beast most cruelly, to make him go with his rider to the place of his most fit execution, free from all rescue of his heardman or pastor, or annoyance of passengers, when in most cruel and savage manner he teareth the limbs and parts one from another till he be devoured" (*History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, p. 692). The figure of this lizard, which is before us as we write, is rudely drawn, but otherwise it is a very correct representation.

Anâkâh occurs once only, in Lev. xi. 30, as an "unclean creeping thing." Our version renders the word by "ferret," which it certainly does not mean. The *anâkâh* is mentioned with the *tsâb* and other kinds of lizard, so that probably the *anâkâh* is also some kind of

saurian. Etymologically, the word points to some "groaning" or "sighing" animal. The ancient versions disagree entirely; there is but one slender clue in the Ethiopic word *Angueg* or *Anguga* (Ludolf, *Lex. Aeth.*, s. v.), which in Abyssinia denotes some large river-lizard. If the Ethiopic word be the same as the Hebrew, the *anâkâh* may be taken to represent the water-lizards, such as the *Monitor Niloticus* or Varan of the Nile, while the *tsâb* may stand as the representative of the land-lizards; but it is impossible to do more than form a conjecture.

Letââh.—There is much less uncertainty as to the meaning of this word, which occurs only in the list of "unclean creeping things" (Lev. xi. 30), and is rendered "lizard" in our version. All the old versions agree in identifying the *letââh* with some kind of saurian, and some concur as to the genus indicated. The Septuagint word is καλαβωτής or ἀσκαλαβώτης; the Vulgate reads *stellio*. Now we know from Aristotle what the ἀσκαλαβώτης denotes: speaking of the woodpecker, he says, "It runs quickly upon trees, and even with its head downwards, like the *askalabotæ*." In the *Etymologicon Magnum* the askalabotes is thus explained: "A little animal like a lizard, which creeps on the walls of houses." This identifies the ascalabotes with some species of the family *Geckotidæ*, or geckos, many members of which are characterised by a peculiar lamellated structure of the toes, by means of which they are enabled to run over smooth surfaces even in an inverted position, head downwards, like house-flies on a ceiling. The Latin *stellio* also signifies "a gecko," and the name refers to the white star-like spots with which the body is covered. If we look at the Hebrew word we shall see that its derivation from a root meaning "to cling," "to adhere," or "to hold oneself," is peculiarly suitable to a gecko. It is true that other lizards have the habit of clinging to the ground or to other objects, but this is strikingly exhibited in the geckos. Their habits are thus summed up by Dr. Gray: "They live on insects and worms, which they swallow whole, the œsophagus being very large. They produce a sound by the movement of their tongues against their palate, which has given rise to their name—similar to the double click often used in riding, which has been attempted to be imitated by the word *Gecko*, Fockaie and Geitge—and also to be called postilions, claqueurs, and spitters. Nocturnal, avoiding the heat of the sun, and catch their food in cracks, in rocks, houses, &c. Their movements are very brusque, without sound, and exceedingly rapid. They hibernate, and are provided with one or two fatty masses in front of the pubis, which are said to be a provision for their nourishment during that period. The males are smaller; . . . the egg is spherical, with a hard calcareous shell" (*Catalogue of Lizards in Brit. Mus.*, p. 142). Geckos are found nearly in all parts of the world; in the greatest abundance in warm climates. They have the character—whether deserved or not—of being highly venomous, exhaling poison from the lobes of the toes. Though prettily marked, they are certainly repulsive in appearance, and hence probably the reason for the disgust they inspire. The Arabs think that contact with a gecko produces leprous sores; hence one of their names for this lizard is *Abu burs* or *Abu burays*, i.e., "Father of leprosy." Hasselquist confirms the assertion that the geckos secrete a venomous fluid. He says, "The poison of this animal is very singular, as it exhales from the *lobuli* of the toes. At Cairo I had an opportunity of observing how acrid the exhalations of the toes of this animal are. As it ran over the hand of a man who was endeavouring to catch it, there immediately rose little red pustules over all those parts which the animal had touched" (*Travels*, p. 220). Several geckos occur both in Egypt and Palestine; one of the commonest species being the fan-foot (*Ptyodactylus gecko*), Le Gecko des Maisons of Bory; it is reddish-brown, spotted with white.

Côach, a word of uncertain meaning, occurs only in Lev. xi. 30, as another "unclean creeping thing." The Septuagint and the Vulgate interpret it by "chameleon;" but this lizard is with more probability assigned to another Hebrew word—viz., *tinshemeth*. Etymologically, *côach* clearly points to some large and strong animal, probably of the Saurian family. The word *côach* occurs frequently in the Bible in the sense of "strength," "power," "wealth." There is a large lizard—common in Bible lands, in the sandy parts of Egypt, peninsula of Sinai, and in the southern parts of Judæa—the Land Monitor or Ouaran (*Psammosaurus scincus*), which may perhaps be intended by the *côach*. The Monitor of the Nile (*Monitor Niloticus*) is another large and powerful lizard, being five or six feet in length, belonging to the same family; both are eminently carnivorous in their habits, feeding on other lizards, mice, jerboas, crocodiles' eggs, &c. Either lizard may be denoted by the *côach*, but it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion.

The chameleon is thought to be denoted by the Hebrew word *tinshemeth*, which occurs only in the list of unclean creeping things (Lev. xi. 30), and is translated "mole" in our version. The context points rather to some species of lizard, and we need not be surprised to find so many kinds of lizards mentioned in the list of prohibited animals when we remember how great is their number, and how numerous the genera that are found in Palestine and the Bible lands. "Every kind of soil," says Tristram, "and every district has its numerous species, and they swarm most especially in the barren and desolate wilderness. There are lizards of the water and lizards of the land. Immense numbers are peculiar to the sandy deserts; others bask on the rocks and shelter themselves securely in the caves and fissures of the glens. Some species resort to the cultivated plains; others run among the brushwood of the Galilean hills; many others climb the trees of the forests of Gilead and Tabor, and seek their food among their branches."

The word *tinshemeth* is derived from the root *nâsham*, "to breathe," "to inhale the air;" and the chameleon certainly deserves the name of "breather,"

par excellence, as it is fond of filling its immense lungs with air till it becomes almost transparent. Chameleons live on trees, clinging to the branches with great force by their feet and prehensile tail; their movements are excessively slow, proceeding with regularity and affected gravity. They live on flies and other insects, which they procure by the rapid ejection of their elongated tongue, which is viscid at the tip; the eggs are placed on the ground under leaves; they are round, and the shell is calcareous, white, spotless, and very porous; they inhabit Asia and Africa, and are naturalised in Southern Europe. Their eyes are very curious, and capable of being moved in opposite directions; they are covered with a circular lid, pierced with a small central hole; the ears are concealed under the skin. Their faculty of changing colour is well known, but whether it is involuntary or under the control of the animal is a question at present undecided. The species that occurs in the Bible lands is the *Chameleo vulgaris*; it is extremely common in the Jordan valley.

There is yet another Hebrew word, *chomet*, occurring in Lev. xi. 30, and rendered "snail" by the A. V., which the old versions and later authorities interpret by "lizard." Fürst derives the Hebrew name from an unused root meaning "to wind," "to bend," of an animal winding itself like a serpent. It has been conjectured that the serpent-like sand-lizards, *Sepsidæ*, are probably denoted by the Hebrew term. Many of these lizards have no visible feet; when alarmed they bury themselves quickly in the sand. Several species inhabit the Bible lands; they bear some resemblance to the blindworm of this country, which is also a lizard, despite its snake-like form. Their teeth are small, and the little creatures are harmless. The Arabs of North Africa call them sand-fish, and esteem them as delicacies. The flesh is white and good.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

JOB (*concluded*).

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3. SECOND SCENE (CHAP. XV.—XXI.).

WITH the second appearance of Eliphaz we become conscious of a change, which marks the true dramatic character of the poem. We are not to expect any advance in the arguments employed by the three friends. These remain throughout in substance the same. But an entirely new turn is given to the dialogue by the mode in which they are presented. Up to this time the three have been content with general statements, which were, of course, partially true; now they step forward to a direct and personal attack. Job's speeches appear to them to be a damning proof of his impiety, and they do not hesitate to denounce him as a rebel against God (xv. 4—6, 13). This change of attitude is effected with consummate art. Hitherto the three speakers have maintained the temper becoming men charged with a grave and painful task, in which they have no doubt of success. Job, on the other hand, has been passionate and intemperate. But now the relative situation changes. In attempting to maintain their new position, the three friends stray further and further from the truth, and, as is natural, grow visibly angry. Wounded self-love shows behind their zeal for God, and, as always happens, their bigotry grows more intense with the rise of personal feeling. Job, on the other hand, becomes every moment calmer and more collected as the accusations assume a more direct form. Before, he had been confused and divided, as one who fights in the dark where friend and foe are indistinguishable. But as the charges are brought personally home to him he feels more and more the falsehood implied in them, and is more and more confirmed in his innocence. "He had before known that he was innocent, and now he feels the strength that lies in innocence, as if God were beginning to reveal Himself within him, to prepare the way for the outward manifestation of Himself."

The theme chosen by the speakers suits their indignant mood. Abandoning all attempt to comfort Job with the promises that wait on repentance, they concentrate all their powers on the description of the doom of wicked men. It is an awful picture, none the less true because of the falsehood of its application. The type of wickedness selected is one intended to cover the case of Job. It is the Oriental chieftain grown great and rich by successful violence and rapine (xv. 27, 28; xviii. 7; xx. 6—15). The successive steps of the tyrant's ruin are graphically described, from the first stings of the guilty conscience that disturbs the serenity of his proud prosperity to the oblivion that at last overwhelms and buries his infamous name (xv. 20, sq.; xviii. 7, sq.; xx.). A few delicate touches serve to detect the individual peculiarities of the three. Eliphaz is still the most dignified and considerate, and although he assumes an air of superiority, he tries to make his words less direct while he supports them with the weighty authority of tradition (xv. 17, sq.). He dwells chiefly on the terrors which haunt a guilty mind, painting, with a vividness of touch which no poetry has surpassed, the coward fears that attend an evil conscience (xv. 20—24). Bildad, whose taste for brevity makes Job's lengthy speeches especially offensive to him (xviii. 2), follows with a description of the godless man, which is a masterpiece of poetic idealising, and teems with images that have enriched literature for ever (6—14). Zophar, the most angry and the least able to disguise his wounded vanity, pursues the same theme in a series of vigorous figures, which display at

the same time the narrowness and coarseness of his mind (chap. xx.).

Job's reply to Eliphaz opens with a keen, biting sarcasm—

"I could console you with my mouth,
And you should have for comfort the movement of my lips."

But he soon drops this scornful tone, and his strain becomes elegiac and subdued. Once and again, in words of indescribable pathos,[1] he portrays his bodily and mental anguish, his condition so desolate and so hopeless (xvi. 6, sq.; xix. 13—21). As before he poured out so passionately his longing for instant death, so now, in the gentler mood that has come over his spirit, he anticipates the rest of the grave, and, bidding farewell to life, chants in strains of exquisite tenderness his own requiem—

"My spirit is spent,
My days are extinct;
There only remains the tomb." (xvii. 1.)

"All my hope is to have the grave for my abode:
I have made my bed in the darkness.

I have said to corruption, 'My father;'
To the worm, 'My mother and my sister.'[2]

And where, then, is now my hope?
As for my hope, who shall see it?

It is gone down to the gates of Sheol,
If, at least, there is rest in the dust." (xvii. 13—16.)

But through this elegiac tone the strong persistent and almost triumphant protestation of innocence is always heard.[3] And here the higher purpose of the poem comes into clearer light. The refining efficacy of affliction has already appeared in Job's gentler manner. It shows still more plainly in the purer form which his faith begins to take.

The growth of a better trust is exhibited in two ways. The creed of the three friends, which is also the creed in which Job has been educated, is confronted with the contradictory facts of experience in all their naked truth, although even now to reflect upon them brings consternation and bewilderment (xxi. 6). If villany is daring and consistent enough, it will succeed. This is true now, and was beginning to appear painfully true in Job's time (xxi. 6—13). The wicked man may openly renounce God and scoff at His judgments, and no sign of wrath is given in heaven, "the destruction which he deserves does not come upon him." But he gains all that he desires, and lives honoured and happy (14—18).[4] Utterly wide of the mark is the weary proverb that the wrath is but delayed, to fall on their posterity—

"'God,' you say to me, 'reserves this punishment for their children.'
But He should punish them, so that they might perceive it for ever.

Their eyes should see their own destruction,
They should themselves drink the wrath of the Almighty.

For what matters to them their house after them,
When once the number of their months is accomplished?"[5]
(xxi. 19—21.)

They will die? Yes, that is part of their happiness. They die like all the rest. "One man is good, another wicked; one is happy, another miserable. In the great indifference of nature they all share a common lot." But the tyrant passes away in the midst of his posterity, and even death is made sweet by the pageants that surround his burial, and the knowledge that his sculptured tomb will be the praise and envy of travellers, and continue his glory when he is gone[6] (xxi. 23—33).

That is the actual fact about the wicked man, whom, in spite of their intimate knowledge of his character, the three friends identify with Job. Such he might have been had he been openly godless. The contrast between this state of happiness and his own wretched condition, as he sits on his ash-heap alone in his forlorn nakedness, a mark of scorn for even his nearest friends, is all the more impressive because it is drawn by the hand of the sufferer. And the poet discloses his high aim in the noble exclamation which rises to the hero's lips while they describe a lot which in outward respects is so enviable—

"May the counsel of the wicked be far from me."
(xxi. 16.)

That thought was dictated by a feeling which anticipated the teaching of the Cross of Christ. "Job was learning to see that it was not in the possession of enjoyment; no, nor of happiness itself, that the difference lies between the good and the bad. True it might be, that God sometimes, even generally, gives such happiness—gives it in what Aristotle calls an ἐπιγιγνόμενον τέλος—but it is no part of the terms on which He admits us to His service, still less is it the end which we may propose to ourselves on entering His service. Happiness He gives to whom He will, or leaves to the angel of nature to distribute among those who fulfil the laws upon which it depends. But to serve God and to love Him is higher and better than happiness, though it be with wounded feet, and bleeding brows, and hearts loaded with sorrow."[7]

If this is the goal to which Job is gradually struggling through his outward trial, the issue of the conflict put upon him by his friends is no less glorious and clear. Obliged by his own sincerity to deny their assumption that his sufferings are just, and driven, in order to account for them, to contemplate the Divine power as

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[1] See xix. 21—
"Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O my friends;
For the hand of God hath touched me."

[2] Cf. Shakspeare, *Rom. and Juliet*—
"Here, here will I remain
With worms that are thy chambermaids; oh here
Will I set up my everlasting rest."

[3] See xvi. 17.

[4] This does not appear in A. V. Translate—
"Lo, their good! is it not in their hand?
(The counsel of the wicked be far from me.)
How rarely is the candle of the wicked put out,
Or his destruction come upon him,
Or God distributing to him a lot of wrath,
That they are as stubble before the wind,
Or as chaff that the storm carrieth away?"

[5] The force of this passage also is entirely missed in the A. V.

[6] Verse 32, "And shall remain in the tomb," margin, "Shall watch in the heap," has been variously explained. The best commentators are now agreed that it refers to the monument of the dead man sculptured on his tomb, in which he seems to watch even in death over the possessions in which he gloried when alive.

[7] Froude, *ut supra*.

capricious and inimical, he yet supports himself more and more by the brave certainty that there is a just God, who abides in heaven as the witness to his innocence and the arbiter of his cause (xvi. 18—21). The conception of an Invisible One who can "be wrought to sympathy" with human hopes and fears grows clearer with every utterance of the sufferer. At last there comes one of those flashes of inspiration by which from time to time God heralds his fuller revelation. Whatever be the literal meaning of the celebrated passage in chapter xix.—its difficulties are discussed below—from which to English ears thoughts of an incarnate Saviour and a resurrection from the dead can never be dissociated, it is certain that it leaps in its large aspiration far beyond the purest hopes that up to this time had stirred even Hebrew hearts. In the intense feeling that justice must and will be done, Job is made to cast one marvellous look through the mysterious darkness of death, and see God, his avenger, stand as it were above his dust, and vindicate his character upon his grave. In this great hope he is able himself to live again, and to appropriate the living Redeemer, and look upon Him when the skin is wasted from his bones and the worms have done their work on the body which now imprisons his spirit.[1]

[1] The literal rendering of chap. xix. 25—27 (which may be fairly obtained from the A. V. by omitting the italics and correcting from the margin) is as follows:—

"And I know, my vindicator lives;
And the last, He will arise over the dust;
And after my skin, which has been thus torn to pieces,
And from my flesh, shall I see God.
Yea, I shall see Him for myself,
Mine eyes shall behold Him, none other;
My reins pine away within me."

The word *goel*, translated "vindicator," means *blood-avenger* or *kinsman* (Numb. xxxv. 12). But in Prov. xxiii. 11; Lam. iii. 58, &c., it implies one who procures justice or compensation for the oppressed (see Delitzsch *in loc.*). It is as the rescuer of his honour, the vindicator of his character, that Job contemplates God in this passage (cf. xvi. 19). The term is applied to God in Exod. vi. 6; Isa. xliii. 1; xlviii. 17, &c., as the one who redeems from the bondage of Egypt or the Babylonian exile. From Isa. lix. 20, St. Paul applies the word to Christ (Rom. xi. 26, trans. "deliverer" in A. V.), but *goel* is nowhere in the O. T. applied to the Messiah.

The second line may mean—

"At the last He will arise upon the earth,"

or

"At the last He will arise over my dust."

The third line can mean nothing else but—

"After my skin has been torn in shreds from my bones."

In line 4, the words "from my flesh" have given rise to much controversy. Some would give them the sense "when my flesh has been made whole again." But this quite destroys the parallelism with the preceding line, and would be inconsistent with the character of Job's feeling at the time, which induces him to look for certain death, and to reject all thought of recovery. To understand it as an anticipation of a bodily resurrection in St. Paul's sense would, of course, be to import into the Old Testament ideas quite foreign to it. And the particle translated "from" may be more correctly understood as "free from," *i.e.*, "deprived of." This preserves the parallelism—

"And after my skin, thus torn in shreds,
Even as a fleshless skeleton, I shall see God."

That there is any direct, still less conscious, anticipation here of an incarnate Redeemer, and of a resurrection in the flesh, can only be admitted with extreme violence, not only to the passage itself, but to the whole tenor of the Book of Job. On the other hand, this is not the mere expression of conviction that God will appear *in this life* as the avenger of Job's innocence, and present Himself to His servant's view when reduced to a mere skeleton and consumed by his cruel disease. It is true that this actually happens in the sequel. But comparison with xvii. 16; xx. 11; xxi. 26, shows that by the word "dust" the grave is most probably intended, and "without my flesh" implies more than the emaciation of sickness.

The passage is a further expansion of the thought of chaps. xiv. 13—15; xvi. 18, 19, in which the sufferer, in whose heart an image of the eternal God of love and justice is beginning to displace that of a God of mere caprice (see this worked out in Delitzsch and Ewald), catches at the hope that even after death the bond between his Maker and himself would hold. There he trusted to hear the assuring voice, and maintained the existence of a Witness to his innocence in heaven. Here, by a momentary outburst of triumphant faith, he "knows" he will actually in the spirit behold his Redeemer. Thus he "plants the flag of victory upon his own grave." Thus "the doctrine of immortality gleams forth like a solitary star in the darkness." [See Delitzsch, Ewald, Davidson, and Renan (trans.). The same view is held by Vaihinger, Umbreit, Hupfeld, and others.] And thus, we may add, though unconsciously, this unknown writer shows the existence in the heart of man of a need which only the fuller revelation of Jesus Christ would meet and satisfy.

4. THIRD SCENE (CHAPS. XXII.—XXXI.).

Only one more opening was left for Eliphaz. The hypothesis on which he had proceeded, that Job would yield before the indirect charges brought against him, had been met with indignant and consistent denial. He now withdraws the restraint which friendship and respect had placed upon his lips, and proceeds to change conjectures into certainty by arguing that the sufferer's misfortunes are the result of particular crimes, which he enumerates with unsparing severity and minuteness (xxii. 5—11; 17—24). It is a proof of the profound insight into character possessed by the poet that these falsehoods are powerless to make Job angry. He does not deign to reply to them. There was nothing to reply. If, indeed, God's tribunal could be reached, where, instead of unworthy and baseless invective, the sufferer felt he would meet justice and even sympathy (xxiii. 6, 7), then he would plead his cause and maintain his innocence. But turn where he will, all is darkness and silence. God Himself is not to be found. And the evidence of His presence in the world, if evidence at all, is such as to produce consternation and despair (xxiii. 8—17). For everywhere around are victims of oppression and cruelty, unfriended and unavenged—

"Where groans are heard rising from the city,
The soul of the wounded crieth out for vengeance;
And God takes no heed of their wrongs." (xxiv. 12.)

The robber, the adulterer, the assassin, pursue their abominable crimes, and as long as they escape detection by man, God has no care; neither living nor dying do they suffer retribution. The curses of their victims do not hurt them in life, and cannot follow them when they drop off "in their proper time like ears of ripe corn," happy even in death (xxiv. 13—24).

"If it is not so, who will make me a liar,
And make my speech nothing worth?"

These incontestable facts silence, if they do not convince. Zophar retires altogether from the contest. Bildad sounds the note of retreat. He contents himself with a picture of the greatness of that God whose real character he so little understood; and is proudly cut short by Job, who, after a few words of satire, takes

up the same theme of Divine majesty, and pursues it in a spirit of loftiness which Bildad could not have approached. But even while confessing that all creation is confounded by the glory and might of its Maker, of whose ways it can but perceive a small portion and catch but the faintest echo of His mighty voice (xxvi. 14), the sufferer can still solemnly appeal to this dread Being, and with an oath protest his integrity and his truth.

"As God liveth, who denies me my right,
And the Almighty who hath sorely vexed my soul;
All the while my breath is in me,
And the spirit of God is in my nostrils,
My lips shall not speak wickedness,
Nor my tongue pronounce a lie.
God forbid that I should grant you to be in the right;
Till I die I will not remove my integrity from me.
My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go;
My heart does not reproach me for a single one of my days."[1]
(xxvii. 2—6.)

And now a new note is struck—a note which it is important we should catch, since upon our perception of it depends our appreciation of the grandeur of purpose in the conclusion of the poem. Job's experience of life, tried as it had been by severe suffering, and tested by its power to silence his friends, has led him on to a great height. "He had seen the fact that the wicked may prosper, and in learning to depend upon his innocency he had learnt that the good man's support was there if it was anywhere; and at last, with all his heart, was reconciled to the truth." But this conclusion had not solved the mystery of the outer world. That was deeper and deeper to him. Better try no longer to understand it.[2] "The wisdom that can compass that mystery, he knows, is not in man, though man search for it deeper and harder than the miner[3] searches for the hidden treasures of the earth." The only wisdom within man's reach is the moral wisdom of right purpose and good act.

"Behold the fear of God—that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil—that is understanding."[4]
(xxviii. 28.)

"Here, therefore, it might seem as if all was over. There is no clearer or purer faith possible for man; and Job had achieved it. His evil had turned to good; and sorrow had severed for him the last links which bound him to lower things. He had felt that he could do without happiness, that it was no longer essential, and that he could live on, and still love God and cling to Him. But he is not described as of præternatural, or at all Titanic nature, but as very man, full of all human tenderness and susceptibility. His old life was still beautiful to him. He does not hate it, because he could renounce it; and now that the struggle is over, the battle fought and won, and his heart has overflowed in that magnificent song of victory, the note once more changes; he turns back to earth to linger over those old departed days, with which the present is so hard a contrast; and his parable dies away in a strain of plaintive but resigned melancholy"[5] (xxix., xxx.).

But from this mournful tone the thought of the unjust charges against him soon arouses him, and with one more strong and explicit protestation of his perfect obedience to the highest laws of conscience and God, he appeals for the last time to his Divine Judge, arraigns in imagination the prisoner at the dread tribunal, and in the most solemn manner declares his integrity and pleads his cause (chap. xxxi.). And here the scene ends, and we are formally told that "these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes."[6]

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[1] So far the intention of the poet is clear, and has been pursued with the strictest regard to dramatic truth. But a passage follows of some obscurity and of doubtful purpose. In chap. xxvii. 13—23, Job appears to recede from the position to which he had been driven by the result of his observation, and to concede the very point which he has hitherto maintained so resolutely and well. Many attempts have been made to avoid the difficulty. Kennicott was the first to suggest that the third speech of Zophar had accidentally been transferred to Job. According to this hypothesis, chaps. xxvi. 2—xxvii. 12 contain the reply to Bildad, and Zophar begins chap. xxvii. 13. Eichhorn supposed Job to be stating his adversaries' case merely to reply to it. But he does not reply. Ewald, again, understands the passage as an intentional recantation of Job, who had in the heat of argument been carried too far. But this seems inconsistent with Job's solemn oath of innocence at the beginning of chapter xxvii. The most feasible explanation is the one most agreeable to the dramatic necessity of the poem. The whole of chap. xxvii., after verse 7, is couched in a tone of indignant satire. After protesting in the most solemn way his own innocence, the hero turns round on his adversaries with the very principles invoked against himself. He acknowledges the general truth of their views of Divine retribution, which he may safely do without allowing that every unhappy man must be wicked, only to threaten them with the fate they deserve. They, not he, are wicked; on them, not on him, will fall the terrors of the sword, the pestilence, and the storm. This, which is Renan's view, is substantially that of Delitzsch, who says, "Job holds up the end of the evil-doer before the friends, that from it they may infer that *he is not an evil-doer;* whereas the friends hold it up before Job that he might infer that he *is* an evil-doer."

[2] For chap. xxviii. 3, 4, see Vol. III., p. 51. It is a passage which owes its elucidation entirely to modern exegesis. The ancient versions and the A. V. can make nothing of it. The old commentators speak of it as "Cimmerian darkness."

[3] Mining operations may have become familiar to the author—(1.) from the "Iron mount" of Josephus, between Wady Zerka (Jabbok) and Abarim. (2.) In Sinai, where frequent traces of mines are discovered by travellers. (3.) In Egypt. (4.) In Lebanon.

[4] Cf. Eccles. xii. 13. By and by Jehovah will Himself show His servant how Nature reflects, not only His greatness, but His wisdom, and subserves the higher purposes of moral order.

[5] Froude, *ut supra.*

[6] In chap. xxiv. 1—8 we have a passage which, when compared with chaps. xvii. 6, xxx. 1—10, becomes of considerable historical interest and importance. As rendered in the A. V., there is some confusion. Verse 7 should be translated—

"They pass the night naked, without clothing,
And have no covering against the cold."

It is thus seen to refer to the same people, whose miserable condition is described in the other verses, and in chap. xxx. 1—10. Ewald recognised in this a description of the Horites or Troglodytes of Edom, a remnant of one of the aboriginal tribes, strangers alike to the Hebrews and their cognate tribes, and to the Canaanites, who, in the time of the poet, were reduced to a state of homeless and abject misery, living a gipsy or bush life, and a prey to every powerful tribe.

In chap. xxix. 18, many commentators (*e.g.*, Delitzsch, Davidson) see a mention of the fable of the phœnix. The word *khol,* translated "sand" in the A. V., is identified by many ancient Rabbins (cf. Ps. ciii. 5) with the mythical Egyptian bird who was supposed to live a thousand years, and at the end of that time burn itself in its own nest that a new and young phœnix might spring from the ashes.

Verse 24 of chap. xxx. has been a cause of great difficulty. The A.V.,

"Howbeit he will not stretch out his hand to the grave (marg. 'heap'),
Though they cry in his destruction,"

gives no intelligible sense. The word rendered "heap" in the

5. ELIHU (CHAPS. XXXII.—XXXVII.).

It seems probable from chap. xvii. 8, 9 that there was an audience around the speakers who were variously impressed by what they heard. Bildad also commences his second speech (xviii. 2) in the plural. Among these spectators hitherto silent, or expressing their feelings only by signs, was a young man named Elihu, a Buzite, a descendant, that is, of a collateral branch of the family of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 21; cf. Jer. xxv. 23). Seeing, however, that his elders "had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job," he is impelled by an irresistible inspiration to throw himself into the discussion, and not without signs of impatience from the sufferer (xxxiii. 31) proceeds to deliver his opinions in a long address. Every reader feels that this appearance of Elihu is an interruption to the regular action of the drama. No notice is taken of this speaker by Jehovah, nor is he mentioned either in the prologue or epilogue. The opening words of God, in chap. xxxviii., "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" are only addressed to Job, and imply that he had just then spoken. This connection is broken by Elihu's discourses. Even in the English version the style of this portion is perceptibly different; it is more rhetorical and discursive, and the poetry, though sometimes fine, wants the intense and vivid colouring of the rest of the book. In a commentary the difference of language is at once perceptible. The difficulties of this part are far fewer and smaller than elsewhere, and arise from quite different causes. There are other arguments, too long to be inserted here, which seem to point to a later origin and insertion of this portion of the poem. Whether the same author added it in later life (as Renan supposes), or some other hand interpolated it, will never be known. The reason of the addition is plain. In the original plan of the work no room was left for the development of one most important truth more than once hinted at, that suffering is in itself a means of moral purification. Elihu's idea of punishment is not, as that of the others, the vindictive, but the reformative. It is to teach them, and bring them to His feet in humble prayer, that God visits sinners (xxxiii. 23—30). But there are put into his mouth charges against Job as severe and reprehensible as those of the three friends, and he is guilty of misrepresenting the sufferer's language (xxxiv. 8). Besides this, the speeches consist chiefly of descriptions of Divine power.

6. FOURTH SCENE (CHAPS. XXXVIII.—XLII. 6).

Whatever be the relation of the section just closed to the rest of the poem its insertion is managed with considerable art. During the last few moments of his speech, Elihu makes us sensible of the tempest gathering in the heavens, from the bosom of which the awful voice of Jehovah breaks in a thunder-peal. Both in the sublimity of its conception, and in the incomparable grandeur of its poetry, this scene is the crown of the whole poem. At first it does not seem to contain any answer to the questions raised, or solution of the difficulties with which the book deals. As a Theodicæa, as a justification of God's ways to man, it speaks no more than the natural works, of which it gives such vivid and life-like pictures, speak. It is one of God's *silences*, not one of His revelations. It has a voice only for "those who have ears to hear." And yet it humbles Job "to dust and ashes." It completes the work of restoration in his soul. His error had consisted, not in maintaining his innocence, nor in denying with indignant scorn the shallow inferences of his friends, but in the assumption that he too could penetrate behind the veil and read the mystery and ways of God. The burden of the drama is, not that we do, but that we do not, and cannot, fathom the mind of the Divine Ruler of the world—that it is not for man to know it, nor for God to reveal it. When, therefore, the Almighty at length speaks, in answer to Job's repeated challenge, it is not to argue, it is not to answer, but to unfold the glory and wonder of creation in a series of living pictures, "to point, with mighty but tender irony, to the arch of the rainbow and the fountains of the dawn, and to amaze, to startle, to humble the dust and ashes of mortality with the miracles of His power; to convince them that man is nothing-perfect, and that God is All-complete." But it is not only to convict man of his impuissance and his inability to comprehend the movements of the Divine mind that Job is catechised on his knowledge of the laws of nature, on the diffusion of light, the formation of rain, or the marvels of the treasure-house of ice and snow. It is not merely to convince him of the nothingness of his puny strength that, after he has "girt his loins like a man" (xxxviii. 3), he is confronted one by one with inferior creatures which yet defy his dominion and laugh at his pretension and pride, so that the "lord of creation" is left "encircled with a universal chorus of contempt."[1] He is to learn, in the first place, that "God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor our ways as His ways;" but at the same time he is to learn that in the outward manifestation of Himself in nature there *is* enough to confirm the testimony of conscience to a moral order, founded on perfect justice and directed by perfect wisdom. The temerity which could for a moment question this, needed reproof and humiliation, while the faith which caught at something higher still,

margin might refer metaphorically to Job (this heap of ruins) if the rendering "Only may He not stretch out His hand to a heap of rubbish" accorded with the second member of the verse. It seems better to understand by it *overthrow* or *falling*, as Delitzsch—

"Doth not one, however, stretch out the hand in falling?
Doth he not raise a cry for help on that account in his ruin?"

Job feels himself hurried along to death, but by an instinct of self-preservation tries to check his fall.

[1] "This is the sting of these matchless descriptions. They exhibit the laughter of God at man's pride and folly, passing in reverberated echoes throughout the free and noble creatures of His hand—the lion roaring, the hawk soaring, the wild ass spurning, the eagle screaming, the horse snorting, the peacock strutting, the ostrich tossing, behemoth brooding, and leviathan lashing the deep into laughter, all in token of their perfect and united derision of man's pretensions, his character and his virtues." (Gilfillan, *Bards of the Bible*, p. 55.)

and claimed love and sympathy as well as justice in the Divine dispensations, needed to be confirmed. By tender and beautiful touches these lessons are brought out.

The proud and powerful animals which laugh at weak man have got their proper place in creation, where they live according to the nature with which God has endowed them. The ordinary phenomena of the universe serve the higher purposes of the moral order—the dawn of day puts an end to the works of darkness, snow and hail act as Divine judgments (xxxviii. 12—15, 22, 23). The sea is kept within appointed bounds, and the pride of its waves stayed (xxxviii. 11), that man may not suffer from their destructive power, while even on the desert God's bounty overflows in kindly though useless rain (ver. 26). As in the Sermon on the Mount so here, the common and every-day sights of Nature, the grass, the flowers, the birds, are made the vehicles of the lessons of humility, gratitude, and peaceful dependence on the one wise and just and perfect God.

Twice only does the proved and humbled saint—who had so longed for opportunity to open his cause at God's tribunal—venture to reply. It is but to confess his inability to reply. In broken accents, and in confusion, which shows how utterly all self-consciousness has disappeared, and how true and noble is his penitence, Job rises out of his weakness in repenting of it, and "by losing himself finds himself."

7. THE EPILOGUE.

God does not justify His ways to man, but He pronounces judgment on the past controversy. "The self-constituted pleaders for Him, the accepters of His person, were all wrong; and Job—the passionate, vehement, scornful, misbelieving Job—he had spoken the truth; he at least had spoken facts, and they had been defending a transient theory as everlasting truth."

Nor was the judgment confined to words. The general law which, however large the exceptions, tends to connect prosperity and goodness, is admitted and confirmed, and our sense of fitness satisfied, by the outward indemnification to Job for his outward sufferings. The lesson taught to him and us, although independent of this result, perhaps needed it for its completion. Happiness and enjoyment, if regarded as things essential, "have a tendency to disennoble our nature, and are a sign that we are still in servitude to selfishness. Only when they lie outside us, as ornaments merely to be worn or laid aside as God pleases—only then may such things be possessed with impunity. Job's heart in early times had clung to them more than he knew, and now they were restored because he had ceased to need them."

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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MILES COVERDALE (*continued*).

THE quotation which has been given from the dedication to Coverdale's Bible will prepare the reader for finding but little originality in the work. Had we no specimen of Coverdale's translation, we should conclude that he ought to be placed in the same class with Wycliffe and Purvey rather than with Tyndale. The title-page alleges that the work has been faithfully translated out of Dutch (*i.e.*, German) and Latin into English. It is true that other copies of the book have a title-page from which these words are absent; but the agreement between them and Coverdale's statement is so complete, that we cannot but regard the title as presenting Coverdale's own description of his work. The accuracy of this statement has indeed been denied, but its correctness may easily be shown by comparing Coverdale's version with the translations which we know to have been extant in his time. If, for example, we compare the two translations of Numb. xxiv. 15—24 which have been given, from Tyndale's Pentateuch and Coverdale's Bible respectively, we find an amount of agreement sufficient to prove that Coverdale had Tyndale's translation before him, but with this a considerable amount of divergence—about twenty-seven variations in every hundred words. Where the two translators differ, Coverdale is almost invariably in agreement with Luther's version and the Zurich Bible (see Vol. I., p. 260). A minute examination of an easy chapter in the New Testament, Luke xv., leads to similar results. The agreement in ver. 13, "took his journey into a far country, and there he wasted his goods with riotous living," would of itself be sufficient to prove that Coverdale's translation was not independent of Tyndale's. There are, however, nearly one hundred and fifty variations, some suggested by the Vulgate, but almost all in agreement with Luther. In the Pentateuch and in the New Testament the difference between Luther's version and the Zurich Bible is usually limited to points of dialect: where these two versions are really at variance, Coverdale generally shows a marked preference for the Zurich Bible. The more carefully the question is studied, the more probable does it appear that the "five interpreters" whom Coverdale was "glad to follow" were the four already mentioned and the Latin translator Pagninus.[1]

Coverdale's relation to Tyndale requires a little

[1] See especially the Fourth Appendix in Westcott's *History of the English Bible*. Dr. Westcott traces to their source almost all the alternative renderings given in the margin of Coverdale's Bible. The few renderings which he does not identify have since been discovered in other editions of the two German versions.

further attention. No writer on the subject appears to have noticed how this relation varies in different parts of the New Testament. Luke xv., referred to before, will serve as a specimen of the historical books—the Gospels and the Acts. In most of the Epistles Coverdale makes many changes. Taking sixty verses at random from Romans, 2 Corinthians, 2 Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews, we find that Coverdale departs from Tyndale's Testament of 1534 rather more than twice in every verse. In the subjoined extract from Romans iii. (in modern spelling), the words which differ from Tyndale are printed in italics:—

"What *furtherance* then *have* the *Jews?* Or what advantageth circumcision? Surely very much. First: unto them was committed *what* God *spake. But whereas* some of them did not believe *thereon*, what then? *should* their unbelief make the promise of God *of none* effect? God forbid. Let *it rather be thus, that* God *is* true, and all men liars. As it is written: That thou *mayest* be justified in thy *sayings*, and shouldest overcome when thou art judged. *But* if *it be so, that* our unrighteousness *praiseth* the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God *then* unrighteous, *that he is angry therefore?* (I speak *thus* after the manner of men) God forbid. How *might* God then judge the world? *For* if the *truth* of God *be* through my lie *the* more excellent unto his praise, why *should* I *then be* judged *yet* as a sinner? and not rather *to do thus* (as *we are* evil *spoken of*, and as some *report*, that we *should* say). Let us do evil, that good may come thereof. Whose damnation is just."

In the first Epistle of St. John, Professor Westcott reckons about one alteration for every verse. In the Epistles of St. Peter also there are many changes. In the Epistle of St. James, however, containing 108 verses, the difference between Coverdale and Tyndale amounts to *three words only;* and even here the change merely consists in the adoption of Tyndale's earlier instead of his later rendering. In St. Jude the agreement is complete. In Revelation i. two words are altered. One of these is *angel* for *messenger* (verse 20): throughout the Epistles to the Seven Churches Coverdale retains this word, whereas Tyndale, with strange inconsistency, has now *messenger*, now *angel*, and once (chap. iii. 7) *tidings-bringer*. In chap. ii. there are besides two slight verbal changes, and one alteration which is sufficiently interesting to be noticed more particularly. In verse 3, "and hast suffered and hast patience" is the very clear rendering of Tyndale's earlier Testament; but in his second edition we are startled to find the words "didst wash thyself" in the place of "hast suffered." Strange as the words appear in this connection, we find on examination that they are a faithful translation of Erasmus's Greek text, which in the Apocalypse was very incorrect. Coverdale, *gaining* by his dependence on other translators in such an instance as this, where the text of the Greek was incorrectly given, naturally retained the earlier words, and Tyndale's later rendering found no place in any other version.

Although Coverdale's is but a secondary translation, a version derived from other versions, its importance in the history of the English Bible is great. We cannot too carefully bear in mind that in three-fourths of the Old Testament this was the first printed version presented to the English reader. Throughout this large portion of the Bible Coverdale for the present stands alone. Some isolated chapters had been published by Tyndale, the "Epistles from the Old Testament," already described; but a comparison of the two versions of Isaiah xii. will show that they have little in common. If we go on to compare with both the chapter as it stands in our present Bibles, we shall find that, in one hundred points of translation, the Authorised Version agrees with Tyndale against Coverdale in thirty-two, with Coverdale against Tyndale in twenty-seven, with both in nineteen, with neither in twenty-two. In Luke xv. the Authorised Version accords with these two versions where they agree with each other, except in about one instance in every verse. In ninety-four instances the Authorised Version agrees with Tyndale against Coverdale, in thirty-two with Coverdale against Tyndale: in nineteen places where the two differ the Authorised Version agrees with neither. We will not further tax the patience of our readers by numerical statements. Such analyses, however, are the only means by which the exact relation of the versions can be made clear.

Coverdale's Bible is divided into six parts. The first contains the Pentateuch; the second, the historical books from Joshua to Esther (or, as it is here written, *Hester*), Ezra and Nehemiah being denominated 1 and 2 Esdras; the third, Job, the Psalter, the "Proverbs of Salomon," the "Preacher of Salomon," and "Salomon's Balettes." In the fourth, embracing the prophetical books, Baruch (with the Epistle of Jeremy) finds a place before Ezekiel; but a note at the end states that the book "is not in the canon of the Hebrew," and a later notice explains that Baruch belongs to the Apocrypha, but is "set among the prophets next unto Jeremy, because he was his scribe, and in his time." The Book of Lamentations is thus introduced: "And it came to passe (after Israel was brought into captiuyte, and Jerusalem destroyed) that Jeremy the Prophet sat wepinge, mournynge, and making his mone in Jerusalem; so that with an heuy herte he sighed and sobbed, sayenge." Part 5 contains the Apocryphal Books, arranged in the same order as in the Authorised Version: the Prayer of Manasses, however, is omitted altogether.

The sixth part of Coverdale's Bible consists of the New Testament. In the table of contents the books are arranged in the same order as in Luther's and Tyndale's Testaments, but are placed in three groups:—(1) The Gospels and Acts; (2) the Epistles of St. Paul; (3) the Epistles of St. Peter and St. John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Revelation. No part has any

preface, with the exception of the fifth, containing the Apocrypha; but at the commencement of the volume there is a dedication to King Henry, which is followed by a prologue to the Christian reader. Each book (except the Psalms, Solomon's Song, Lamentations, and two or three short pieces in the Apocrypha) is preceded by a table setting forth the contents of the several chapters; hence in the body of the work there are no headings of chapters. There is, as a rule, no division into short verses, but every chapter is subdivided into sections (indicated by letters, A, B, &c.), each section answering to perhaps five or six of our verses. These sections, however, are frequently broken up into smaller paragraphs. Four chapters of Lamentations are divided as in our Bibles, the Hebrew letters which commence the several verses being placed in the margin. A few references to similar or parallel passages are supplied, together with the marginal notes to which we have already referred. Besides those notes which contain alternative renderings, we find a few of an explanatory kind. Thus in Numbers xxxiii. the high places are stated to be "hill-chapels, or altares builded vpon hilles." In Job ix. 9, on "the seven stars," we read, "some call the seuen starres the clock henne with hir chekens." At the end of the Psalter is given a note on Selah: "In the psalter this worde Sela commeth very oft, and (after the mynde of the interpreters) it is asmoch to saye as, allwaye, contynually, for ever, forsoyth, verely, a liftinge vp of the voyce, or to make a pause, and earnestly to consider, and to ponder the sentence." In Acts xxvii. "syrtes" (in the Authorised Version "quicksands") are explained as "perlous places in the see;" and in Titus i. 12, Epimenides is given as the name of the "own prophet." There are in all twenty-three of these explanatory notes.

The most interesting portion of Coverdale's Old Testament is the Psalter. It is hardly too much to say that this portion is still familiar to all who read the Book of Common Prayer, for the Prayer-Book Psalter is in essence the Psalter of Coverdale's Bible. Out of the seventeen verses in the Prayer-Book version of Psalm xc., a very difficult Psalm, twelve stand now exactly as they stood in 1535; in the six Psalms, xc.—xcv., the amount of difference between Coverdale's Bible and the Prayer-Book is little more than two words in each verse. The numbering of the Latin version is retained, so that Psalm ix. is joined with x., Psalm cxiv. with cxv.; cxvi., and also cxlvii., are divided into two. In each case a note of explanation is supplied. The titles of the Psalms are abridged, everything except the indication of authorship being, as a rule, omitted: no notices such as Song of Degrees, Maschil, or Michtam, are to be found. Most of those who are accustomed to the liturgy of the Church of England are strongly attached to the Psalter as given in the Prayer-Book. The greater freedom of translation, the introduction of words which may make the sense clearer, the tender rhythm, for the sake of which expansion and paraphrase are not unfrequently adopted, are characteristics which with many go far to atone for the inferiority of the version in point of exactness. It must not be supposed, however, that Coverdale's Psalter is of interest for those only who are familiar with the Book of Common Prayer. A multitude of passages, remarkable for beauty and tenderness, and often for strength and vigour, are common to both our versions of the Psalms, and are due to Coverdale. "My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever." "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." "Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me." "For thy lovingkindness is better than life; my lips shall praise thee." "Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: they all shall wax old, as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." It would be easy to multiply these quotations, some identical in their language with the Authorised Version, some agreeing with it in almost every point of importance; but enough has been given to show to how great an extent the noble language of our Psalter is derived from the Bible of 1535.

In the other poetical books, in the Prophets, and in the Apocrypha, a much smaller proportion of Coverdale's work survives in our present Bibles. Every page of the older version contains many phrases and turns of expression which are familiar to us all, but comparatively few passages of any length have remained untouched by successive revisers and translators. It is not difficult to find passages in which the change is but slight. "Incline your ears, and come unto me, take heed and your soul shall live. For I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David." "Seek the Lord while he may be found; call upon him while he is nigh." "But who may abide the day of his coming?" "She [*i.e.*, Wisdom] is the breath of the power of God, and a pure clean expressing of the clearness of Almighty God. Therefore can no defiled[1] thing come into her, for she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the undefiled mirror of the majesty of God, and the image of his goodness. And for so much as she is one she may do all things, and being stedfast herself she reneweth all, and among the people conveyeth she herself into the holy souls."

It would be easy to accumulate examples on the other side, and point out the faults of the version. These faults are in the main those of the authorities whom Coverdale followed: as a translation from German (and Latin) sources, the work is deserving of high praise for faithfulness and beauty.

To one peculiarity the translator himself has called attention. The reader will remember his defence of the principle of varying the English rendering of the same word. He has certainly illustrated this principle in his work, but perhaps not so frequently

[1] In the text "vndefyled,"—clearly an error of the press.

as we might have expected. In the words which express the idea of *repentance* he is far from regular; *penance* and *amendment* frequently occur, but *repentance* four times as often as either. He refers to *scribe* and *lawyer*, but here his practice is remarkably consistent; in every New Testament passage he adheres to *scribe*. It is not a little surprising to find the Greek *ecclesia* uniformly rendered *congregation* (never *church*) throughout Coverdale's New Testament.

The English of this version does not often present much difficulty to the modern reader. A long chapter will often contain no word or phrase which is not still understood. The enumeration of ornaments given in Isa. iii. is as intelligible as that found in our Authorised Version. We meet with many words which are no longer current in literary English, but are familiar in various dialects; others are more antiquated. The following will serve as specimens of each class:—*to spar* a door, to *clip* sheep, a *maund* of figs, *chaftbone* (jawbone), *lever* (rather), *symnel* (a cake), *doorcheek* (door-post), *body* (as in "an indiscreet body"), *youl* (yell), *perquellies*, *creshet*, *venison* (in the sense of a hunted animal), *hoo* (an exclamation, "stop!"), *smoor* (smother), *chevesance* (agreement, gain), *a cankered carle*, *back* (bat), *rigbone* (backbone), *rowles* (waves), *mastress* (mistress), *tunicle*, *innermer* (inner), *bug* (object of fear, bugbear), *wood* (mad). Some words now in common use, but not found in our present Bibles, meet us here: as *conjuror*, *trowel*, *sturdy*, *surgeon*. A collection is a *hand-reaching*; augury is *birds crying* or *fowls crying*. One peculiarity in the spelling is very marked: the eye requires a special education to recognise and interpret such words as *szkynne*, *buszshed*, *wyszdome*, which are found on every page. The proper names are usually given in their Latin form,—*Eliseus*, *Ezechias*, *Manasses*, *Amasias*, *Mardocheus*. *Tessalonians* seems to be the form used throughout, both in the Epistle itself and in references, though the city is called *Thessalonica*. These minor peculiarities connect themselves with the place of publication and the authorities chiefly followed in the work.

Several copies of the first edition of Coverdale's Bible are known to exist. Two are amongst the treasures of the British Museum. The variations in the title-page of the book have been already adverted to. Five title-pages in all have been preserved,—some printed in England, some abroad; the latter alone contain the reference to "Dutch and Latin" sources. Two of the title-pages bear the date 1536, but the imprint states explicitly that the printing was finished in October of the previous year.[1] Of the later editions of Coverdale's Bible it is not necessary to speak, as they are said to vary but little from the original work. In 1838 the first edition was reprinted by Bagster. The reprint is in ordinary type, and the lines and pages do not correspond to those of the original work; in all important matters, however, it appears to be a thoroughly faithful and trustworthy reproduction.

We cannot do more than briefly refer to the three Testaments of 1538, containing the Vulgate together with a translation which agreed in all important respects with that of Coverdale's Bible. The only edition which can be closely associated with Coverdale's name is the second, printed in Paris, by Regnault. It is not probable that any of these Testaments exerted an appreciable influence upon later English versions.

[1] For further information on this subject see Fry *On Coverdale's Bible of* 1535; see also Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, pp. 57, 58.

BIBLE WORDS.

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EMERODS appears in the fifth and sixth chapters of the First Book of Samuel as the name of the disease with which the Philistines were visited in punishment for their capture of the ark of the covenant. It is found once again (Deut. xxviii. 27) among the curses threatened to the Israelites for disobedience. *Emerods* is a naturalised form of *hœmorrhoids*, Gr. αἱμορροΐδες, the designation of the disease now known as the "piles," coming through the Italian form *emorroidi*.

Ensue (*verb act.*). This, which is now only used as an intransitive verb, meaning "to succeed" or "to result from," was formerly employed in a transitive sense, as "pursue" is now. It occurs once in this sense in the Prayer-Book Version, "seek peace and *ensue* it" (Ps. xxxiv. 14), where the A. V. has *pursue*; and in the quotation (1 Pet. iii. 11). It is a close representation of the Latin *insequor*, "to follow after," through the French *ensuivre*, of which we have an example in Shakespeare: "Let not to-morrow then *ensue* to-day" (*Rich. II.*, i. 2); and in the following passage from Golding's *Cæsar* (Richardson): "Our enemeyes *ensuing* with a great noyse, as if the victory had bene theirs out of all age."

Entreat (*verb act.*) is frequently found in the A. V. where we should now use the verb *treat*, always with a qualifying adverb, as Gen. xii. 16: "He *entreated* Abram well for her sake;" Luke xx. 11: "They *entreated* him shamefully, and sent him away empty;" Acts xxvii. 3: "Julius courteously *entreated* Paul." We may illustrate this usage from early authors.

> "Uncle, you say the queen is at your house;
> For heaven's sake fairly let her be *entreated*."
> (Shakespeare, *Rich. II.*, iii. 1.)

"So all the twenty I likewise *entreated*,
And left them groaning there upon the plain."
(Spenser, *Faëry Queen*, iv. 10, 10.)

Eschew (*verb act.*), "to avoid," "flee from." An obsolete and, we fear, a too often unintelligible word, found both in the A. V. and in the Prayer-Book. Job is described as one that "feared God and *eschewed* evil" (Job i. 1, 8; ii. 3). St. Peter, quoting Ps. xxxiv. 14, exhorts his readers to "*eschew* evil and do good," a rendering found in the Prayer-Book Psalter, which the Bible version has "depart from evil." In the collect for the Third Sunday after Easter we are taught to pray that "all that are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion may *eschew* those things that are contrary to their profession." *Eschew* is an anglicised form of the old French verb *eschever*, "to avoid," "turn away from," allied to the Italian *schivare*, "to avoid," "parry a blow," and the German *scheuern*, "to shun." The following are examples of its use:—

"Than is it wisdom, as it thinketh me,
To maken vertu of necessité,
And tak it wel that we may not *eschue?*"
(Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 2183—5.)

"Forsoth *eschewe* young widewis" (Wiclif, 1 Tim. v. 11). "*Eschewing* curside nouelties of voyces, and opynyouns of false-name of kunnyng" (*Ib.* vi. 20).

"Heaven give that joy, what cannot be *eschewed* must be embraced." (Shakespeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. 5.)

Fat (*subst.*), the older spelling of the modern "vat." The simple noun is found in Joel ii. 24; iii. 13: "The *fats* shall overflow with wine and oil;" "The press is full, the *fats* overflow;" and the compounds *winefat* (Isa. lxviii. 3; Mark xii. 1), *pressfat* (Hag. ii. 16). It is the A. S. *faet*, pl. *fatu*, *fata*, "a vessel," "a vat." In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, the edition of 1623 gives the old spelling *fattes*, where modern editions have *vats*.

"Come, thou monarch of the vine,
Plumpie Bacchus, with pink eyne,
In thy *fattes* our cares be drowned."

Fine, Finer, Fining-pot (Job xxviii. 1; Prov. xvii. 3; xxv. 4; xxvii. 21). Another case (see *cumber*, *dure*) where the simple word has disappeared, while the compound *refine*, *refiner*, &c., remains in use. The following examples are given by Richardson:—

"(Gold) is assayed by the fire to the intente it may thenceforth bee had in so much the more price as it is the more exactly *fyned*" (Udal, 1 Pet. i.). "The furnaces where gold is *fined*" (Holland, *Pliny*, xxxiv. 13). "The law of England . . . by many successions of ages has been *fined* and refined by an infinite number of grave and learned men" (Hobbes, *Dial. on Laws of England*).

Fitches (*subst.*), now spelt "vetches" (Isa. xxviii. 25, 27; Ezek. iv. 9), as in the case of the word *fat*, the substitution of the broader for the narrower sound of *v* for *f* (of which we have other examples in *vixen* = *fixen*, "the she-fox;" *five*, and *fifty*), obscures its meaning, except where, as in many local dialects, it continues to be the recognised form of the word. Chaucer spells it "fetches."

"This is said by hem that be not worth two *fetches*."
(*Troilus and Cress.*, iii. 938.)

Gerard gives both spellings: "It is called in English *vetch* or *fetch*" (*Herbal.*, 1053).

Gier-eagle is found as the name of a bird of prey forbidden to be eaten (Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 17). It is akin to the German *geier*, "a vulture," "a hawk," in mediæval Latin, *gira*. The *ger-falcon*, or *jerfalcon*, contains the same root. Mr. Aldis Wright says that *geir* is constantly used by Holland, in his translation of *Pliny*, for a vulture. He gives the following passage:—"The manner of the *geires* is to foresee a carnage, and to fly two or three daies before unto the place where there will be any carrions or dead carkasses" (*Pliny*, x. 6). Elisha Coles, in his *Latin Dictionary*, gives "a geier, *vultur*." The gier-eagle of the A. V. is now admitted to be the white carrion vulture of Egypt (*Percropterus Neophron Ægyptiacus*). This was first clearly established by Bruce.

Glede, the name of an unclean bird of prey (Deut. xiv. 13). It is descended from the A. S. *glida*, "a kite," and was in the general vernacular for centuries since, and is still in local use for the *Milvus ater*. The name seems to be derived from the gliding or hovering motion of a kite. Nares gives the following examples of its use:—

"The glead and swallow labouring long, effectless
'Gainst certain death, with wearied wings fall down,
For want of pearch, and with the rest go draun."
(Sylv. *Du Barbas*, 2nd day, 1st week.)

"Ravenous gledes and kites . . . if they have spied any prey from on high, quickly in their flight snatch it up, or if they sieze upon it, make no long stay." (Holland, *Annus Marcellin*, 1609.)

Goodman (*subst.*). Found usually in the phrase "goodman of the house" (Matt. xx. 11; xxiv. 43; Mark xiv. 14; Luke xii. 39; xxii. 11), but once alone: "The *goodman* is not at home; he is gone a long journey" (Prov. vii. 19), where we should now say, "the master of the house," or, in still more recent colloquialism, "the governor." According to Mr. Earle, *Philology of Engl. Tongue*, p. 520, it "means a man, not who is *good* (adjective), but a man who is master of *the good* (substantive), *i.e.*, of the household or property." This derivation has been called in question, and "goodman" is considered by some (Aldis Wright, *Bible Word-Book*, p. 231) to be a corruption of the A.-S. *gummann* or *guma*, "a man;" *goodwife* being a compound formed in supposed correspondence with *goodman*. The more obvious derivation is probably the correct one. The meaning of the word is well illustrated by a passage from Randle Cotgrave (1611) under the word *maistre*, given by Mr. Earle. "Also a title of honours (such as it is) belonging to all artificers and tradesmen; whence *Maistre Pierre*, *Maistre Johann*, &c., which we give not so generally, but qualifie the meaner sort of them (especially in country townes) with the title of *goodman* (too good for many)." The use of *goodman* in Shakespeare shows that, as Cotgrave asserts, it was confined

to "the meaner sort," we have "Goodman Driver," "Goodman Dull," "Goodman Verger," "Goodman Puff," "Goodman Delver."

Habergeon (*subst.*). Exod. xxviii. 32, "And there shall be an hole in the top of it (the ephod) . . . as it were the hole of an *habergeon* (Exod. xxxix. 23); 2 Chron. xxvi. 14, "Uzziah prepared . . . shields, and spears, and helmets, and *habergeons;*" also Neh. iv. 16; Job xli. 26, found in Wiclif's Bible as *haberion, haburion, hawberiown,*—a small coat of mail covering the neck and shoulders. It is a diminutive form of *hauberk,* from the A.-S. *heals-beorga,* a "neck-covering;" Old German, *halsberc;* Old French, *halbere, haubere;* Italian, *usbergo.* We received it from the French *haubergeon,* defined by Cotgrave as "a little coat of maile; or only sleeves and gorget of maile." Chaucer, "Rime of Sire Thopas," distinguishes it from hauberk—

> "And over that a *haberjeon*
> For persing of his hert,
> And over that a fyn *hauberk,*
> Was all ywrought of Jewes werk."

We find it often in Spenser—

> "Their mightie strokes their *haberjeons* dismayld."
> (*F. Q.*, Bk. II., vi. 29.)

And it was adopted by Milton—

> "Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet,
> Thy brigandine of brass, thy broad *habergeon.*"
> (*Sams. Agonistes*, 1119, 1120.)

It very early found a place in translations of the Bible. Wiclif has, "clothed with the *haburioun* of rightwysnesse" (Ephes. vi. 14), and "thei hadden *haburiouns* (A. V. "breastplates"), as yren *haburiouns*" (Rev. ix. 9), where the word is retained in the Geneva Bible with a slight change of spelling, *habbergions.* Latimer speaks of "the *habergeon,* or coat armour of justice" (*Sermons,* p. 29, Park. Soc.), and Udal of "the jacke or *haberion* made of the righteousnesse of all the vertues evangelycall" (*Paraphr. of Erasmus,* Luke, 183, 8).

Hale (*verb act.*). Luke xii. 58, "Lest he [thine adversary] *hale* thee to the judge;" Acts viii. 3, "Saul made havock of the Church . . . and *haling* men and women committed them to prison." To *hale* is to drag with violence, to pull along with force a reluctant person, answering to the modern strengthened verb to *haul.* The root is the same as that of the German *holen,* the Dutch *halen,* the French *haler,* to pull, to drag, to tow. It occurs frequently in our earlier writers, *e.g.,* Lord Surrey, in his *Translation of the Æneid,* ii. 348, describes Hector as—

> "Distained with bloody dust, whose feet were bowlne (swollen)
> With the streight cordes wherewith they *haled* him."

Spenser spells the word *hayl*—

> "Him sternly gript, and *hayling* to and fro,
> To overthrow him strongly did assay."

We find it in Shakespeare not unfrequently; *e.g.,* in 2 *Henry VI.,* iv. 1, the Captain says of Lord Suffolk—

> "*Hale* him away, and let him talk no more."

Helve (*subst.*) is once used in the A. V. for the wooden handle of a hatchet (Deut. xix. 5), "When his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down a tree, and the head [Heb. *iron*] slippeth from the *helve* [Heb. *wood*];" where the A. V. follows Wiclif ("The yrun slidith fro the *helve*") and Cranmer. It is an old Anglo-Saxon word, *helf,* "a handle," and is still in use in some parts of England. "To throw the *helve* after the hatchet," given by Ray in his *Proverbial Phrases,* is a proverb still employed in describing the conduct of those who in despair give themselves up to recklessness. Bishop Hall, in his *Contemplations,* describes Elisha (2 Kings vi. 6) as borrowing an axe "to cut an *helve* for the lost axe."

Inward (*adj.*), "intimate," as a friend. Job xix. 19, "All my *inward* friends abhorred me; and they whom I loved are turned against me." It is a good Elizabethan word, frequent in Shakespeare and Bacon; *e.g.,* Lucio says of the Duke (*Measure for Measure,* iii. 2), "Sir, I was an *inward* [*i.e.,* intimate] friend of his;" and Buckingham asks (*Richard III.,* iii. 4)—

> "Who knows the Lord Protector's mind herein?
> Who is most *inward* with the noble duke?"

And in Bacon's *Essays,* we read in Essay XI., *Of Great Place,* "A servant or favourite, if he be *inward,* and no other cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a byway to close corruption;" and in Essay XX., *Of Counsel,* "Those *inward* counsellors had need also be wise men."

Inwards (*subst.*), the intestines or viscera of an animal. Exod. xxix. 13, 22, "Thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the *inwards;*" Lev. iii. 3, 9, 14; iv. 8, &c. In Wiclif, where the A. V. has "bowels" we find "inwardnesses," "Ye ben not anguischid in us, but ye ben anguischid in your *ynwardnessis*" (2 Cor. vi. 12). In Shakespeare, Falstaff enumerates among the virtues of "sherris," that "it makes its course from the *inwards* to the parts extreme" (2 *Henry IV.,* iv. 3).

Knap (*verb act.*) is not found in the A. V., but survives in the Prayer-Book Psalter: "He breaketh the bow, and *knappeth* the spear in sunder" (Ps. xlvi. 9). This verb, which has been superseded in our ordinary language by "snap," is, like that, evidently formed from the sound, and corresponds with the German *knappen,* "to crack." We meet with it in Shakespeare (*Merchant of Venice,* iii. 1): "I would she were as lying a gossip in that as ever *knapped* ginger." A passage quoted by Richardson from North's *Translation of Plutarch* supplies a close parallel to that in the Psalter: "At the length he made such struggling, putting back one thigh and setting forward another, that he *knapped* the staff of the dart in sunder." From the sound, *knap* also was used to signify to deal a short sharp blow. Thus to "*knap* a pair of tongs together" (Bacon, *Nat. Hist.* § 133).

> "He with his sheephooke *knaps* them on the pates,
> Schooling his tender lambs from wanton gates."
> (Nares' *Glossary.*)

Knop (*subst.*), the same word as *knob*, and intimately connected with *knap*; as that signifies to strike with a sharp sound, so this implies the lump, prominence, or swelling caused by a blow. The root is one of the most widely spread. Gaelic, *cnap*, "to strike, to beat," and also "a button, a lump, a hillock;" A.-S. *cnaep*, "a top, a button," from which comes the old English and provincial *knap* for the top of a hill. The well-known thistle-like flower, knapweed, is so called from the round balls of its inflorescence. German, *knopf*, "a button." Our translators only employed it in the description of the golden candlestick (Exod. xxi. 31, 33). Wiclif uses it, Exod. xxvi. 11, "Fifti *knoppis* of bras;" and xxxvi. 18, "Fifti brasun *knoppis* with which the roof myghte be knyt" ("fastnyngs" and "bokelis" are alternative readings), where the A. V. has "taches," *i.e.*, "tacks," or "catches." Chaucer employs *knop* for a button. The purple robe worn by "Riches" is described

> "With a bend of gold tassiled,
> And *knopes* fine of gold amiled."
> (*Romaunt of Rose*, 1080.)

And for a rosebud—

> "Of *knoppes* close some saw I there,
> And some well better woxen were." (*Ibid.*, 1702.)

Latchet (*subst.*). Synonymous with the modern *lace* (cf. "bootlace," "staylace"), of which it is a diminutive, used only in the A. V. as a "fastening of a sandal," "a shoestring." Gen. xiv. 23, "I will not take from a thread even to a *shoelatchet*," where Wiclif's version has "the thong," or "the lace of his schoon;" Isa. v. 27, "Neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the *latchet* of their shoes be broken;" Mark i. 7, Luke iii. 16, "The *latchet* of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose." *Latchet* is a derivative from the Latin *laqueus*, "a snare," through the Italian *laccio*, "a thong," "a string," and its diminutive *lacciettо*, and the French *lacet*—all related to the A.-S. *laeccan*, "to lay hold of," "to catch." The word latch, both in its substantive and verb form, is now restricted to the fastening of a door, but was formerly used in a much wider signification—*e.g.*, by Chaucer, for a "snare"—

> "Love will none other birde catch,
> Though he set either nette or *latch*."
> (*Rom. of Rose*, 1624.)

And by Shakespeare—

> "I have words
> That would be howled out in the desert air,
> Where hearing would not *latch* them" [lay hold of them].
> (*Macbeth*, iv. 3.)

Learn (*verb act.*). This verb, which formerly had a double signification, both to impart and to acquire knowledge, has now entirely lost the former, except as a provincialism. It occurs in the sense of "to teach" in the A. V. only in Acts vii. 22, "Moses was *learned* [ἐπαιδεύθη, taught, instructed] in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" but is more frequently found in the Prayer-Book Psalter: Ps. xxv. 4, "Lead me forth in thy truth, and *learn* me" (Ps. lxxxii. 5; cxix. 66; cxxxii. 13). Our language is singular in this union of the two senses in one word. All the cognate tongues distinguish accurately between "teaching" and "learning;" *e.g.*, A.-S. *laeran*, "to teach;" *leornian*, "to learn;" German, *lehren* and *lernen*. The sense "to teach" is the most usual one in *Piers Plowman*; *e.g.*—

> "'What!' quod the Prest to Perkyn, 'Peter, as me thinketh
> Thou art lettred a litel, who *lerned* the on boke?'"
> (vii. 131.)

Shakespeare also uses it—

> "Sweet prince, you *learn* me noble thankfulness."
> (*Much Ado about Nothing*, iv. 1.)

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

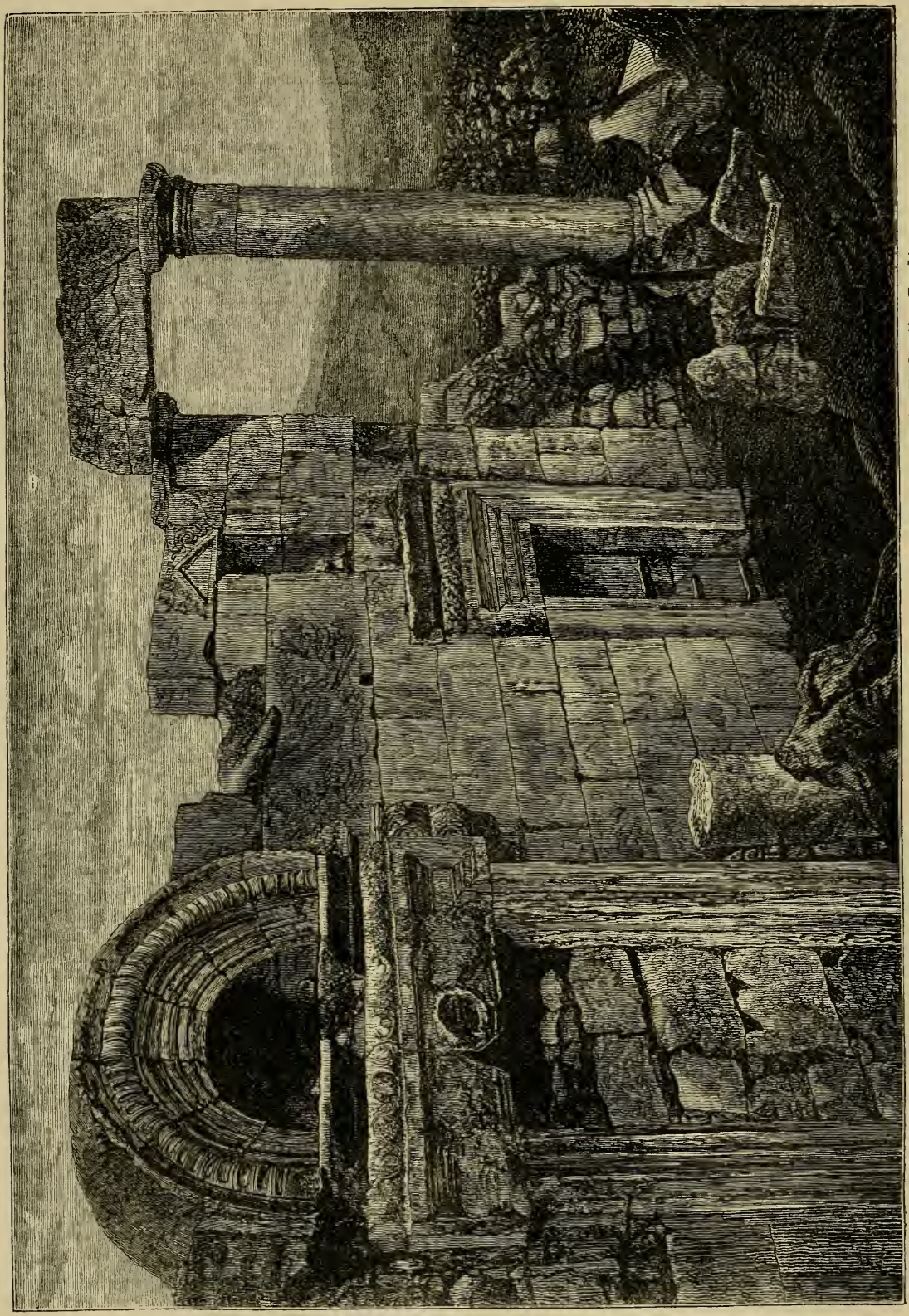
V.—GALILEE.

THE circumstances under which Galilee is first mentioned in the Bible, in connection with the appointment of three cities of refuge west of Jordan, are rather interesting as apparently indicating the existence in the time of Joshua of some division of Palestine into three districts, corresponding to the later Roman provinces of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa. The first of the three cities was Kedesh, in Galilee, in Mount Naphtali; the second Shechem, in Mount Ephraim; and the third "Hebron, in the mountain of Judah" (Josh. xx. 7). The name "Galil," however, in this passage is confined to a small "circuit" or "region" near Kedesh, and it is used in a similar sense in 1 Kings ix. 11, where we are told that Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee as payment for the timber and gold used in the building of the Temple; and in 2 Kings xv. 29, where Galilee is included in the list of places taken by Tiglath-pileser, and whose inhabitants were carried away captive by him to Assyria. In Isa. ix. 1, the district is called "Galilee of the nations" (Gentiles), either from the transfer of a number of its cities to Hiram, or from the settlement of strangers in the country after the deportation of its inhabitants to the banks of the Euphrates. After the Captivity the division of Palestine into three districts is more marked; but the boundaries do not seem to have been clearly defined until they became Roman provinces.

The Galilee of the New Testament, so intimately connected with the life and ministry of our Lord, was separated into Upper and Lower Galilee, and extended

from Carmel and the southern edge of the great plain of Esdraelon on the south to the sources of Jordan and the river Litany on the north; and embraced the country between the Jordan and Sea of Galilee on the east, and the territory of Ptolemais on the west. We have already had occasion to notice that portion of the province bordering on the Sea of Galilee and Jordan valley, and may now pass to an examination of the upland country, which is really a continuation of the southern spurs of Lebanon, though separated from the main range by the deep chasm of the Litany. At first the hill-country is a broad elevated tract of rich land, overlooking the Jordan valley by a steep descent on the east, and on the west throwing out rocky spurs, with deep intervening valleys, to the sea itself, so as to form the two promontories of Ras el Abiad and Ras en Nakura (Ladder of Tyre); but as we proceed southward the ground rises, the town of Safed lies on a hill 3,000 feet high, whilst to the west of it is Jebel Jermuk, the culminating point of the hills of Galilee, 4,000 feet above the sea. From Jermuk a high ridge runs westward to form the northern boundary of the plain of Er Ramch, and south of the latter we reach a broad range of hills, the Mount Asamon of Josephus, with the rich plain of El Buttauf beyond it, and still farther south the lower hills that border the plain of Esdraelon on the north, with the hill above Nazareth rising amongst them in a conspicuous manner. The hills that skirt the great plain of Esdraelon are high and precipitous on the east, as in the traditional Mount of Precipitation; but

MAP OF GALILEE.



RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE AT KEFR BIRIM. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

on the west they sink gradually through a series of low ridges to the plain. At the north-east corner of Esdraelon is the isolated hill of Mount Tabor; and at its eastern extremity rises Jebel Duhy, or Little Hermon, with Nain and Endor lying at its foot; on the south the plain is limited by the ridge of Carmel on the west, and by the range of Mount Gilboa (Jebel Fukua) on the east. The hills of Galilee are of limestone, but there are in several places large tracts of basalt, as, for instance, at Alma, El Jish, Hattin, above Tiberias, and in the vicinity of Jebel Duhy.

Perhaps the most marked feature of Galilee is the number and richness of its plains, such as the Merj Ayun, in the extreme north; the plain of Zaanaim, near Kades, where Jael was encamped when Sisera sought refuge from the victorious Israelites; the plain of Ramah, some ten miles long and two miles wide, and full of fine old olive trees; the fertile plain of El Buttauf; the "great plain of Asochis" of Josephus; and Esdraelon, which stretches from west to east, and, nowhere more than four hundred feet above the sea, completely separates the hill-country of Galilee from that of Samaria. There is no deficiency of water in the district; through Esdraelon winds the river Kishon, and down the valley of Jezreel the waters of the fountains of Zerin and Ain Jalud find their way to the Jordan valley; whilst farther north streams run down through Wadies Rubudiyeh, Hendaj, and Derdarah towards the east, and on the west is the Nahr Naman, or river Belus; there are also many fine springs, of which we need only mention here those of Kedesh, Tibnin, Hattin, Seffuriyeh, noted in the history of the Crusades; Nazareth, the traditional scene of the Annunciation; Lejjun (the waters of Megiddo), Ain Jalud, and the copious springs round the base of Jebel Jermuk. Throughout Galilee the vegetation is luxuriant and abundant; the slopes of Jermuk, Tabor, and other mountains are still clothed with trees and brushwood, and many of the hills were once covered with forests that have left traces of their existence in large roots, which form an almost inexhaustible mine for the charcoal burners of Damascus. In some of the valleys trees and shrubs grow with a luxuriance that is seen nowhere else in Palestine with the single exception of the vale of Nablus; the soil is of great fertility, and where cultivated produces rich crops, whether of corn on the plains of Esdraelon and Buttauf, or of olive and vine in the secluded valleys of the upland region.

It was this rich district that, in the final division of Palestine between the twelve tribes, fell to the lot of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar. To Asher was assigned the sea-coast from Carmel to Sidon, with the plain of Phœnicia and the low hills on its western border—one of the richest tracts in Palestine, well fulfilling the promise made in the blessing of Jacob, that his "bread" should be "fat," and that he should yield "royal dainties" (Gen. xlix. 20); and in that of Moses, that he should be "blessed with children," and "dip his feet in oil," and that his "shoes" should be "iron and brass." The royal dainties refer to the rich harvests of corn, oil, and wheat, whilst in the iron and brass for the shoes there may be an allusion to the metallic manufactures of the Phœnicians. To Naphtali fell the broad elevated tract lying between Asher and the Jordan, the modern Belad Besharah ("land of good tidings"), which may still be described in the words of Josephus as "universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation by its fruitfulness"—a land in which Naphtali was to be "satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord." To Zebulun was allotted the hill-country bordering on the great plain of Esdraelon from the sea-coast to the Sea of Galilee; he was to "dwell at the haven of the sea," at the "going out" of Acre, and was "to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand" (Deut. xxxiii. 19)—an allusion possibly to the fisheries that yielded the purple Tyrian dye, and to the manufacture of glass from the sands of the river Belus. Issachar received for his inheritance the fertile plain of Esdraelon, with the beautiful valley of Jezreel; here, on the highway of the armies of Egypt and Assyria, the great battle-field of Palestine, he was to lead a nomad life, dwelling "in tents," bowing "his shoulder to bear," and becoming "a servant to tribute;" but at the same time he was equally with Zebulun to suck of the abundance of the seas and of treasures hid in the sand.

Though the whole of Galilee and Phœnicia were allotted to the four tribes, the latter country was never conquered, and no one can help being struck by the peculiar relations that existed between the Israelites and their northern neighbours. In Judg. i. 31, we are told that Asher did not drive out "the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob;" and in verse 32, that the Asherites "dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land." Neither did Naphtali drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath, but "he dwelt among the Canaanites;" nevertheless, the inhabitants of these towns became tributaries to him, and in the son of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, whose husband was "a man of Tyre, a worker in brass" (1 Kings vii. 14), we have an indication that mixed marriages were not uncommon. There is no trace of any great war between the Israelites and the Phœnicians, and it is not unlikely that a considerable portion of the northern tribes settled down as fellow-citizens amongst the people of Tyre, Sidon, and other Phœnician cities, not always without being oppressed, as we learn from Amos, who threatens Tyre "because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant" (Amos i. 9); and from Joel, who complains against Tyre and Zidon because they had sold the children of Judah and of Jerusalem "unto the Grecians," that they "might remove them far from their border" (Joel iii. 6). To this close intercourse with the idolatrous nations around them we may probably ascribe the early perversion of

the northern tribes from the pure worship of Jehovah, and that gradual decay which made them an easy prey to the invader. Even in the time of our Saviour there appears to have been a marked distinction between the Jews of Northern and Southern Palestine, perhaps due to a similar intercourse with the Gentiles. There are several passages in the New Testament that show that the Galileans were looked down upon by the inhabitants of Judæa, and that there was some peculiarity in their dialect or accent by which they were readily distinguished from other Jews.

We may now give some account of the most interesting localities in Galilee, commencing at the northern extremity with the Merj Ayun, a beautiful plain six miles long and two broad, between the Litany and Hasbany rivers. In the centre of the plain is the fine spring of Derderah, supplying the stream that runs by Abil (Abel-beth-maachah) to the Jordan; and at its northern end is a mound, Tell Dibbin, covered with ruins which are supposed to be those of Ijon, a town of Naphtali taken by the captains of Benhadad at the same time as Dan and Abel-beth-maachah, and captured at a later date by Tiglath-pileser. Southwards, on a slight elevation at the brink of the precipitous descent to the Jordan valley, is the large castle of Hunin, erected apparently during the period of the Crusades. The keep, however, is much older, either Roman or Jewish, and is protected by a deep ditch partly excavated in the rock. The place must always have been of importance as commanding the ascent from the Jordan valley to the western hills, but it has not yet been identified with any Bible name. West of Hunin is the castle of Tibnin, standing on a rocky isolated hill with the village of the same name at its base. This fortress was built by Hugh of St. Omer, in 1107, and under the name of Toron is frequently mentioned in the history of the Crusades; its siege by the Duke of Brabant, in 1197, and the disgraceful flight of his army when on the point of success, is one of the most curious incidents of that stormy time.

Southwards from Hunin the main road crosses or skirts several small plains, which, with their bright green crops and the wooded hills that slope gently down to them, form some of the softest and most beautiful scenery in Palestine. The largest and most picturesque of these plains is that of Kades, with the ruins of Kedesh-naphtali, lying on its western border. Kedesh was appointed a city of refuge, and allotted to the Levites. It was the residence of Barak, and the place in which he assembled the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun before marching against Sisera; and near it was the terebinth of Zaanaim, under which the tent of Heber the Kenite was pitched. It was one of the towns taken by Tiglath-pileser, and in the time of Josephus was in possession of the Tyrians; at a later date it appears to have been the site of a considerable Roman town, called by Eusebius and Jerome, Kudossos, or Cidissus. The modern village of Kades stands on the hill-side, amidst a vast heap of rubbish, in which may be seen many mutilated capitals and columns, but the more important ruins are on a tongue of land running out eastwards into the plain. These consist of a large masonry tomb, with places for several bodies, which, from the similarity of its architecture to that of the synagogues, appears to be of Jewish origin; a temple of Baal of the same date as those at Baalbek, in which an altar has been found with an inscription to Baal as Lord of Sports, and a lintel with a bust of the god; and a remarkable group of stone sarcophagi standing on a masonry platform. There are also large numbers of rock-hewn tombs, some of which have peculiar features in their construction not seen elsewhere. In close proximity to Kedesh was Hazor, the city of Jabin, and principal city of the north of Palestine, which we would propose to identify with some extensive ruins on a prominent hill, Tell Harah, overlooking the Huleh Lake, and about two miles from Kades. The ruins are those of a citadel and a town of some size surrounded by a wall; the remains are all of an ancient type, and no mortar has been used in any of the buildings. Dr. Robinson has brought forward several strong arguments in support of his theory that Hazor was at Tell Khureibeh, a hill not far from Tell Harah, but they all apply with far greater force to the latter place, which the learned American traveller does not appear to have visited.

South-west of Kades is the village of Yarun, the modern representative of Iron, a town of Naphtali mentioned in Josh. xix. 38, between En-hazor and Migdal-el; there are many ruins in the neighbourhood of the village, including those of an early Christian church, prettily situated on rising ground, and at one time containing several large stone sarcophagi, ornamented with crosses, which are now lying on the slope of the hill. Not far south of Yarun is the village of Kefr Birim, with the ruins of two synagogues, one in a sufficient state of preservation to enable us to form some idea of the style of its architecture. We have in a previous paper noticed the principal features connected with the structure and arrangement of the synagogues in Galilee, and will only remark here on the evidence they afford of the wealth and culture of the Jews in Northern Palestine at the time they were erected, during the first three centuries of our era. Kefr Birim is inhabited solely by Maronite Christians, who have a small church in the village, and the place was once celebrated as containing the tombs of Barak and Obadiah. At Meiron, south-west of Kefr Birim, and at the foot of Jebel Jermuk, there is another synagogue, the site for which had in great part to be cut out of the rock. Round the modern village there are an immense number of rock-hewn tombs of every known form; and on a ridge to the south there is a remarkable sarcophagus for two bodies, raised on a sort of platform, with a passage and chamber so arranged that the friends or relatives of the deceased could enter and look at the bodies after they had been laid out. Meiron is said to be the resting-place of Hillel, Shammai, and other celebrated Jews, whose tombs are situated on one side of a large rectangular court; here during the Feast of

Purim numbers of Jewish pilgrims assemble, and costly robes and rich offerings are burned in stone basins raised to such a height that every one in the courtyard can see the gift and he who sacrifices the gift. At night bonfires are lighted on the hills, and cast a lurid glare over the country, strangely recalling the time when many a hill-top in Palestine was aglow with fires in honour of Baal.

From the summit of Jebel Jermuk there is a grand view of the surrounding country—Lebanon and Hermon on the north, Tabor and Carmel on the south, with the Sea of Galilee on one side and the Mediterranean on the other. It is one of those extensive views so common in Palestine, which give such a good idea of the smallness of the land, and yet embrace so many localities of undying interest. Eastward, on a hill overlooking the Jordan valley, is the town of Safed, with its fine old castle and filthy habitations, which has sometimes been supposed to be "the city set upon a hill which cannot be hid" (Matt. v. 14). On New Year's Day, 1837, Safed was almost destroyed by an earthquake, when more than three-fourths of the houses were thrown down, and about 5,000 people perished in the ruins. A similar disaster befell El Jish, the Giscala of Josephus, north of Safed, where every house was laid low, and the falling church crushed a number of the congregation who were at prayers at the time. To the south of Jebel Jermuk is the large well-built village of El Mughar, standing on the slope of Tell Hazar, perhaps the En-hazor of Josh. xix. 37; and westward is Rameh or Ramah, one of the fortified towns of Naphtali, giving its name to the wooded plain beneath it. The next place of interest is Umm el Amud, a collection of ruins, including those of a synagogue, situated at the extreme eastern limit of the rich plain of Buttauf above the head of Wady Hamam. The ruins have not been identified with any Bible name, but if, as we believe, Cana was at Khirbet Kana, they would be of special interest as standing on the direct road from Cana to Capernaum.

The view westwards from Umm el Amud down the great plain of *Asochis* is very fine, and there is a curious contrast between the white barren-looking hills on the north and the well-wooded heights that form its southern boundary. Proceeding along the northern edge of the plain, we reach some ruins called Khirbet Kana or Kana el-Jelil, which Dr. Robinson, with whom we are inclined to agree, identifies with Cana, the scene of our Lord's first miracle, as well as of the miracle noticed in John iv. 46—54. The name Kana el-Jelil is an exact representation of the Hebrew original, whilst that of Kefr Kenna, the traditional site, about four miles north-east of Nazareth, is very different from it. The Bible affords us no clue to the position of Cana, except that it was on higher ground than Capernaum, and perhaps within a day's journey of it; nor do Josephus, Eusebius, or Jerome give any information on this point; we have, therefore, to depend on the later and far from satisfactory accounts of pilgrims and writers in the Middle Ages. Of these, Marinus Sanutus (1321 A.D.) distinctly places Cana at Kana el-Jelil, and marks it on his map as lying north of Sepphoris; the same position is also assigned to Cana by Breydenbach (1483), Anselm (1507), and apparently by Phocas, who in the twelfth century travelled from Acre *viâ* Sepphoris and Cana to Nazareth. Quaresmius (1616-29) mentions both Canas, and decides in favour of Kefr Kenna on account of its proximity to Nazareth; since his day this has been the view generally held by travellers, with the exception of Pococke (1737-40), who seems inclined to identify Cana with Kana el-Jelil. The ruins cover the summit and sides of a small spur that runs out from the main ridge, and consist of rock-hewn cisterns, the walls of houses, a large building, perhaps a church, and several tombs; they are of far more importance than has generally been supposed, and cover a large area.

A short distance beyond Kana is the Wady Jefat, a wild glen, with thickly-wooded slopes, which leads to the rock of Jefat, identified by Schultz and other travellers with the fortress of Jotapata, so stoutly defended by Josephus against the Romans, and where he fell as a prisoner into their hands on the capture of the place. The natural features of Jefat correspond well with the minute description of Jotapata given by Josephus, but of the fortifications not a trace has been left.

DISEASES OF THE BIBLE.

LEPROSY.

BY W. A. GREENHILL, M.D. OXON.

OF all the diseases that afflict mankind, by far the most interesting and important to the theologian, and indeed to every reader of the Bible, is *leprosy*, which word is used by our translators to represent the Hebrew צָרַעַת (*tzara'ath*) and the Greek λέπρα. In the Old Testament it is the subject of two whole chapters in Leviticus (xiii., xiv.), besides being brought prominently before the reader in the cases of Moses (Exod. iv. 6), Miriam (Numb. xii. 10), Naaman (2 Kings v. 1), Gehazi (2 Kings v. 27), and Uzziah (2 Kings xv. 5; 2 Chron. xxvi. 19); and in the New Testament this disease was the occasion of two of our Lord's miracles, one of which is mentioned by three of the Evangelists (St. Matt. viii. 2; St. Mark i. 40; St. Luke v. 12), the other by St. Luke alone (xvii. 12). And to this it may be added that it derives an additional interest from the fact of its having been selected from very early times

as the special type of sin. If the disease is not (at least in this country) of so much importance to the physician as to the divine, it is to him a subject of special curiosity and interest on account of the singularly confused way in which the word *lepra* has been used for at least 800 years, and the difficulty (until lately) of obtaining any authentic and satisfactory information about the disease which (for the sake of distinction) may be called "*genuine* leprosy." It is hardly necessary to give here any description of the modern leprosy, as most commentators give extracts from books of travels containing accurate details of this most horrible and formidable disease; but as there is considerable difference of opinion among competent judges as to the exact nature of the leprosy of the Old and New Testament, it will be needful to examine this question at the outset. Its importance will be best shown by putting side by side the statements of some modern and ancient writers, and then considering how far they can be reconciled with each other. Thus Archbishop Trench says[1] of leprosy that it "was nothing short of a living death, a poisoning of the springs, a corrupting of all the humours, of life; a dissolution little by little of the whole body, so that one limb after another actually decayed and fell away." And Mr. Clarke, at the beginning of his careful and elaborate "Preliminary Note on the Character of Leprosy," says[2] that it "is the most terrible of all the disorders to which the body of man is subject. There is no disease in which hope of recovery is so nearly extinguished." On the other hand, St. Augustine says[3] that when the lepers were restored to health, they were not said to be "healed" (*sanati*), but "cleansed" (*mundati*), because "lepra is an ailment affecting merely the colour, not the health or the soundness of the senses and the limbs." And St. Isidore of Seville classes "scabies" and "lepra" together, and says[4] that "each complaint is a roughness of the skin, attended with itching and scaliness." Other passages both from modern and ancient writers might be quoted, but these are sufficient to show the nature and the extent of the difference of opinion that exists on the subject of the leprosy of the Bible. It will be both interesting and instructive to endeavour to trace out the origin of this difference, and probably the most satisfactory mode of doing this will be by ascertaining the exact meaning of the words that have been used as synonymous terms to represent this disease.

In carrying out this inquiry, it will be more convenient to work *backwards*, beginning with the English of the present day, and gradually ascending to the Greek of the New Testament, and the Hebrew of Moses. At first sight it may seem that this is a mere question about words, rather than one relating to divinity, or even to medical science; but it will in the end be found to be one of those cases in which the use of the same Latin word in two quite different senses has caused great part of the confusion and difficulty that has embarrassed the subject, and encumbered it with a vast number of books and dissertations, which, but for this cause, would never have been written at all.

The English word *leprosy* is sometimes used to signify a mere scaly eruption, but is more commonly applied to a constitutional disease, analogous in some respects to certain bad forms of scrofula, which has within the last few years formed the subject of some extensive and important inquiries conducted by the London College of Physicians at the expense of the Colonial Office. This latter sense of the word is probably the only meaning which it bore in the fourteenth century, when Wicliffe translated the New Testament into English, and used the words *leprous* and *lepre* as synonymous with the Latin *leprosus* and *lepra* (St. Matt. viii. 2, 3; quoted in Richardson's *Dict.*).

The Latin word *lepra* was certainly used in this latter sense during the Middle Ages—generally, if not exclusively; but it is equally certain that in the older writers it was used as synonymous with the Greek λέπρα, to signify essentially a mere scaly affection of the skin, though complicated occasionally with more important ailments. It is probable that it was not used to signify the mediæval or true leprosy before the latter half of the eleventh century, and that Constantine, the learned monk of Monte Casino, is the earliest writer in whose works it is found in this sense.[5] It may be considered therefore as almost capable of proof that St. Jerome (towards the end of the fourth century) in his revision of the Latin version of the Old and New Testaments used the word in the earlier or less formidable sense; especially as Arnobius (about the beginning of the same century) renders[6] λέπρα by "vitiligo," a word which certainly never signified any disease at all resembling the true leprosy.[7]

With respect to the Greek λέπρα it may be stated that there is probably no passage in any medical writer, either before or after the time of St. Luke, in which the word is used to signify anything but a

[1] *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, § 10, p. 213.
[2] *Speaker's Commentary*, Levit. xiii., xiv.
[3] *Quæst. Evang.*, lib ii., § 40, tom. iii., p. 1644 A.
[4] *Etymol.*, lib. iv., cap. 8, § 10, tom. i., p. 98, ed. Matr. 1778.

[5] One of his works (*De Morborum Cognitione et Curatione*) is a translation from the Arabic treatise of Abú Ja'far Ahmad (or Ibnu-l-Jezzár), and one of the chapters (lib. vii., cap. 17, vol. i., p. 160) is entitled "De Elephantiasi," and corresponds with the chapter called *Fi-l-Judhám* in the original, which is still in MS. It happens that this same work was also translated into Greek, and in this version (which has never been printed) the chapter in question is headed Ἐλεφαντίασις. It is also quite certain that this is the disease treated of; but the strange thing is, that, though Constantine in the heading of the chapter speaks of *elephantiasis*, in the opening words of the chapter he calls the disease *lepra*. Without pursuing the subject further, or attempting to account for Constantine's using two quite different words in the same chapter to signify the same disease, the writer will merely suggest that it may be this particular chapter which has given rise to all the confusion, respecting the use of the word *lepra*, that has prevailed from the time of Constantine (who died towards the end of the eleventh century) nearly to the present day; at least this may be accepted as a probable conjecture, until some earlier instance of this use of the word is pointed out. (See the *Brit. and For. Med. Chir. Rev.* for Oct., 1874.)
[6] *Adv. Gentes*, lib. i., p. 337 A, l. 8; p. 338 A, l. 19; p. 339 A, l. 13, ed. Paris, 1836.
[7] Celsus says of it, "quamvis per se *nullum periculum adfert*, tamen et fœda est," &c. (*De Medic.*, lib. v., cap. 28, § 19). Could any physician speak in this way of the mediæval leprosy?

scaly skin disease, with or without more serious complications. Is it therefore credible that St. Luke, himself a physician, would have given to the word a meaning quite different from what it usually (if not universally) bore in his time? or that he would have called the disease λέπρα, when he meant ἐλεφαντίασις? which would be much the same as if a physician in the present day were to describe a bad case of *scrofula* under the name of *ringworm*. Yet this is the amount of the burden of proof that falls upon those who contend that by λέπρα St. Luke meant some disease essentially resembling the true or mediæval leprosy. Many passages might be quoted from the ancient non-medical writers in which the word is used in the same general sense, so that it seems probable that those passages which appear at first sight to have a different meaning may admit of the same explanation.

We now arrive at the old Greek version of the Pentateuch, in which λέπρα is used for the translation of צָרַעַת (*tzara'ath*). If the above reasoning be sound, and if it be conceded that St. Luke wrote about the same disease that is described in Leviticus, it will follow that the leprosy of the Old Testament was essentially different from the leprosy of the Middle Ages and of modern times. Nothing but the strongest internal evidence could overthrow this conclusion, and this strong internal evidence is certainly wanting; for when Lev. xiii., xiv. are scientifically examined by an impartial physician, the difficulty of explaining the word צָרַעַת (*tzara'ath*) in these chapters as signifying ἐλεφαντίασις is at least as great as if it be taken in the sense of λέπρα.

A very strong confirmation of this view is furnished by the fact that both diseases are at the present day to be found in Syria, called by two different names, *judhám* and *baras*, which correspond respectively to ἐλεφαντίασις and λέπρα in the translation of the Arabic work already quoted.[1]

On the other hand, it must be mentioned that in the Hebrew translation of the medical work mentioned above, the word צָרַעַת (*tzara'ath*) is used for the Arabic *judhám* and the Greek ἐλεφαντίασις. If, however, the Latin *lepra* can be proved to have lost its original meaning so completely within the comparatively short period of a few hundred years, we need not be surprised at finding the same change of signification to have occurred in the course of several thousand years in the case of the Hebrew צָרַעַת (*tzara'ath*); and it would not be safe to conclude that, because the word was used to signify ἐλεφαντίασις in the eleventh or twelfth century after Christ, it therefore bore the same meaning in the time of Moses, probably in the sixteenth or seventeenth century before Christ.

It should be borne in mind that the preceding remarks are not supposed to clear up all the difficulties connected with the (so-called) leprosy of the Old and New Testaments, but only to offer some reasons for believing that the disease in question (though doubtless frequently modified in appearance and character by various complications[2]) was essentially more akin to λέπρα (in its proper sense) than to ἐλεφαντίασις, and that therefore the adoption of the term "leprosy," which was at that time used in a different sense, was ill-chosen in the first instance, and has continued to confuse the whole subject down to the present time. It would take up far too much space to enter fully into the various questions connected with this disease, and therefore only a few can be noticed here, and those in a very cursory and imperfect manner. It will have been observed that the view advocated above lessens considerably the *medical* importance of the disease, and it certainly is not easy to understand why a disease that is in itself so little dangerous should be noticed at such length in Holy Scripture. Many conjectures have been offered on this subject, but perhaps it is better to confess our ignorance, and to acknowledge, that, whether the disease in question be considered in its medical and sanitary aspect, or in a ceremonial and symbolical point of view, it is not possible to bring forward any explanation that shall be perfectly satisfactory—though there have not been wanting competent and even eminent persons, both divines and physicians, who have ventured to pronounce on the subject with great positiveness. To confine these remarks to the medical difficulties of the case, it seems hardly reasonable for any one living in this age and country to expect to be able to verify by his own experience the description of such a disease as צָרַעַת (*tzara'ath*), written by a non-professional author, between 3,000 and 4,000 years ago, and relating to the different species and complications of the malady found in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine. Even in the case of many diseases mentioned by the old Greek, Latin, and Arabic physicians in times much nearer to our own, the difficulty of identifying the descriptions is very great (and found to be the greatest by those who have given most attention to the subject); and to look for a greater degree of certainty in the diseases mentioned in the Old Testament is an expectation unreasonable in itself, and one which certainly will not be gratified.

[1] With respect to the latter word there is an important and interesting sentence in Dr. Tilbury Fox's pamphlet, *Leprosy, Ancient and Modern*, &c., Edinburgh, 1866: "During the last year (1865), in my travels through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, seeing and hearing as much as possible about leprosy, curiously enough, I found in the vicinity of the Lebanon range, that a form of disease is common, of old date, and recognised as distinct from *elephantiasis*: it is called *baras el Israily*. I declare from the description, character, and seat of the disease that it is nothing more nor less than *lepra vulgaris* or *alphos*" (p. 7).

[2] Thus Philo calls it πολυμόρφος και πολυτρόπος, "multiform and changeful" (?) (*De Poster. Caini*, § 13, tom. i., p. 234, ed. Mangey.)

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

IN the fourth century before the Christian era, the provinces of Asia Minor were overrun and in part subdued by hordes of Gauls, partly from the disbanded armies of Brennus, flushed with their successes in Italy,[1] and coveting the spoils of the Eastern world. Migrations from the West continued through successive generations; and the Asiatic and Western powers maintained, with various fortunes, a long-continued struggle,[2] until by degrees the Gallic community was compressed into the rich central district lying between Phrygia on the east and Cappadocia on the west, and watered by the Halys and the upper streams of the Sangarius. Augustus, B.C. 25, constituted this district a Roman province; while its name *Galatia*, etymologically allied to *Gaul*[3] and *Kelt*, denotes the race to which its colonists belonged. At the same time a large proportion of the ancient Phrygian inhabitants remained; the conquerors adopting even their religion; while, from the admixture of Greek settlers, the province was sometimes called *Gallo-græcia;* but the Keltic race predominated, and in their character and national usages presented a marked contrast to their Asiatic neighbours, whether Jew or Gentile.

2. To this alien and isolated community the Apostle Paul, in the course of his second missionary journey, and just before his departure for Europe, first bore "the glad tidings of Christ." The historian's mention of the apostolic visit is brief and cursory—"When they (Paul and Silas) had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia." It is only from the Epistle now under consideration that we can supplement the narrative. The Apostle, "through infirmity of the flesh, preached the Gospel unto" the Galatians "at first."[4] From his language it would appear not only that he was subject to some grievous affliction while labouring amongst them, but that the affliction was the very cause of his detention in Galatia. It is impossible not to connect this notice with St. Paul's reference to "the thorn in his flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 7).[5] The "trial," whatever it was, to which the Apostle was thus subject had no unfavourable influence on his reception. On the contrary, it seems only to have called forth the sympathy and generous kindness of these impulsive Keltic people. They received Paul "as an angel of God"—nay, in a higher character still, had it been possible—"as Christ Jesus." In the ardour of their first love they would have done anything, surrendered anything for the teacher who had pointed them to Christ.[6] Their faith, if not deeply rooted, was earnest and eager. They "ran well;" giving every evidence that they "had known God," or rather, as the Apostle adds with a fine characteristic turn of thought, "were known of God."

3. What particular cities were thus visited must remain matter of conjecture. It is natural to think of Ancyra, Tavium, and Pessinus, the chief towns of the Galatian province. Some critics, indeed, have remarked that the Roman province of Galatia included Lycaonia with part of Pisidia, so including several cities visited by St. Paul on his first and second missionary tours, the Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.[7] There is, however, reason to believe that the word Galatia is used in the New Testament in its popular and narrower sense, and that the Galatian cities must be ranked among those many places, unnamed in the history, in which the Apostle preached the word of life. It may be, indeed, that the slightness with which the Galatians are noticed by St. Luke is attributable to their defection from the faith.

A second visit to the province was paid by the Apostle in his third missionary journey, between his lengthened residence in Corinth and his abode in Ephesus. He "went over the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples."[8] This visit to the Galatians seems to have been one of disappointment and sadness. Not only had the enthusiasm—the "blessedness"—of their first love departed, but the faithful instructions and warnings of the Apostle were misconstrued. He is counted as "an enemy" because he "tells them the truth." He is constrained to say, "If any man preach unto you any other Gospel than that ye have received, let him be anathema."[9] The germs not only of disaffection, but of heresy, are already among them. That revolt from the simplicity of the Gospel has begun, which occasioned, in the end, the stern reproof of this Epistle.

4. The genuineness of the Epistle may be assumed as beyond all reasonable doubt, and is, indeed, unquestioned even by the most revolutionary critics of modern times.[10] With respect to its date, however, very various opinions have been entertained, and the question, within certain limits, may be regarded as still open. The Euthalian subscription states that it was "written from Rome," but this view is now universally abandoned as

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[1] The sacking of Rome by Brennus occurred B.C. 390.

[2] The final and decisive defeat of the Gauls in Asia was by Attalus, King of Pergamos, B.C. 230.

[3] The Greeks at first usually employed *Galatia*, the Romans *Gallia*. The restriction of the former to Asiatic, the latter to European, Gaul is observed only by later Greek writers. See an elaborate note in Canon Lightfoot's *Commentary on Galatians*, p. 3.

[4] Gal. iv. 13.

[5] See *Introduction* to 2 Corinthians.

[6] "Ye would have plucked out your own eyes." The inference, sometimes drawn from these words, that St. Paul's malady was one that affected the eyesight, is hardly warranted. As Dean Alford suggests, the emphasis rests on the word *eyes*, not on *your own*: the idea being that they would have given up *anything*, however valuable, for their beloved teacher's sake.

[7] Acts xiii. 51; xiv. 6; xv. 41.

[8] Acts xviii. 23.

[9] Gal. iv. 15, 16; i. 9.

[10] See *Lightfoot*, Introduction, § 4.

untenable. The following considerations contain the *data* from which it seems possible to reach at least an approximate conclusion:—

α. Two visits to Galatia had been paid when the Epistle was written. This appears certain from the passages already cited, intimating the very different reception of the Apostle on the two occasions. The phrase in chap. iv. 13, "Through infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto you *at the first*," plainly shows that a second visit had already taken place.

β. The history almost precludes the possibility of the letter having been written after St. Paul's arrival in Greece (Acts xx. 2). There he abode but "three months," during which, as will be fully shown in the next paper, the Epistle to the Romans was written—a task which must have absorbed the Apostle's whole available time and thought. After leaving Corinth, at the close of these three months, events succeeded one another so rapidly up to the time of the Apostle's imprisonment in Cæsarea as to have left no possible leisure for composition.

γ. The limits between which this letter must be placed are, therefore, the Apostle's arrival in Ephesus (Acts xix. 1), and the close of his journey through Macedonia into Greece. This period comprises the time during which, as shown in previous papers, the two Epistles to the Corinthians were written. Accordingly, the ablest critics have placed the Galatian letter, either (1) before the First to the Corinthians, (2) between the First and Second, or (3) between the Second and the Epistle to the Romans. In any case, it belongs to the group of Epistles written during the latter part of St. Paul's third missionary tour. Its precise place in this group, if determined at all, must be decided by internal evidence exclusively.

δ. At first sight, the earliest place in the series might appear warranted by the Apostle's language, "I marvel that ye are *so quickly* turning renegades from Him who called you in grace."[1] And undoubtedly, if there were no counter-considerations, the words would naturally suggest that a very brief period had elapsed since the conversion of the Galatians,[2] or, at any rate, since St. Paul's second and disappointing visit to them. But (1) the word ταχέως may mean "readily, rashly" (1 Tim. v. 22; 2 Thess. ii. 2). Or (2) allowing that the adverb refers to time, it must be remembered that *soon* is a relative term, and that apostacy from the faith might be called speedy even after years of Christian profession.[3] No very certain conclusion, therefore, can be gathered from this expression of the Apostle. If it be further urged that the letter naturally expresses that knowledge of the state of the Galatians which would be the result of a recent visit, it is obvious to reply that all through the Apostle's residence in Ephesus there would undoubtedly be frequent communication with the neighbouring province of Galatia, which would keep him sufficiently informed respecting the state of the churches.

ε. The really determining consideration in the matter seems to be the close connection in thought and style between the Epistle to the Galatians and that to the Romans. The former is the finished sketch, the latter the full development, of the same great argument respecting law and grace. So remarkable is the coincidence, not only in the general course of reasoning, but in special illustrations and individual expressions, that it seems impossible not to believe that the two Epistles belong to nearly the same period of the Apostle's mental history.[4]

ζ. Pursuing a similar train of observation, it will appear that the Second Epistle to the Corinthians contains the germ of many thoughts in the Epistle to the Galatians. The former, indeed, may be said to supply, as it were, *texts* for the latter on some most important points. To the Corinthians the Apostle says (2 Cor. v. 21), "He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." The expansion of this thought occupies the greater part of the Galatian Epistle. Again, in contrasting the Judaic with the Christian dispensation, St. Paul writes (2 Cor. iii. 9), "If the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory." Here we have the suggestion of that thought of death by the law, and life through justification, which pervades the Galatian and Roman letters. The personal references, again, which form so marked an element in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Galatians, suggest a similar order. These are thrown out in the former Epistle, occasionally, promiscuously, half apologetically: in the latter are combined into an elaborate defence. In the former they are simply personal, in the latter are associated with doctrine: showing that the opposition to the Apostle had taken more definite ground, and must be more fully and argumentatively met. Consistent with the same conclusion is the fact that while to the Corinthians the Apostle speaks much of his sufferings, in writing to the Galatians he is reticent on this point. As an ambassador of Christ, he is now concerned to exhibit his credentials, rather than to speak of his sorrows: only saying, in reference to the latter, "henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the brands (στίγματα) of the Lord Jesus."[5]

[1] Chap. i. 6. Observe, the verb is *present*—"turning," not "turned."

[2] Some expositors, accordingly, looking only to this phrase, have placed the letter between St. Paul's first and second visits to Galatia.

[3] See *Lightfoot*, pp. 41, 73.

[4] Space will not allow the citation of parallel passages. The student will readily gather them for himself; or he may study the copious table drawn out by Dr. Lightfoot, pp. 44, sq. Compare Rom. iii. 20 with Gal. ii. 16; Rom. i. 17 with Gal. iii. 11; Rom. iv. 3, 10, 11, 17 with Gal. iii. 6—9; Rom. x. 5 with Gal. iii. 12; Rom. iv. 13, 14, 16. with Gal. iii. 15—18; Rom. vi. 3, xiii. 14, with Gal. iii. 27; Rom. xi. 32 with Gal. iii. 22; Rom. viii. 14—17 with Gal. iv. 5—7; Rom. vi. 6, 8 with Gal. ii. 20; Rom. vii. 23, 25, with Gal. v. 17; Rom. xiii. 8—10 with Gal. v. 14. These are but the more manifest coincidences: the minor and verbal accordances are almost numberless. It is evident that the argument is cumulative, and in this view is irresistible.

[5] Gal. vi. 17. The word contains a double allusion—to the marks of persecution, and to the brand or badge which denoted ownership or lifelong service.

η. We conclude then with some confidence that the Epistle to the Galatians is to be placed after that to the Corinthians, and before that to the Romans. The Apostle had left Ephesus and had not yet arrived in Achaia. While travelling through Macedonia, and giving "much exhortation" to the brethren in "those parts,"[1] he finds opportunity to address these immortal words of warning and instruction to the erring disciples in Galatia. "All the brethren who are with" him[2]—his companions in travel—unite in the expostulatory address, thus assisting him to bear this heaviest part of what he has a little while before described as "the care of all the churches."[3]

5. The special error by which the Galatians were led astray is for us long buried among the settled controversies of the past. We wonder perhaps at its former power, at least in any Gentile community; and yet in some points of view the doctrine of the Judaizers was at least plausible. The Gospel without doubt was the development of the Law, which it "came not to destroy, but to fulfil;" and it might speciously be argued that the plan adopted in the Divine education of the *world* was as necessary for the *individual*. First Moses, and then Christ—this had been the experience of the race, the experience of all the earliest converts and teachers of the truth:—why not, then, the experience needful to all who would be saved? It was in this aspect that the conversion of the Gentiles was at first regarded by the mother-church at Jerusalem; and even after the decision of the assembly, recorded Acts xv., the opinion still lingered. Scattered through Galatia were many Jews,[4] and though the bulk of the converts in the province were Gentiles, "doing service unto them which by nature are no gods,"[5] the reception of Jesus as the Messiah would bring the converts from heathenism into the circle of Jewish thought. Add to this that the Keltic character is imaginative, impulsive, especially open to the allurements of ritualistic, sensuous forms of religion, and it is no wonder that the Galatians were "bewitched"—fascinated[6] by a ceremonialism in which, it was represented to them, they might indulge without losing their part in Christ and in His Gospel. The teachings of the Apostle, in their severe simplicity, became distasteful. The religious externalism, in which circumcision was the leading rite and most expressive symbol, was presented, not, indeed, as a substitute for Christianity, but as its needful accompaniment. The Judaizing teachers claimed for their presentation of the Gospel the merit of completeness. In comparison with this, the apostolic doctrine appeared impalpable and imperfect. Were the commands and institutions delivered to the fathers to be counted as nothing? Was the olden covenant to be annulled? As the very condition of being "in Christ," must not the faithful be grafted into the stock of Abraham? Such were the questions which arose from the midst of early Jewish Christianity; questions which perplexed and perverted the Gentile churches, and which reached their uttermost of mischief in Galatia. The old assertion was echoed from Jerusalem and Antioch, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved;"[7] and the Apostle whose name had already become the symbol of a liberal Christianity was decried as a pretender to the apostolic office, or, at any rate, as inferior to the twelve who had received their commission direct from Christ. It was therefore needful for St. Paul to insist, with greater fulness and detail than heretofore, upon two points: first, the freedom and spirituality of the Gospel; and secondly, his own apostolic claim, as of one commissioned by Christ Himself.

6. These are accordingly the leading thoughts of the Epistle, which naturally falls into three divisions, Personal, Doctrinal, and Practical; with a Summary at the close written by St. Paul's own hand.

I. Personal (chaps. i., ii.). This section may be divided as follows:—

(1.) *Salutation* (i. 1—5). In this opening sentence, with the customary greeting St. Paul asserts his apostolic claims—"Not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father"—thus anticipating what was to follow.

(2.) *Rebuke*, and declaration of the unchanging truth of the one Gospel which he preached (i. 6—10). It is to be observed that the Apostle omits the usual commendation, either in the impetuosity with which he presses on to his main topic, or to enhance the sternness of his reproof.

(3.) *Assertion of his own apostleship* (i. 6—ii. 21). This section is subdivided as follows:—

a. The Gospel which he preached came "by revelation of Jesus Christ" (i. 11, 12).

b. It was opposed to all his early beliefs and prejudices (vv. 13, 14).

c. Even after his conversion he remained independent of the Apostles, being actually separate from them (vv. 15—17).[8]

d. And, subsequently, when visiting Jerusalem, the independence was maintained. Only a fortnight was spent in St. Peter's company, and there was no intercourse with the rest of the Twelve (vv. 18—20).[9]

e. His work from the first lay apart from that of the

[1] Acts xx. 2. [2] Gal. i. 2.

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 28. It may be added that the above conclusion as to the date of the Epistle is strongly maintained by Canon Lightfoot, to whose able and exhaustive essay, *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, vol. iii. (*Commentary*, pp. 35—55), the reader is referred. The same view is advocated by Bleek (*Introduction to New Testament*), and Conybeare and Howson, with others. The great majority of expositors, however (see Alford), date the Epistle from Ephesus, either before or after the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

[4] See Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 3, § 4; xvi. 6, § 2. [5] Gal. iv. 8.

[6] Gal. iii. 1, ἐβάσκανε—exactly our word "fascinated."

[7] Acts xv. 1.

[8] The three years' abode of the Apostle in Arabia, entirely passed over in the history, forms an important *datum* in his biography. It is included in the phrase "after that many days were fulfilled" (Acts ix. 23).

[9] "James the Lord's brother" is now generally regarded as a different person from James the son of Alphæus. The "brethren of the Lord" were probably not cousins, but either sons of Joseph and Mary, or sons of Joseph by a former wife.

Judæan Christians, who did not even know him personally, yet fully sympathised with him (vv. 21—24).

f. When "fourteen years after" this first visit to Jerusalem,[1] he "went up" thither again (to attend the meeting of the Church recorded Acts xv.), he still maintained his independence. He went up, not at the call of the Apostles, but "by revelation;" asserted his freedom, notably, in relation to the demand that Titus should be circumcised; and in regard to his position and labours as an Apostle, was treated on a footing of equality with the rest (ii. 1—10).

g. And afterwards at Antioch, so far from yielding to Peter as a superior, he "withstood him to the face," rebuking him for unworthy yielding to the Jewish party, and so falling into the same kind of errors as those which he is proceeding to denounce[2] (vv. 11—21).

II. Doctrinal.—The mention of St. Peter's error leads naturally to the detailed exposure and refutation of the similar delusion of the Galatians.

(1.) They had received the truth, not in connection with legal ordinances, but by the exhibition of a crucified Saviour. Is their Christian life now to sink to a lower level? (iii. 1—5.)

(2.) Would they be the true seed of Abraham? They, like him, must be just through faith (vv. 6—9).

(3.) The Law condemns, it cannot justify. Christ only can redeem (vv. 10—14).

(4.) The Law was later than the promise: the pledge of redemption through Christ stands first in order of time, and is supreme (vv. 15—18).

(5.) Further, the Law, so to speak, is but a *parenthesis* in the Divine dealings, a temporary dispensation rendered necessary by man's transgression. It was, moreover, given through instrumentality of created beings, "angels," and an earthly "mediator," and cannot therefore belong to the eternal order[3] (vv. 19, 20).

(6.) Yet the Law is not contrary to the promise, but preparatory to its fulfilment in the Gospel (vv. 21—23).

(7.) Inference from all the foregoing. The Law is for the childhood of the race; but the time of nonage is passed, and the inheritance of freedom may be claimed (iii. 24—iv. 7).

The Apostle here interposes an earnest appeal to the Galatians, not to turn again to a state of bondage, but to listen again to his own pleadings, rather than to the words of those who would enslave their souls (iv. 8—20).

(8.) An illustration of the contrast between Law and Gospel is drawn from an allegorical application of the history of Isaac and Ishmael[4] (vv. 21—31).

III. Practical (chaps. v., vi.). Of this section "freedom" is the key-note.

(1.) Maintain your freedom resolutely (v. 1).

(2.) If you surrender your liberty in the matter of circumcision, you are bound by the whole Law. Law or Gospel—you must choose between them (vv. 2—6).

(3.) These Judaizers are false teachers, antichristian and corrupting (vv. 7—12).

(4). Only remember that liberty is not licence. There is a law—the law of love. Show your freedom by walking in the Spirit (vv. 13—18).

a. The works of the flesh are enumerated (vv. 19—21).

b. And the works of the Spirit (vv. 22—26).

(5.) Two special injunctions are added:

a. To forbearance and brotherly sympathy (vi. 1—5).

b. To liberality, especially in the support of their teachers and fellow-believers (vv. 6—10).

These two injunctions, it may be added, remarkably correspond with the special topics of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians—the restoration of the erring (2 Cor. ii. 5—11), and the obligations of beneficence (2 Cor. viii., ix.). On the latter point the Apostle had already given directions "to the churches of Galatia" (1 Cor. xvi. 1).

IV. Summary, in the Apostle's own handwriting, and Benediction (vi. 11—18).

At this point St. Paul himself takes the pen from his amanuensis, and "in large letters," written with his "own hand" as if to mark the intensity of his feeling,[5] and to add impressiveness to his words, gathers up the whole teaching of the Epistle into one glowing paragraph, ending with a pathetic reference to the sufferings which marked him out as Christ's, and bidding the Galatians an affectionate farewell. He had written sternly, but cannot leave them in anger: his last words to them are words of love.

7. The effect of the letter is unknown: neither in history or Epistle is there any further mention of Galatia.[6] Once the Apostle had expressed a generous hopefulness as to the result of his appeals, "I have confidence in you through the Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded;"[7] but how far his expectations were fulfilled it is impossible to say. Again and again the Galatian churches appear in ecclesiastical history, always with the same mingled character of earnestness and superstition—impulses to noble devotedness and strange lapses into heresy. There is scarcely a form of

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[1] For the difficulties in the chronology, as compared with the history in the Acts, see Lightfoot, p. 88. The "undesigned coincidences" of the two accounts are very striking; and no real discrepancies remain.

[2] The words of St. Paul's address to St. Peter gradually "lose themselves" in the reflections suggested, so that at the end of the chapter the Apostle is speaking to the Galatians. "For similar instances of the intermingling of the direct language of the speaker and the after comment of the narrator," see John i. 15—18; Acts i. 16—21.

[3] It is said that more than 200 interpretations have been given of verse 20, on which see the commentaries. The above appears the *general* sense.

[4] "Which things are an allegory" (ver. 24), rather "are susceptible of allegorical application," superimposed upon their literal, historical meaning.

[5] Verse 11—not "how large a letter," but "with how large letters." Some have interpreted this, ingeniously, of the size of the letters as rendered necessary by the Apostle's (supposed) imperfect eyesight—a kind of apology, in fact, for bad writing! But this seems forced, and the above interpretation is natural.

[6] There is an apparent exception in 2 Tim. iv. 10, "Crescens (has departed) to Galatia;" but there are strong reasons for believing this passage to refer to European Gaul.

[7] Gal. v. 10.

error which does not in some way connect itself with Ancyra. Gregory of Nazianzum denounces the folly of the Galatians, who abound in many names of impiety. Julian "the Apostate" declares that whole villages in the province were depopulated by the intolerance and quarrels of the Christians. Yet, in the persecution under Diocletian, Galatia had given its martyrs to the faith, and at the close of this stormy period "a famous council was held at Ancyra—a court-martial of the Church, for the purpose of restoring discipline, and pronouncing upon those who had faltered or deserted in the combat." The revival of heathen worship in Galatia was attempted by Julian, who visited the province in person, but unsuccessfully: confessors again withstood to the death. It was easier to the end for the "foolish Galatians" to grasp the crown of martyrdom than to rest in the simplicity of the faith.

8. This Epistle has in all ages engaged the reverent study of the greatest theologians. Luther chose it as the most effective means of attacking the corruptions of the mediæval Church, and his *Commentary on the Galatians*, written and re-written by him with sedulous care, was his favourite work. "The Epistle to the Galatians," said the great Reformer, "is my Epistle: I have betrothed myself to it; it is my wife." More modern expositions are almost innumerable; that by Canon Lightfoot is well and deservedly esteemed for justness of criticism, copiousness and accuracy of information, and sympathetic insight into the very heart of the Apostle.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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MATTHEW'S BIBLE.

ABOUT two years after the publication of Coverdale's translation appeared another folio volume containing the Bible in English. The inscription on the title-page runs thus: "The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: In which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into Englysh by Thomas Matthew. Esaye I. Hearcken to ye heauens and thou earth geaue eare: for the Lorde speaketh. M,D, xxxvii, Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycence." In no part of the volume is any information given as to the place of publication, and all that we can say is that the book was printed abroad. The Dedication to Henry VIII. bears the signature of Thomas Matthew, but contains nothing which throws any light on the translator or on the circumstances of the translation. A brief "Exhortacyon to the studye of the holy Scrypture" is signed with the initials I. R. The only remaining indications which can point to any persons connected with the work are the initials R. G. and E. W., found on the reverse of the title-page of the second part of the volume (containing "The Prophetes in Englysh,") and the letters W. T., which occur at the end of the Book of Malachi.

It is evident at a glance that this book is no reprint of Coverdale's translation. Yet, notwithstanding the measure of favour shown to Coverdale's Bible, the new volume made its way into England with surprising ease and success. The first notice of it that we find is in a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, dated August 4, 1537. The Archbishop begs Cromwell to read the book, a copy of which he sends with his letter, assuring him that, so far as he has examined the translation, it is more to his liking than any translation heretofore made. He prays Cromwell to exhibit the book to the king, and to obtain from him a "license that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we the Bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday." A few days later Cranmer again writes, expressing his most hearty thanks to Cromwell for having obtained from the king that the book "shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within this realm." This translation may therefore be called the first authorised version of the English Bible.[1] The initials mentioned above, R. G. and E. W., are those of the London printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, at whose expense the volume was printed. From a letter written by Grafton to Cranmer, in which he seeks protection against unauthorised reprints, we learn that the impression had consisted of 1,500 copies, and that Grafton had ventured in the undertaking the sum of £500—a large venture at that time. The whole impression appears to have been sold within a short period. The royal licence had removed all obstacles which could embarrass the sale or the reading of the book, and the English nation joyfully welcomed the gift of the Scriptures translated into their mother tongue.

But it is time to ask, Who was Thomas Matthew? What is the meaning of the initials I. R. and W. T., which, as we have seen, are found in this book? The second of these questions may be easily answered. Foxe's testimony, though of doubtful accuracy in some details, is of itself sufficient to show that under "I. R." we must understand John Rogers, the first who suffered for his religion in the reign of Queen Mary.

John Rogers was born about the year 1500. Soon after taking the degree of B.A. at Cambridge, in 1525, he received an invitation to Christ Church, Oxford,

[1] In the same year, 1537, the royal licence was obtained for Coverdale's Bible. See above, Vol. III., p. 264.

then known as "Cardinal College." About the year 1534 he accepted the office of chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, in which city Tyndale was then residing. Foxe relates that in Antwerp Rogers chanced "to fall in company with that worthy martyr of God, William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, which both for the hatred they bare to Popish superstition and idolatry, and love they bare toward true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful" (*i.e.* difficult) "and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, 'The Translation of Thomas Matthew.'"[1] Rogers's association with Tyndale seems to have been very intimate, though of but short duration His Bible was published a few months after Tyndale's death. In 1537 he married, and removed to Wittenberg, where, probably, he remained until 1547. During the short reign of Edward VI. he received many marks of favour from the party then in power. His elevated position and his courageous advocacy of Protestant opinions marked him out as an early victim in the persecution which followed; and in February, 1555, he was burned alive in Smithfield.

The nature of Rogers's Biblical labours will appear when we examine the internal character of Matthew's Bible. Enough has been said to show that "W. T." can hardly have any other meaning than "William Tyndale." It is much more difficult to deal with the remaining question, relating to Thomas Matthew. Foxe intimates that this was merely a name which Rogers assumed from prudential motives, lest his known connection with Tyndale should prove injurious to the undertaking. In favour of this view, which is accepted by most modern writers, is the fact that in the official record of the apprehension of Rogers he is described as "John Rogers, *alias* Matthew." It is possible, however, that the name is a real one, and belongs to some patron through whose aid the work was undertaken. Neither view is free from difficulty. If Matthew and Rogers were different men, it is singular that all knowledge of Matthew should so soon have been lost, and that in less than twenty years the name should have been supposed to be a mere *alias*. If but one person is signified, it is somewhat strange that both names should occur in the documents prefixed to the Bible. On any supposition the statement on the title-page is inaccurate.

Let us now examine the translation itself. The New Testament need not detain us long, for with very slight and occasional exceptions it is a reproduction of Tyndale's version. Where Tyndale's second and third editions differ, Matthew seems usually to agree with the third, that of 1535. In the Old Testament the case is not so clear. It will be remembered that in 1537 there existed in print the following versions of the Old Testament, or parts of the Old Testament: Tyndale's Pentateuch (1531, 1534), Jonah (1531), and "Epistles" from the Old Testament and Apocrypha (1534), and Coverdale's Old Testament and Apocrypha. If we compare the translation before us with each of these, we meet with the following results:—

(1) The translation of the Pentateuch is certainly Tyndale's. The changes introduced are very slight, hardly greater perhaps than the variations between the two editions published by Tyndale himself. For example: in the list of clean beasts (Deut. xiv. 4, 5), the last five are given by Tyndale as the bugle, hart-goat, unicorn, "origen, and camelion;" in Matthew's Bible *wild goat* takes the place of *hart-goat*, but no other change is made. In Lev. xi. 22 Rogers and Tyndale agree (with Luther) in leaving untranslated the four words which in the Authorised Version are represented by locust, bald-locust, beetle, grasshopper. Tyndale, however, gives no explanation of the words, whereas in Matthew's Bible it is stated that "Arbe, Selaam, Hargol, Hagab, are kyndes of beastes that crepe or scraul on the grounde, which the Hebrues them selues do not now a dayes know." In the passage which we have referred to so frequently, Numb. xxiv. 15—24, the two versions differ only in spelling.

(2) An example of Tyndale's "Epistles" from the Old Testament has been already given (see Vol. II., p. 302), and has also been compared with Coverdale's version (see Vol. III., p. 266). It is therefore only necessary to say that Matthew's Bible and Coverdale's are here perfectly in accord.

(3) In the books from Ezra to Malachi, not excluding the Book of Jonah, and in the Apocryphal books (with one exception, which will be referred to afterwards), Matthew's Bible is almost identical with Coverdale's. In 100 verses taken at random from various books within these limits, the difference in text between the two versions does not amount to eight words in a thousand. In Psalms xc.—xcv. (87 verses) the only variations in translation are an insertion of *the*, and the substitution of *thine* for *thy* (three times), *disdainfully* for *disdainedly*, *and we* for *as for us we* (xcv. 7), *said* for *sware* (xcv. 11). With the exception of the last, for which it is hard to account except on the supposition of accident, all these alterations maintained their ground, and are still to be found in the Prayer Book Psalter.

(4) We have now examined all the books of the Old Testament except nine—Joshua to 2 Chronicles. Here we should naturally expect that Matthew's Bible would give Coverdale's translation, as the only English translation then extant. The most cursory examination will show that this is *not* the case. This part of Matthew's Bible therefore is new. Who then is the translator? The statements of our authorities are conflicting. Foxe[2] ascribes nearly the whole of Matthew's Bible to Tyndale and Coverdale, Rogers being the translator of some

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 591.

[2] Vol. v., p. 412.

Apocryphal books and the "corrector to the print." Bishop Bale[1] (writing about 1548) speaks of Rogers as translating the whole Bible, making use of Tyndale's version. Another writer, quoted by Lewis,[2] tells us that to the end of the Books of Chronicles the translation is Tyndale's; and from thence to the end of the Apocrypha, Coverdale's; and that the whole New Testament is Tyndale's. There can be no doubt that the last of these statements is almost literally true, and that Tyndale left behind him in manuscript a version of the books from Joshua to Chronicles, which was first given to the world by Rogers in Matthew's Bible. We know that Tyndale continued to labour on the Old Testament for months, if not for years, after the completion of his Pentateuch; and we can point to no one more likely than Rogers to be entrusted with the results of his labours. It is also clear that, if these books had been translated by Tyndale, the general principle on which Rogers acted would lead him to adopt this version in preference to Coverdale's. If we examine the translation itself, it lends evidence on the same side. One or two illustrations only can be given here.

We have to show that the translation of the Books from Joshua to Chronicles is probably from the same hand as the translation of the Pentateuch, and *not* from the same hand as the translation of the later books (from Ezra onwards). There is a Hebrew word (*ēlōn*), occurring nine times in the Old Testament, which is rendered "plain" in our common Bibles, but which in Tyndale's Pentateuch is more correctly translated "oak" or "oak-grove" (in Deut. xi. 30, "grove"). We turn to the later passages in which the word occurs, viz., Judg. iv. 11; ix. 6, 37; 1 Sam. x. 3, and find that in each of these passages Matthew's Bible has "oak." The curious expression rendered in our Bibles "shut up and left" occurs five times (with slight variations), viz., once in Deuteronomy and four times in the Books of Kings. In Matthew's Bible the uniform rendering is "prisoned (or *in prison*) and forsaken." It is not necessary to inquire into the correctness of this rendering; whether correct or not, *the same* translation of this peculiar phrase was adopted by Tyndale in his Pentateuch, and by the translator of the Books of Kings. Amongst the musical instruments described in these pages (see Vol. II., p. 314), is the tambour or hand-drum, in Hebrew *toph*. Now this word occurs three times in the Pentateuch, five times between Joshua and 2 Chronicles, and nine times in later books —that is, three times in the part which was certainly Tyndale's, nine times in Coverdale's portion, and five times in the books which lie between. In the Pentateuch the translation is always *timbrel*. In the books from Ezra onwards (setting aside three passages in which entirely different words occur) Coverdale always adopts *tabret*. In the books of which we are now speaking, Matthew's Bible has always *timbrel*, never *tabret*—that is, has Tyndale's rendering and not Coverdale's. The effect of such evidence as this, the accumulation of minute coincidences between Tyndale's acknowledged work and the work which tradition ascribes to him, is such as to produce the strongest persuasion that the tradition is true. This conclusion would seem to leave Rogers no part in the work of translation, and to assign him no higher place than that of editor. There is, however, a small contribution from his own hand. In Coverdale's Bible one portion of the Apocrypha was absent, the Prayer of Manasses; the Zurich translators, whom Coverdale mainly followed, having passed over this book. The omission is here supplied. The translation, however, is made neither from the Greek text, which at that period was not accessible, nor directly from the Latin, but probably from the French Bible of Olivetan (1535).

Rightly to estimate Rogers's work, it would be necessary to institute a minute comparison between his Bible and the earlier translations: the hand of the careful editor is evident throughout, as a few miscellaneous examples will prove. In Psalm xiv. the intrusive verses admitted by Coverdale, and still allowed to stand in our Prayer Books, are entirely removed. The numbering of the Psalms is changed, and made to agree with the Hebrew. As in the Hebrew Bible, the Psalter is divided into five books or "Treatises." "Hallelujah," left untranslated by Coverdale, is rendered, "Praise the everlasting." In Psalm cxix., and in other alphabetical poems, the several letters of the Hebrew alphabet are written at the head of each section and before each verse. In Job i. 21 Coverdale had inserted after the words, "the Lord hath taken away," the parenthesis, "the Lord hath done his pleasure;" but Rogers removes these words, adding the following note, "The Greek and Origen add hereunto, As it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done." In Job xxxiii. 23, Coverdale has "angel," where we read "interpreter:" Rogers substitutes "messenger," with an explanation in the margin, "That is, an instructor with the word of God." These notes are the most characteristic feature of Matthew's Bible. Sometimes dealing with points of translation, sometimes with verbal explanations, sometimes with matters of doctrine, they furnish an interesting and often a valuable commentary on the text. As Coverdale's note on Selah has been quoted, Matthew's may be given for the sake of comparison: "This word, after Rabbi Kimchi, was a sign or token of lifting up the voice, and also a monition and advertisement to enforce the thought and mind earnestly to give heed to the meaning of the verse unto which it is added. Some will that it signify perpetually or verily." Rogers deals very freely with the notes of his predecessors. Where Tyndale presses unduly into controversy with Rome, Rogers again and again declines to follow him, but he retains useful explanations of the text. He does not always, however, decline controversy. Almost the only note in the Apocryphal books (on 2 Macc. xii. 44) is a protest against the practice of praying for the dead. In the canonical books these

[1] See Strype, *Cranmer*, Vol. I., p. 119.
[2] *History of Translations*, p. 107.

notes, placed sometimes in the margin, sometimes at the end of the chapter, are frequently of considerable extent, especially in the Psalms and in some parts of Isaiah—chap. xliii. for example. The titles of the Psalms are carefully explained, the opinions of various authors being quoted. In Ps. ii. the verses are allotted to the several speakers—the prophet, the enemy, God, and the King Christ. The same separation of personages is given very elaborately in the Song of Solomon. In Ps. xcvii. 8 *daughters* are explained as *towns and villages.* On the last verse of Ps. cxxxix. there is a curious remark: "Some read, Then lead me by the way of the world, that is, destroy me." In Gen. ii. 17, "die the death," the editor carefully explains the force of such apparently redundant expressions, such "rehearsals of words," as he calls them. On Numb. xxxiii. 52, "chapels," he quotes two Rabbins for the alternative rendering "graved paving stones." In the New Testament Rogers sometimes gives in substance one of Luther's vigorous comments. Thus on John v. 17: "That is, my Father keepeth not the Sabbath day, no more do I. But my Father used no common merchandise on the Sabbath, and no more do I."

Rogers does not follow Coverdale in giving the contents of chapters in one body at the commencement of a book, but usually prefixes a heading to each chapter. No prologues or introductions are given, as a rule. A note at the commencement of the Song of Solomon briefly states the writer's view of the meaning of this "mystical device." The Book of Lamentations has an introduction slightly altered from Coverdale's. The Apocryphal books are introduced by a preface (translated from Olivetan's French Bible), in which the inferior authority of these books is carefully pointed out. In the New Testament the only insertion of the kind is of considerable length, and is no other than Tyndale's famous Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans.

The preliminary matter in Matthew's Bible is unusually elaborate. Besides the dedication and the exhortation already spoken of, and some other sections of no great length (as a Calendar and an Almanac, at the close of which we are told that "the year hath . . . fifty-two weeks and one day . . . in all, 365 days and six hours"), we find a very copious "Table of the principal matters contained in the Bible," occupying twenty-six pages. This concordance or dictionary is not original, but is translated from Olivetan. Rogers's obligations to this French Bible were very great throughout his work. Thus, the notes above referred to on Job i., xxxiii., Numb. xxxiii., Ps. xcvii., cxxxix., 2 Macc. xii. 44, and on Selah, the preface to Solomon's Song, the division of the Psalter into five "Treatises," the rendering of Hallelujah, are either altogether or in the main derived from this source. Much of the explanatory matter is taken from the commentaries of Pellican.

The order of the books is nearly the same as in Coverdale's Bible; but Baruch is removed from its place by Jeremiah, and placed between Ecclesiasticus and "the song of the iii children in the oven." The Prayer of Manasses precedes 1 Maccabees. The books of the New Testament are divided into two groups, the historical books and the Epistles. The order of the Epistles remains unaltered, 1 2 Peter and 1, 2, 3 John coming between Philemon and Hebrews; but there are no breaks in the list, separating the Epistles into different classes. There is a curious tendency to give two forms of names, as "Ezechiel or Jehezekiell," &c.

Copies of Matthew's Bible are to be found in the libraries of the British Museum and of Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, &c. The volume is a fine folio, of larger size than Coverdale's Bible. Like that Bible, it is ornamented with woodcuts, most of them small: these are most numerous in Exodus and the Revelation. Of the subsequent editions of Matthew's Bible (1549, 1551, &c.) it is not necessary to say more than that considerable alterations were introduced in the notes, introductions, &c., and some changes made in the text.

Closely connected with Matthew's Bible is that of Taverner. Our information respecting this translator is mainly derived from a graphic account given by Anthony à Wood (one of his descendants), in his *Athenæ Oxonienses.* Richard Taverner was born in 1505. He was educated for a time in Benet (Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge; but after a year and a half went to the Cardinal College, Oxford. About 1530, being now Master of Arts in both universities, he "went to an inn of Chancery, near London, and thence to the Inner Temple, where his humour was to quote the law in Greek when he read anything thereof." In 1534 he went to the Court, and was taken into the attendance of Cromwell, through whose influence he was afterwards made one of the clerks of the signet. In 1539 Taverner published his edition of the Bible: "The most sacred Bible, whiche is the holy scripture, conteyning the old and new testament, translated in to English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by Rychard Taverner. ☞ Harken thou heuen, and thou erth gyue eare: for the Lorde speaketh. Esaie. i. Prynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* M. D. XXXIX." The version was allowed to be publicly read in churches. After the fall of Cromwell, in 1540, Taverner's labours on the Scriptures brought him under censure, and he was committed to the Tower: his imprisonment, however, was of short duration, and he was soon restored to the king's favour. In 1552, though a layman, he received from Edward VI. a general licence to preach. We are told that he preached before the king at Court, and in some public places in the kingdom, wearing a velvet bonnet or round cap, a damask gown, and a chain of gold about his neck; in which habit he was seen and heard preaching several times in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. During Mary's reign Taverner prudently remained in retirement. Elizabeth showed him marks of special favour, and made him

high sheriff of the county of Oxford. He died in the year 1575.

The dedication of Taverner's Bible is to King Henry, and is characterised by manliness and good sense. The preliminary matter is nearly identical with that found in Matthew's Bible. There are no woodcuts, and but few explanatory notes. In the numbering of the Psalms Taverner returns to the Vulgate reckoning, giving the Hebrew numbers in the margin: the division of the Psalter into five books no longer appears. The influence of the Vulgate is distinctly traceable in many, if not in most, of the changes which Taverner introduced in the Old Testament. Thus, in Gen. iii. 5, where Matthew has "ye shall be as God," Taverner changes the last word into "gods;" in verse 24, for "a naked sword" he writes "a fiery sword." In the closing words of Gen. xlix. 6 the earlier rendering, "they houghed an ox," is changed, certainly not for the better, into "they threw down the walls of the city;" in verse 10 "Shiloh" becomes "he that is to be sent." In Matthew's Bible the obscure word *Abrech* (Gen. xli. 43) is retained in the text, different opinions as to its meaning being given in the margin; Taverner removes the note, and reads, "that every person should bow his knee before him." For "prisoned and forsaken" (1 Kings xxi. 21), Taverner has "incluse and furthest," a bare and hardly intelligible translation from the Latin. Many of the alterations, however, give greater clearness to the English. Thus, "a curtesye bawlme" (Gen. xliii. 11) is changed into "a quantitie of bawlme;" *by and by* into *forthwith; but and if* into *but if*. On the whole, the amount of alteration is but small. In Numb. xxiv. 15—24, for example, only two words in Matthew's Bible are changed by Taverner—viz., *remnant* into *residue*, and *neverthelater* into *nevertheless*. The principal difference between the two works in the Old Testament, therefore, consists in the absence of so large a proportion of Rogers's notes from Taverner's edition.

In the New Testament the changes introduced by Taverner are more numerous. Thus in Matt. xxi., xxii., containing ninety-two verses, we find about forty variations, of which one-third are retained in the Authorised Version. In ten or eleven of these changes the object has been to remove superfluous words; in nearly twenty a more terse or expressive phrase has been sought for, or a more correct and literal rendering of the Greek. In xxii. 12, "had never a word to say" is more forcible than "he was even speechless;" "intreated them foully" (ver. 6), than "intreated them ungodly;" "stopped the Sadducees' mouths" (ver. 34), than "put the Sadducees to silence." In Luke xii. 29, where we read "neither be ye of doubtful mind," Tyndale's translation is "neither climb ye up on high;" Taverner's, "and be not carried in the clouds." In John viii. 25, a very difficult verse, Tyndale reads, "Even the very same thing that I say unto you;" Taverner, "First of all, even that I say unto you." In John iii. 8, Taverner adopts the rendering, "The spirit breatheth," but with a note that "spirit is here taken for the wind." Another added note is in the Epistle of St. Jude, on the word "feasting" (ver. 12): "Feastinges for the relyef of the poore were called charytyes." Many more examples of improved English or more faithful renderings might easily be given. It must, however, be confessed that in difficult passages Taverner often fails us, and that many plain mistakes in earlier versions remain uncorrected. In Acts xxvii. 9, for instance, Taverner retains Tyndale's translation, "because that we had overlong fasted;" and in Acts xii. 19 we read even here that Herod commanded the keepers "to depart." A curious feature in this edition is the occasional adoption of a novel spelling, in accordance with the etymology of a word. As a whole, the version is of very unequal merit—the work of a scholar, able and energetic, but somewhat capricious and uncertain.

Taverner's Bible was published both in folio and in quarto; his New Testament in quarto and in octavo in the same year. Another edition of the New Testament (somewhat altered) appeared in 1540; of the Old Testament in 1551.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

V.—GALILEE (*concluded*).

NORTH of Jefat are Sukhnin (Sogane) and Kubarah (Gabara), the latter once classed with Tiberias and Sepphoris as one of the largest cities of Galilee, and mentioned by Josephus as having been taken by Vespasian shortly before he laid siege to Jotapata. To the south, across the plain of Buttauf, lies Rummaneh, the Rimmon of Naphtali; and beyond, at the western end of what may be called the southern arm of the Buttauf, is Seffuriyeh, the old Sepphoris, or Diocæsarea, once the capital of Galilee, and for many centuries of the present era an important city, having coins struck with its name. Tradition now points to it as the home of Joachim and Anna, the reputed parents of the Virgin; and Antoninus (circ. 600 A.D.) states that in his day a basilica stood on the spot where the Virgin received the salutation of the angel, a site now transferred to a more convenient situation at Nazareth. The modern village of Seffuriyeh covers the ruins of the old town, so that little of interest can be seen except the castle and church, and a fine aqueduct, about four miles long, with subterranean tanks, which brought water to the city from some springs in the hills. Not far from the village are the fountains of Seffuriyeh, so celebrated in

the history of the Crusades, and bearing a melancholy interest as the point from which the Christian army marched to the fatal battle of Hattin, which resulted in the loss of the cross, the capture of the king of Jerusalem, and the almost total destruction of his army. Away to the east stretches the long open valley devoid of water and of shade, up which the Christians advanced, and at its head the bare waterless heights of Lubieh, on which they passed the night before the battle, harassed on all sides by their active enemies, who fired the dry grass and shrubs around them. The next morning the Christians fought with their usual valour; but two days' exertion under the fierce rays of a July sun, without water, was too much for the bravest; the footmen and archers first failed, throwing aside their arms, and then the knights retired to Kuru Hattin—the spot, according to tradition, on which the Sermon on the Mount was delivered—where, after thrice beating back the attacks of the Saracens, the king, with his few remaining followers, was obliged to surrender to Saladin. The black basaltic rocks of the old crater seem in keeping with the last scene of the sad drama, the execution of two hundred knights after the battle; and Dean Stanley has called attention to the touching circumstance that the last struggle of the Christians occurred within sight of the Sea of Galilee, Capernaum, Gennesareth, and many "of the holiest scenes of Christianity." On the slope of the hills which form the southern border of the valley up which the Christian army marched, lies Kefr Kenna, the site, according to modern tradition, of Cana; there are many tombs and traces of its having been an ancient town, and within the village are two rival buildings, each claiming to mark the scene of our Lord's first miracle, one containing the jars in which the water is said to have been turned into wine.

To the south-west of Kefr Kenna lies Nazareth, the place in which Jesus grew from childhood to manhood, "and increased in wisdom and stature." Prettily situated, and standing on the slope of a secluded upland basin, environed by gently rounded hills, Nazareth is not unlike the rose to which Quaresmius quaintly compares it: "And, like a rose, has the same rounded form, enclosed by mountains as the flower by its leaves." The old town or village of Nazareth was on the southern skirts of the present town, and partly on higher ground above the line of cliffs which, more or less broken, runs along the side of the hill; this is shown by the number of rock-hewn tombs that have been found amongst the modern buildings and the ruins on the south and south-west. It was possibly to the edge of one of these cliffs that Jesus was brought when "all they in the synagogue . . . rose up and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong" (Luke iv. 28, 29). One such cliff, about twenty-five or thirty feet high, behind the Maronite convent has been specially noticed by travellers, and it is interesting to find that on the ground above it traces of the old village may still be seen. In the modern town are shown the "table of Christ," His "school," and His "workshop," and two miles to the south, overlooking the plain of Esdraelon, "the Mount of Precipitation;" over the spring which rises to the north-east of the town is the Greek Church of the Annunciation, and more to the south the rival Latin church, erected over the "Holy Grotto," in which a marble slab marks the place where the Virgin stood during the Annunciation. Of the two traditions the Greek one is undoubtedly the most ancient, for we are told in the apocryphal Gospel of St. James that the first salutation of the angel came to Mary as she was drawing water from the spring in the neighbourhood of the town. Over the vestibule in front of the grotto in the Latin church, the house in which the Virgin lived is said to have stood before it was borne by angels to the hill of Loretto, to become "the devotion of one half of the world, and the ridicule of the other half." About a mile and a half south-west of Nazareth is the village of Yafa, the traditional birth-place of Zebedee and of the apostles James and John, and probably the modern representative of Japhia, a point on the boundary of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 12); it is also the Japha occupied by Josephus during the Roman war, and described by him as being the largest village of Galilee and protected by a double wall; it was afterwards besieged and captured by Titus, when 15,000 of the inhabitants perished (*B. J.* iii. 7, § 31). A remarkable series of rock-hewn chambers were discovered some years ago at Yafa by the Rev. J. Zeller, which appear to have been used as a place of retreat in time of danger; the chambers are in three tiers connected by circular shafts or well-holes, each of which was once closed by a stone slab fitting so closely that the opening could hardly be seen; there are many niches for lamps, and each chamber has a small air-shaft to give ventilation. The entrance to the first chamber is by a small hole in the side of a natural cavern in the rock, and thence other openings give access to the remaining chambers.

Proceeding southwards from Nazareth, we reach the great fertile plain of Esdraelon, with Mount Tabor at its north-eastern angle; the summit of the mount is an oval plateau with an open grass-plot in the centre, and a border of trees, which adds much to the beauty of the place. The plateau was once surrounded by a strong solid wall protected by a ditch partly cut in the rock, of both of which there are many remains; and there are also portions of the old Church of the Transfiguration, on the site of which a new church and convent have arisen. It was on Tabor that Barak assembled his forces before descending with "ten thousand men after him" to meet Sisera, who was encamped with the Canaanite host near the "waters of Megiddo;" and there, too, the brothers of Gideon were slaughtered by Zebah and Zalmunna. An early Christian tradition places the scene of the Transfiguration on Tabor, but it is evident from the Bible and Josephus that there was always a town or fortress on the summit, and it is scarcely probable that such an event would have taken

NAZARETH, THE FOUNTAIN AND CHURCH OF THE ANNUNCIATION. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

place in an inhabited town. At the foot of Tabor lies Deburieh, the Daberath of Josh. xix. 12; and southwards across the plain, where the sharp peak of Little Hermon rises up, the little village of Nein; a confused mass of overthrown walls, amidst which nothing can be distinguished, marks the site of Nain, where the widow's son was raised from the dead; no trace now remains of any surrounding wall, or of the gate through which the funeral procession was passing when our Lord met it; but it seems not unlikely that the village was built like many of those still met with in Palestine, the walls of the houses themselves forming the exterior of the town, and being so built as to leave only one or two entrances to the interior. Eastward from Nain is Endor, on the slope of a hill containing numerous caverns, one of which may have been the dwelling-place of the witch consulted by Saul the night before his death at the fatal battle of Mount Gilboa.

On the direct road from Nazareth southwards across the plain is the village of El Fuleh, near which was fought the celebrated battle of Mount Tabor, where Kleber with his little army withstood for six long hours the incessant assaults of 15,000 Turkish cavalry, till the arrival of Napoleon turned the tide of battle and caused the defeat of the Turkish army. Farther south, on a mound near the head of the valley of Jezreel, is Zerin (Jezreel), commanding a view of nearly the whole of the great plain of Esdraelon westward, and eastward looking down the broad rich valley of Jezreel to the acropolis of Bethshean and the distant mountains of Gilead. The village itself is poor and miserable, and there is little to remark in the ruins that cover the mound, but beneath that heap of rubbish lie waiting for the hand of the explorer the site, perhaps the remains, of the ivory palace of Ahab, the street into which Jezebel was thrown down at the command of Jehu, and the scenes of some of the bloodiest tragedies in sacred history Without the city, on the road to Beisan, was the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, where Joram met his death: and as we look down the long valley with its even slope of green turf, we can easily picture the advance of Jehu, which is so graphically described in 2 Kings ix. 16—24; the dispatch of the several messengers, the recognition of Jehu by his furious driving, the hasty preparation of the chariots of the kings of Israel and Judah, the meeting near the foot of the mound, the death of Joram, and the flight of Ahaziah, mortally wounded, over the great plain to Megiddo—all come before the traveller with a vividness and reality that can only be felt by those who have visited the spot.

Down the valley of Jezreel is the spring of Ain Jalud, issuing in several small streams from a cavern at the foot of the northern slope of Mount Gilboa. It was on the hill-side above that Gideon encamped before his victory over the Midianites, who were gathered together in the broad valley by the hill of Moreh, possibly that on which the village of Kumi now stands; and it was at the fountain itself, the spring of Harod, or "trembling," that Gideon proved his men before making the night attack on the camp of the Midianites, which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the vast host, and its headlong flight towards the fords of the Jordan. Near the same spot many years afterwards was fought the battle of Mount Gilboa, which ended so disastrously for the Israelites. The Philistine army was encamped at Shunem, now Solam, on the northern side of the valley, whilst the Israelites "pitched by a fountain which is in Jezreel," perhaps the spring which rises up at the foot of the mound on which the city of Jezreel was built; and it was whilst the two armies were thus mutually facing each other that Saul made his adventurous night journey to visit the witch at Endor, which lay on the farther side of Little Hermon in rear of the Philistine camp. The next morning the Israelites were attacked and driven up the slopes of Mount Gilboa; and there on the following morning the corpses of Saul and his three sons were found amongst the heaps of slain.

On the southern side of Esdraelon, near Taanach, still represented by the little village of Taanuk, Barak gained his great victory over the Canaanite host of Jabin. It was during the course of the battle that one of those sudden storms, accompanied by hail and piercing cold, which are so common in Palestine, came to the assistance of the Israelites; "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," and the fierce storm, driving full in the faces of the Canaanites, numbed their limbs and rendered them helpless to resist the attack of the Israelites, who advanced with the gale at their backs. Then the "rains descended" and the "flood came," converting the great plain into a vast morass, in which the flying Canaanites were "trodden down," and "the horse-hoofs were broken by the means of the pransings, the pransings of their mighty ones;" then, too, the stream "rose in its bed," and "that ancient torrent, the torrent Kishon," swept them away as they were vainly endeavouring to cross its swollen waters. As the rout became general, Sisera descended from his chariot, and fled away on foot northwards to the plain of Kedesh, where he met his death at the hands of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite. It was on the same ground, in the "plain of Megiddo," that King Josiah was "sore wounded" by one of the Egyptian archers in the army of Pharaoh-necho, whose march towards Assyria he had vainly endeavoured to stay. As we shall see when we come to describe the neighbouring province of Samaria, Megiddo was a fortress closing the important pass over the hills from the plain near Cæsarea, and there seems little doubt that the Egyptians were following the usual high road to Damascus, which runs through Megiddo, now Lejjun, when Josiah, who had advanced through the hills from Jerusalem, attempted to stop them, perhaps hoping to surprise the army whilst entangled in the pass. After receiving his fatal wound, Josiah was carried to Jerusalem to die, and the deep, permanent impression which this calamity made on the Jews can be traced in many of the later writings. The "mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo" is used by Zechariah as a

type of the deepest and most despairing grief; and in continuance of the same imagery, "the place which is called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon" is presented to us by the writer of the Apocalypse as the scene of the final conflict between the hosts of good and evil.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

BY C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., MASTER OF THE TEMPLE.

"The eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of His mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead."—EPHES. i. 18—20.

ALL the considerable manuscripts read "heart" (καρδίας) for "understanding" (διανοίας) in the 18th verse. "The eyes of your *heart* being enlightened." The expression is remarkable, and has no exact parallel in Scripture. We can scarcely fail to be reminded by it of St. Paul's saying, "If any man love God, the same is known of Him" (1 Cor. viii. 3)—with its explanation in another Epistle, "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God" (Gal. iv. 9), reminding us that the knowledge of God is not a discovery, but a revelation; that in this one instance true knowledge is receptive rather than originative; that when we would speak of a true, and therefore a Divine, theology, it behoves us to express it as even more passive than active, and to submit to describe ourselves as not so much "knowing," as "being known of," God.

But besides this thought, which lies in the latter clause of the sentence quoted from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, there is the fundamental idea of the passage, that the love of God is the condition, the method, and the attainment too, of the knowledge. The "eyes" which must be "illuminated" for this knowledge are the eyes, not of the intellect, but of "the heart." The affections are the inlet, the medium, the instrument, the very element and atmosphere of the knowledge.

It is true that the "heart," in the language of the Bible, has a wider and more inclusive meaning than any one province or department of the human being. It is found in contexts which give it the sense of will, judgment, understanding, imagination, rather than that of feeling or affection. Jonathan's armour-bearer says to him, in reply to the proposal of an attack upon the garrison of the Philistines, "Do all that is in thine heart; . . . behold, I am with thee according to thy heart" (1 Sam. xiv. 7). Job corrects the assumption of his friends by saying, "But I have understanding [literally, 'an heart'] as well as you; . . . yea, who knoweth not such things as these?" (Job xii. 3.) And so in the New Testament we read of cavillers "reasoning in their hearts" (Mark ii. 6); doubters "musing in their hearts" (Luke iii. 15); "the work of the law [that which the law bids men do] written in their hearts," without any suggestion of love accompanying the knowledge of duty (Rom. ii. 15); a man "standing stedfast in his heart, having . . . power over his own will," having "so decreed in his heart," with reference to a matter of judgment rather than of feeling (1 Cor. vii. 37); and so in other places. That rigid demarcation of the powers and faculties of the immaterial part of man, which has introduced so much unreality and confusion into our metaphysics, has little encouragement in Scripture. The whole man moves together, whatever be the particular subject of his study or pursuit.

If, then, in the passage before us we emphasise the word "heart," and point attention to "the eyes of the heart" as the organ of spiritual vision, it is not as a matter of verbal nicety, but as the recognition of a great truth—namely, that the knowledge of God is the knowledge of a Person, and can only be gained or practised by a personal intercourse, of which, whether the object be human or Divine, the one condition is liking, affection, love. "The eyes of the heart being enlightened."

2. Another important variety of reading occurs in the presence or absence of the "and" (καί) before the clause "what the riches of the glory," &c. The external evidence is not quite decisive, though the balance is somewhat in favour of the omission. If internal considerations may be allowed any place in the question, we would suggest that (1) the insertion of the "and" was a natural impulse, there being apparently three co-ordinate clauses, each expressing a separate object of the knowledge desired for the reader; but that (2) the sense is materially obscured by such an addition, it being scarcely possible to define more than two distinct topics of knowledge, the one in the future, the other in the present; the one the eternal inheritance, the other the Almighty inworking.

Even when the "and" has been rejected, there will remain an alternative of interpretation.

Either St. Paul may say this: "That ye may know (1) what is the hope of God's calling—in other words, what are the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints; and (2) what is the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe," &c., in which case the "hope" is all in the far, the eternal future, when grace has become glory. Or this: "That ye may know what is the hope of God's calling—in other words, (1) what are the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints; and (2) what is the exceeding greatness of

His power to us-ward who believe," &c., in which case the "hope" itself has two parts, the grace which qualifies for the inheritance, as well as the glory which shall follow.

There is nothing in the Greek to decide between these two interpretations. And there is much to be said for both. On the whole, the former has the advantage in simplicity, in the avoidance of a too long fore-view of sense and construction, which is never less likely than in the case of one who writes by an amanuensis.

3. A third question arises upon the passage. What is the connection of "according to" (κατά)? (1) Does it depend upon the immediately preceding word "believe"—ascribing faith itself to God's operation? At first sight this is attractive, and it is both grammatically tenable and doctrinally true. It might appeal also for support to a possible interpretation of the expression in Col. ii. 12, "Through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead." In that place, however, the ordinary use of πίστις with a genitive points rather to the sense of "faith in" than of "faith wrought by." (Compare, for example, Rom. iii. 22, 26; Gal. ii. 16, 20; iii. 22; Ephes. iii. 12; Phil. iii. 9; 2 Thess. ii. 13.) The resurrection of Christ is the crowning and completive act of His great work for us, and faith in it is faith in Him. Since, then, no one can propose to make πιστεύειν κατά (in the passage now under review) mean "to believe in," we must be contented to see, in this instance, only a remote or apparent parallelism between the two contemporary Epistles, and to interpret each by the light of its own language. (2) Is it not, then, more natural to give a wider scope to the "accordance" here asserted?—in other words, to refer the κατά, not to the πιστεύοντας, but to the whole clause, "And what is the exceeding greatness of His power?" We shall thus have the thought of the correspondence, the congruity, the commensurableness, of the two things—the Divine power put forth upon the Christian, and the Divine power put forth upon Christ. The former of these is "according to," on the scale, after the pattern, measure, and likeness of, the other. The exertion of omnipotence in converting, sanctifying, and at last glorifying the individual man, is an exertion of the same kind and of the same amount as that which "raised Christ from the dead and gave Him glory" (1 Pet. i. 21).

4. We have here, in the Greek, three words—not to say four—expressive of the general idea of power. An attempt ought to have been made in our version to give them distinctness. "And what is the exceeding greatness of His power (δύναμις) . . . according to the working (ἐνέργεια) of the strength (κράτος) of His might (ἰσχύς)." The more comprehensive idea of (1) δύναμις, "power," "potency," "ableness," is resolved afterwards into (2) the ἰσχύς which is "might," the *possession* of δύναμις, (3) the κράτος which is "strength," the *force* of δύναμις, (4) the ἐνέργεια which is "an operation," that actual putting forth, in the individual instance, of the κράτος of the ἰσχύς, which is δύναμις in *exercise*.

"And hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."—EPHES. i. 22, 23.

The difficulty of this passage lies in the last clause, "The fulness of Him that filleth all in all." We will begin with the last words of all.

1. It is remarkable that St. Paul here uses a form (πληρουμένου) found elsewhere only as a strict passive. (See Luke ii. 40, πληρούμενον σοφίας, or σοφίᾳ. Compare Dan. viii. 23, πληρουμένων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.) St. Paul himself uses the active voice in this Epistle (iv. 10), "that He might fill (πληρώσῃ) all things." Our first impulse, therefore, is to try here a passive rendering: "Of Him who is filled with all in all [has all fulness in all respects]." Yet this on examination fails to satisfy us. For (1) the tense of πληρουμένου suggests a gradual or progressive completion; a sense quite suitable to the human growth of the Saviour in wisdom as in stature (Luke ii. 40), and to the growing measure of the sins spoken of in Dan. viii. 23; but highly inappropriate to the plenitude of the Divine perfections, which is the subject in the passage before us. St. Paul himself uses the passive perfect (πεπληρωμένος) in Rom. i. 29; xv. 14; Phil. i. 11; Col. ii. 10; and could scarcely have failed to employ it here, had this rendering been in his view. (2) The ἐν πᾶσιν becomes, on this supposition, a nearly unmeaning appendage to the τὰ πάντα with which it is combined; almost that jingle of "all in all" which is so thoroughly employed by modern English writers.

We seem driven to the conclusion that St. Paul has here used πληροῦσθαι in the middle voice, for which, indeed, there is abundant authority in Greek writers (Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, &c.), but always, so far as we have observed, in one tense, the aorist, and with some reflexive meaning, as "to man one's (own) ship," &c. Some have found a reflexive sense even here; a latent *sibi*, "for His own glory," or the like: *se ipso*, "with Himself" ("who fills all things with His own presence and blessing"), though excellent in sense, can scarcely be felt to be a grammatical use of the middle voice; and in iv. 10, where that is the meaning, St. Paul himself employs the active form. The idea that St. Paul was influenced by the desire for a sonorous ending of the long sentence, in preferring πληρουμένου to πληροῦντος, will scarcely bear examination. On the whole, we must leave this instance (like the προεχόμεθα of Rom. iii. 9) as exceptional and inexplicable grammatically, while we acquiesce in the active rendering as affording the only intelligible sense.

The result, then, will be to assimilate the passage to that in Ephes. iv. 10, where it is stated as the object of the ascension of Christ, "that He might fill all things." (Compare Jer. xxiii. 24, "Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord.") "Of Him that filleth all things [the universe] with [literally, 'in point of,' 'in the matter of'] all things." Or more idiomatically, "Of Him to whom the universe itself owes all its fulness."

There will remain the slighter question, whether

God, or Christ, is the Person spoken of. And this may in part depend upon another question now to be entered upon.

2. "The fulness (πλήρωμα) of Him that filleth all in all." The remarkable word πλήρωμα is sometimes found in the sense of "sum," the total amount of a number of separate items in a reckoning. St. Paul in one place (Rom. xi. 12) makes it the opposite of ἥττημα, possibly with something of this meaning of "sum," or "total," or "full amount," in contrast with a previous "deficit," "defect," or "reduced condition." Even this one apparent exception might possibly be explained away; and there can be no doubt that the far commoner signification of πλήρωμα, both in classical writers and in the Greek Testament, is "that by which something else is filled," the "contents" of a thing, as the crew of a ship, the population of a place, the wine in a cup, the constituent years of a life. Thus in the Septuagint we have πλήρωμα applied to the contents of the sea (1 Chron. xvi. 32; Ps. xcvi. 11; xcviii. 7); of the earth (Ps. xxiv. 1; l. 12; lxxxix. 11); of a particular city or country (Jer. viii. 16; xlvii. 2; Ezek. xii. 19; xix. 7; xxx. 12; xxxii. 15); of the hand, in reaping or gathering (Eccles. iv. 6). In the same way, in the New Testament, πλήρωμα is used for the piece of cloth with which the hole in the rent garment is filled up (Matt. ix. 16; Mark ii. 21), and for the broken pieces which fill the baskets after the multitudes have been miraculously fed (Mark viii. 20). St. Paul applies it, in Rom. xi. 25, to the multitude which forms the sum total of the Gentile world; in Rom. xiii. 10, to that "love" which fills and satisfies every shape and form of "law;" in Rom. xv. 29, to that "plenitude of blessing," that "all and everything contained in Christ's benediction," in which he hopes soon to visit his readers; in Gal. iv. 4, to that moment which filled up and completed the appointed time previous to Christ's coming in the flesh; in Ephes. i. 10, to that period which filled up and completed the preliminary "seasons," the periods of preparation for the introduction of the Gospel.

There remain a few instances of the application of the same word, in the same sense, to a yet more sacred and mysterious subject. St. John speaks of Christians "receiving out of the πλήρωμα of Christ" (John i. 16); that is, out of the abundance which is in Him; out of that plenitude of grace and blessing which is contained in Him as the Life of His Church. And so, in the Epistle before us, and the contemporary and parallel Epistle to the Colossians, St. Paul speaks of this as the ultimate object of all Divine knowledge, "that ye might be filled with [unto] all the πλήρωμα of God"—filled full of grace and blessedness, to the very extent of all that constitutes the plenitude of God's own perfections (Ephes. iii. 19); makes this the goal of the Church's race, that "we all come . . . unto the measure of the stature of the πλήρωμα of Christ"—that standard of spiritual height which belongs to (is characteristic of) the fulness of all grace and blessing which is in Christ Himself (Ephes. iv. 13); and declares that "all the πλήρωμα" (without further explanation) "was pleased to take up its permanent habitation (κατοικῆσαι) in Christ" (Col. i. 19); adding, at a subsequent point, this interpretation of his enigmatical saying, "For in Him [Christ] dwelleth all the πλήρωμα of the Godhead bodily;" all the "contents," all the constituents, all the plenitude, whether in power, or wisdom, or holiness, or love, of the Godhead, of the Deity (Col. ii. 9).

These are the scattered, yet not incongruous, elements which must be combined in our interpretation of the passage before us. "The πλήρωμα of Him that filleth all in all" finds its exact parallel either in Ephes. iii. 19, "the πλήρωμα of God;" or in Ephes. iv. 13, "the πλήρωμα of Christ;" or in Col. ii. 9, "the πλήρωμα of the Godhead." It will be seen that we fail to find any parallel for the phrase before us, if the πλήρωμα here is taken in apposition with the *Church*. We must seek some new sense, if that be the construction, for πλήρωμα itself. We cannot with any propriety speak of the Church as the "contents," as that which constitutes the fulness, of Christ or of God. And we have found no warrant, in the usage of the Greek Bible in either Testament, for that sense of πλήρωμα which would make it "the thing filled by another." It is always "that by which another thing is filled."

The result of our investigation is, that we regard the πλήρωμα here as an accusative and not a nominative; as agreeing, in case, with αὐτόν (ver. 22), and not with ἥτις (ver. 23). "God gave Him [Christ] as Head over all things to the Church, which is His body;" gave Him, in other words, to the Church, as "the πλήρωμα of Him that filleth all in all"—as the Plenitude of the Universal Plenisher; as that Person who is Himself the very Sum and Substance of God, co-extensive with, and inclusive of, the Infinite, the Incomprehensible Deity.

If there should seem to be anything harsh or abrupt in the grammatical construction of the sentence thus proposed—according to which "the Church which is His [Christ's] body" is a definition by itself, and the words which follow belong to the clause which precedes it—let a reference be made to Col. i. 18, where we read, "And He [Christ] is the Head of the body, the Church; who is the beginning," &c. The return from the Church to Christ is there at least equally abrupt; and the subject-matter is the same.

We are still too much the slaves of chapter and verse. Had this Epistle always been printed in paragraph, we should have found no difficulty in returning from "the Church which is His body," to connect "the πλήρωμα of the πληρούμενος" with "the Head over all things."

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

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THE Book of Nehemiah was long regarded, both by Jews and Christians, not as a substantive work, but as a portion of Ezra, and was, as remarked in a former paper,[1] united with Ezra in a single "Book," which passed under that writer's name. It is to criticism rather than to tradition that we are indebted for the recognition of the fact—a fact not now disputed by any one—that the "Ezra" of the original Hebrew Canon was a composite work, and that the latter portion of it proceeded from a distinct author, and was intended by that author to stand by itself as a distinct and separate narrative. Origen was the first to perceive and make the separation. Guided by the critical acuteness which distinguished him even among his brethren of the Alexandrian school, he noted in the "Ezra" of his day a "first" and a "second book,"[2] his "second book" being exactly that which we now call "the Book of Nehemiah." Jerome, two centuries later, went further. Discarding altogether the name of Ezra, he boldly called the work by the title which it now universally bears, substituting for Origen's "first" and "second books of Ezra" a "Book of Ezra," and a "Book of Nehemiah."[3]

The authorship of "Nehemiah" is a somewhat complicated problem. Were we to regard the opening phrase of the work[4] as intended strictly to apply to the whole treatise, the question would be simplified, and we should merely have to say that "Nehemiah," like "Ezra," is the composition of the writer whose name it bears. But internal difficulties—historical and critical—render this view untenable. Nehemiah's probable date is B.C. 470—420.[5] Portions of the Book of Nehemiah must have been written later than B.C. 336, since mention is made in them of Jaddua and of Darius Codomannus (chap. xii. 11, 22). Again, three chapters of the work—the eighth, ninth, and tenth—contrast strongly in their style with the portions certainly written by Nehemiah, and possess various features indicating that they are from another hand.[6] There is thus reason to believe that the work, as it stands, is a compilation, different parts of which are to be assigned to different authors.

The "book" naturally divides itself into four sections.

Section I. comprises the first seven chapters. It is written in a uniform style, clearly by Nehemiah himself, who prefixes his name to it,[7] and then proceeds to tell us of his doings, using the first person singular throughout, and frequently interposing short ejaculatory prayers,[8] a feature which does not belong to any other of the sacred writers. It gives an account of events belonging to the twentieth year of an Artaxerxes, who is clearly the same as the Artaxerxes of Ezra (already proved to have been Longimanus[9]), and was apparently written not long after that king's thirty-second year, which was B.C. 433—432. The events belong to the year B.C. 445—444.

Section II. consists of three chapters (chaps. viii.—x.). It contains a narrative of events belonging to the autumn of B.C. 444. Nehemiah is here spoken of in the third person,[10] and is called by a new title, "Tirshatha," instead of "pechah." The prominent person in the narrative is Ezra.[11] There are no parenthetic prayers, but about half the section consists of a long prayer and confession of sins, which in many respects resembles Ezra's (Ezra ix. 6—15). The writer appears to include himself among the laity, or "people of Israel," as distinct from the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, the Nethinim, and the nobles (chap. x. 29—39).

Section III. extends from the commencement of chap. xi. to chap. xii., verse 26. It is made up of six catalogues, or lists:—(1) A list of the dwellers at Jerusalem, and the leading men in Nehemiah's time (chap. xi. 1—24; (2) a list of the country towns and villages occupied by the returned Israelites at the same period (chap. xi. 25—36); (3) a list of the priestly and Levitical families that returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (chap. xii. 1—9); (4) a list of the high-priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (*ib.* 10, 11); (5) a list of the heads of the priestly families in the high-priesthood of Joiakim (*ib.* 12—21); and (6) a list of the chief families of Levites and porters at the same period (*ib.* 24—26). There is little to indicate who was the author of this portion of the work, or of its component parts. The most noticeable fact connected with it is the mention (in chap. xii.) of the high-priest, Jaddua, twice (verses 11 and 22), and of his contemporary, Darius Codomannus, called "Darius the Persian" (verse 22). These touches are probably the latest to be found in the Old Testament. They cannot be earlier than about B.C. 335—330.[12]

Section IV. comprises the remainder of the book. It extends from chap. xii., verse 27, to the close of chap. xiii. Here the author is once more, evidently, Nehe-

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1 See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. IV., p. 42.

2 See Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 26.

3 Jerome, *Epist. ad Paulin.* (Op., vol. iv., part 2, p. 574.)

4 "The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah" (Neh. i. 1).

5 Nehemiah, who is cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus in B.C. 445, and is then appointed by him to an important missiou, can scarcely have been at the time less than twenty-five years old, in which case his birth would fall into the year B.C. 470. That he lived to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (B.C. 432) is certain (Neh. v. 14; xiii. 6). He is likely to have lived ten or fifteen years longer (B.C. 423 to 418).

6 See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 426.

7 Chap. i. 1.

8 Chap. iv. 4, 5; v. 19; vi. 9, 14.

9 Supra, Vol. IV., p. 42.

10 Neh. viii. 9; x. 1.

11 Neh. viii. 1—6, 9, 13.

12 Darius Codomannus did not begin to reign till B.C. 336. He was murdered B.C. 331.

miah, the first person singular being resumed,[1] together with the use of short ejaculatory prayers,[2] which characterises Section I. The style is identical with that of the opening chapters. The narrative is of events in which Nehemiah was personally concerned—the dedication of the wall, and reforms connected with the Temple and the observance of the Sabbath. The date of the occurrences is probably B.C. 431.

It will be seen from this review that while the first and last sections of the book, or eight and a half chapters out of the thirteen, are, beyond a doubt, Nehemiah's, the case is different with regard to the second and third sections, comprising four and a half chapters. Of these, the second section may be said to be certainly not the work of Nehemiah, while the third section cannot, in its present shape, be his, but may have been primarily composed by him, having subsequently undergone revision. The two lists which make up chapter xi. are decidedly of Nehemiah's time, and are extremely likely to have been drawn out by him.[3] The lists in chapter xii. *may be* a gradual accretion, or they *may* have been drawn out by Nehemiah, with the exception of verses 11, 22, and 23. Jaddua, or "the men of the Great Synagogue," may have added these verses, about the year B.C. 330.

The writer of the third section must have been a layman of moderate rank, contemporary with Nehemiah. It has been conjectured that Zadok, or Zidkijah, Nehemiah's scribe, was the author;[4] and this is certainly not improbable, but there is no direct evidence of it. Whoever the writer may have been, it seems probable that Nehemiah sanctioned the narrative by adopting it into his work, and giving it its present position.

The subject-matter of Nehemiah is the history of the Palestinian Jews from about B.C. 445 to B.C. 431, a period of fifteen years. It is the latest history contained in the Old Testament Scriptures, and is remarkable for the moderation and humility of tone which characterise it. Nehemiah, one of the cup-bearers of Artaxerxes Longimanus, accustomed to wait upon him in his palace at Shushan, or Susa, hears, in the autumn of B.C. 445, from his brother Hanani, who had recently paid a visit to Jerusalem, that the condition of the brethren in Judæa was most wretched—"the remnant left of the Captivity there in the province was in great affliction and reproach, the wall of Jerusalem being broken down, and its gates burned with fire" (chap. i. 3). The intelligence caused Nehemiah great grief. When he heard it "he sat down and wept, and mourned certain days," after which he offered a prayer to "the God of heaven," which is recorded at length (*ib.* 5—11). The prayer was mainly that God would grant him grace and favour in the sight of Artaxerxes, with whom it would seem that he had at once determined to intercede for his nation. Four months afterwards, in the early spring of B.C. 444—having probably then entered on his office with the king for the first time after receiving Hanani's intelligence[5]—he attracted the king's attention by the sadness of his countenance, and was able, without any violent effort, to introduce the subject of his country's woes, and to obtain of the king permission to visit Jerusalem, and restore the walls and fortifications of the city (chap. ii. 1—8). In very brief terms the cup-bearer relates his journey and arrival, his delivery of the king's letters to the "governors beyond the river," and his recognition by them as one having authority (*ib.* verse 9). He then tells us of an opposition which his coming aroused. "When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel" (verse 10). We have here opened to us the condition of things in Palestine when Nehemiah appeared upon the scene. Samaria, it seems, had become the main town of these parts (chap. iv. 2). A mixed population occupied it—Babylonian, Ammonite, Philistine, Arabian. The existing chief was Sanballat, a Samaritan by birth,[6] but probably of Babylonian parentage.[7] His chief counsellor, a favourite slave, was Tobiah, an Ammonite. Geshem, an Arab chief, the head, probably, of the Arabian element in the population of Samaria,[8] was on friendly terms with him, and joined in the opposition offered to Nehemiah.[9]

Having settled himself at Jerusalem, and formed an estimate of the strength of the "opposition," Nehemiah proceeded with some secrecy, three days after his arrival, to reconnoitre the ground, and see with his own eyes the condition of the defences. He went round the whole circuit of the walls by night, entering and returning by "the valley gate;" and having thus obtained a knowledge of the work to be done, he proceeded to make arrangements for accomplishing it rapidly (chap. ii. 11—20).

The whole work was commenced at once. Some forty[10] working parties were formed, and the entire line of the walls was distributed amongst them (chap. iii. 1—32). Simultaneously the several bands set to work, and the wall was rapidly raised to half its intended height (chap. iv. 6). The energy shown took the Samaritan opponents by surprise. "What do these feeble Jews?" they said; "will they fortify themselves? will they make an end in a day?" And again, even more

[1] See chap. xii. 31, 38, 40, &c. The third person is used in verse 47; the first is resumed in chap. xiii. 6, and continues to the close of the book.

[2] See chap. xiii. 14, 22, 29, and 31.

[3] Davidson, in his *Introduction*, allows that "there is nothing against the supposition" that Nehemiah wrote chap. xi. (vol. ii., p. 144). So De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 197*b*.

[4] See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 426.

[5] The Persian kings had numerous cup-bearers (Xen., *Hell.* vii. i. § 38), who probably served their master *in turn*.

[6] "The Horonite" seems best explained, not as "a native of Horonaim, a city of Moab," but as "a native of one of the Bethhorons, the upper or the lower." (Fürst, *Handwörterbuch*, ad voc.; Grove, in *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 828.)

[7] The name Sanballat is Babylonian in its formation and elements (*Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., page 432). The foreign population of Samaria was chiefly Babylonian. (See 2 Kings xvii. 24).

[8] Sargon relates that he settled a number of Arabians in Samaria. (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., pp. 415-6, first edition.)

[9] See Neh. ii. 19; vi. 1, 2, 6.

[10] Forty-four working parties are mentioned (chap. iii.), but of these five seem to have undertaken two pieces of the wall successively; thus, the exact number of working-parties would have been thirty-nine.

mockingly, "That which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall" (*ib.* 2, 3). Moreover, they "conspired together to come out and fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder" the building (*ib.* verse 8). But, while bold in word, they were tardy and undecided in act. The Israelite builders worked under a perpetual fear of hostile attack—"half wrought in the work, and the other half held ready the spears and the shields, and the bows, and the habergeons" (verse 16); even the very labourers themselves "with one hand wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon;" but, after all, no attack seems to have been made on them, and the whole circuit was completed without any need of fighting (*ib.* 17—23).

When the idea of interrupting the work by open violence was relinquished, various plans were formed by "the adversaries" for putting a stop to it, either by frightening the workmen, or by intimidating Nehemiah, or by entrapping him into a false position (chap. vi. 1—19); but these plans all failed. It must have caused Nehemiah great trouble and difficulty that the Samaritan opponents were supported by a party among the Israelites themselves, a party which certainly included members of the high priest's family (chap. vi. 18), and which probably had the support of Eliashib, the high priest, himself (chap. xiii. 4—7). Nehemiah succeeded, however, in triumphing over every obstacle, and in less than two months from the time when he began building[1] had completed the entire work, restored the whole circuit of the walls, and set up strong doors in the gate-towers (chap. vi. 15; vii. 1).

The completion of the work, and the return of the various building parties to their several towns and villages in the country round Jerusalem, revealed the fact that the great city was very scantily inhabited, and that an effort was needed to increase its population, with a view to its security. In connection with this purpose, having come accidentally upon a register of those who returned with Zerubbabel (which he transcribes, chap. vii. 6—73), Nehemiah proceeded to take a census of the people himself, and having learnt their number, he increased the population of Jerusalem, by transferring to it one in ten out of the population of the country districts, so augmenting the inhabitants to a total which seems not to have fallen far short of twenty thousand (chap. xi. 1—19).

These measures must, however, have occupied some considerable time. In the interval, it would seem that Ezra arrived for the second time at Jerusalem, and as the seventh or sabbatical month was just commencing (chap. viii. 1), he was requested by the people to "bring the book of the Law of Moses," and read it in their ears in a public place (*ib.* 1—5). He did so, with the sanction of Nehemiah (verse 9), and the hearts of the people were moved to desire a solemn and formal act of public repentance. But the occasion did not seem to Ezra and Nehemiah to be suitable. The day was the first of Tisri, the "Feast of Trumpets," a day of sabbatical rest and festive joy. This feast was introductory to the Great Festival of the seventh month, the Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of Tisri, and was a special period of rejoicing. It was determined that, before gratifying the desire of the people for a public repentance, the Great Festival should be kept with unusual solemnity: the people should be stirred to do according to all the old customs; booths should be made; the Law should be read; on the first and last days of the feast should be "solemn assemblies"—all should be done as Moses had commanded (*ib.* 10—18). Then when the feast was over, and when one day had been allowed the people for rest, the great work of repentance was taken in hand. The people assembled "with fasting, and with sackcloth, and with earth upon them" (chap. ix. 1); "confessed their sins and the iniquity of their fathers" (verse 2); and then solemnly signed a covenant, pledging themselves "to walk in God's law, and observe and do all the commandments of the Lord" (chap. x. 29), and especially to forsake the crying sins of the time—not to intermarry with the heathen (verse 30), not to profane the sabbath or the sabbatical year (verse 31); not to exact pledges for debt (*ibid.*). They also further bound themselves to pay yearly the third part of a shekel for the maintenance of the service of the sanctuary, and to furnish, by a voluntary arrangement, the wood needed for the sacrifices (verses 32—34). The formal act of public repentance being thus complete, those arrangements were carried out with respect to augmenting the population of Jerusalem which have been already mentioned.

The events of which we have here given a sketch occupied a space of, apparently, less than a year. They commenced in the month Chisleu (December) of B.C. 445, and terminated towards the end of Tisri (September), B.C. 444. From this time we have in Nehemiah no further continuous narrative until the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 433-2, twelve years later, when it appears that the governor of Judæa paid a visit to the court of Artaxerxes at Babylon,[2] and after remaining away a year,[3] obtained leave of the king to return and resume his governorship. A general idea, however, of Nehemiah's administration during this period, of his manner of life, and of the evils which he set himself to check, may be gathered from chapter v., whence we learn (1), that during the whole twelve years he took nothing of the Jews for the support of himself or court (ver. 14); (2) that he allowed no oppression by his servants (ver. 15); (3) that he did not take advantage of the general poverty to buy up poor men's plots of ground (ver. 16); (4) that he supported at his table, without charge, one hundred

[1] The building was begun early in the month Ab, and was concluded fifty-two days later, on the 25th of the next month, Elul (Neh. vi. 15).

[2] Neh. xiii. 6. On the practice of the Persian kings to hold their courts at different cities in different parts of the year, see Xen., *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 22; *Anab.* iii. 5, § 5; Plut., *De Exil.*, vol. ii., p. 604; Athen., *Deipn.* xii., p. 513, F; Ælian., *Hist. Anim.* x. 6; Zonaras, iii. 26, p. 302, &c.

[3] The expression used ("at the end of days") generally means "at the end of a year." (See Exod. xiii. 10; Lev. xxv. 29, 30; Numb. ix. 22; Judg. xvii. 10, &c.)

and fifty of the chief resident Jews, besides showing hospitality to such as came on a visit to Jerusalem from foreign countries (verse 17); (5) that he redeemed from slavery many of his countrymen who were in servitude among the heathen (verse 8); and (6) that he set himself to discourage, as far as he possibly could, the practice which had grown up of lending money upon mortgage, or upon the persons of sons and daughters (verses 3—5)—a practice which had produced wide-spread poverty, and had converted a large number of the people into slaves (verse 8). So powerful were his representations, that he induced the money-lenders to restore to the debtors their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses; to repay what they had received from them by way of interest, and to promise that they would lend without pledge, or other security, in future (verse 12).

The visit of Nehemiah to the court of Persia was, perhaps, connected with the chief event related in the last section of the narrative (chap. xii. 27—xiii.)—the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem. It seems certain[1] that the dedication did not take place until Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem, in the thirty-third year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 432, twelve or thirteen years after the wall was finished; and the most probable account of this long delay is, that Nehemiah did not venture on so imposing a ceremony as the dedication of the wall until he had obtained express permission for it from the Persian monarch. The ceremonial itself, which must have been very striking, is described with great minuteness in chap. xii. 27—43.

In conclusion, Nehemiah relates certain reforms which he accomplished on his return from Babylon in B.C. 432. They consisted mainly of the following:—(1) The putting away of foreign wives, together with their offspring (chap. xiii. 3, and 23—29); (2) the re-vindication of the Temple chambers to sacred purposes, after they had been desecrated by being handed over to heathens for secular uses (*ib.* 4—9); (3) the re-establishment of the Levites in their sacred offices at Jerusalem, and of the tithe system necessary for their sustenance (*ib.* 10—13); and (4) the restoration of a strict observance of the Sabbath in lieu of a lax practice which had gradually grown up (*ib.* 15—22). The narrative of these occurrences occupies the whole of the last chapter.

The Book of Nehemiah is invaluable for the lesson it teaches, that when the Church of God is at the lowest, it will still be protected by His Almighty hand, will be enabled to triumph over the malice of its external enemies, and will be purged and purified from the internal corruptions which endanger it far more than any hostility *ab extra*. It must have greatly helped to encourage and sustain the nation during the terrible times of the Ptolemaic and Syrian persecutions; and it may with advantage be read and pondered on by Christians, at all periods when the power of the world is put forth to crush or overlay the faith. That Judaism rallied from the weak and seemingly moribund condition described by Nehemiah, became once more a power in the world, strong enough to confront heathen Rome, and wage a desperate struggle with the entire force of the Empire, is one of the most remarkable of the facts of history, and should never be forgotten by the Christian community in times of depression and danger.

A minor point, which lends a peculiar interest to Nehemiah, is its fulness of topographical detail. In inquiries concerning the ancient city, its site, walls, towers, gates, and principal buildings, the third and twelfth chapters are simply invaluable. For copiousness, for exactness, for authority these chapters transcend all the other notices that have come down to us with respect to *ancient* Jerusalem; and the possibility of recovering the general plan of the place rests almost entirely upon Nehemiah's descriptions. It seems to the present writer that scarcely sufficient use of them has been made by modern topographers,[2] who, while verbally allowing their importance, suffer their representations of the original town to be unduly affected by the accounts which were given of a very different city, five centuries later, by the Jewish historian, Josephus.

[1] This has been questioned; but the *nexus* of chapters xii. and xiii., together with the date in chap. xiii. 6, seem to the present writer to prove the point.

[2] See Williams's *Holy City*; and the account of Thenius in the *Exegetisches Handbuch*, vol. iii, Appendix.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

HEZEKIAH.

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HEZEKIAH, king of Judah, stands in the sacred records at the opposite pole to Ahab, among the kings of Israel. The one is described as being as eminent for his piety as the other was for his wickedness. As "there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord" (1 Kings xxi. 25), so there "was none like" Hezekiah "among all the kings of Judah after him, nor any that were before him" (2 Kings xviii. 5). He was not like other kings, who made a good beginning and a bad ending;[1] but he remained true in his allegiance to Jehovah to the last.

[1] See 1 Kings xi. 4; 2 Chron. xx. 35; xxiv. 17—25; xxv. 14—16.

"He clave unto the Lord, and departed not from following him" (*ib.* ver. 6); and therefore he stands as one of the three among the kings of Judah—Asa and Josiah being the other two—of whom it is stated without qualification that "they did that which was right in the sight of the Lord" (*ib.* ver. 3); and the Divine favour rested in a marked manner upon him. His reign, though overcast with some dark shadows, was, on the whole, a prosperous one. It is recorded of him, as of no king since David, that "Jehovah was with him, and he prospered in all his goings" (ver. 7). His relations to foreign powers were favourable. His rebellion against the usurped suzerainty of Assyria was successful, and the invasion provoked by it was, by the Divine interposition, repelled. The prince of the rising Babylonian state negotiated with him on equal terms, and his influence was powerfully felt among all the neighbouring nations (2 Chron. xxxii. 23). The first rumblings of the storm, which was destined to break with such overwhelming violence on his successor's head, were only just audible, and "peace and truth" characterised his days to the end (2 Kings xx. 19). The internal resources of his kingdom were largely developed during his reign. The land was covered with barns and storehouses for the agricultural produce, and with stalls and farm-buildings for the shelter of countless flocks and herds. His personal wealth was enormous. He had "exceeding much riches and honour, ... for God had given him substance very much" (2 Chron. xxxii. 27—29).

The piety of Hezekiah was the more remarkable for the unfavourable influences which had surrounded his childhood. In the idolatrous court of his weak and wicked father, Ahaz, it might have seemed hopeless for a young prince to keep his faith untainted, and his morals pure. But if, as has been not unreasonably thought, Zachariah, the father of his mother, Abi, or Abijah, is to be identified with Isaiah's "faithful witness" (Isa. viii. 2), the boy might well be shielded from contagion by prophetic warning and maternal counsel. He must have grown up under the eye of the now aged prophet, and by his early promise, consoled him amidst the idolatries of the monarch, and the moral degradation of the people, with the bright anticipations of a reign which should foreshadow the just and beneficent rule of the promised Messiah. Many of Isaiah's most sublime predictions of the future king—the "rod" that was to "come forth out of the stem of Jesse;" the "branch" that was to "grow out of his roots"—undoubtedly had a primary reference to the son of Ahaz, and received a partial fulfilment in the peaceful and prosperous close of his glorious reign. Under Isaiah's influence and guidance, a gift of sacred poetry was developed in Hezekiah, of which a specimen is preserved to us in the tender and pathetic ode celebrating his recovery from his dangerous sickness. The three Psalms, xlvi.—xlviii., which are thought to celebrate the defeat of Sennacherib, may also probably be from his pen. His literary activity is also evidenced by the collection of the Proverbs of Solomon, made, under his directions, by his scribes (Prov. xxv. 1—xxix. 27). To him also we are perhaps indebted for the discovery and preservation of many of the Psalms bearing David's name in the second book of the Psalms, with those of Asaph in the third (cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 30).[1] His culture and the magnificence of his taste is shown by the costly treasures, silver and gold, spices and jewels, collected by him in his palace at Jerusalem (2 Kings xx. 13). He is justly characterised by Ewald[2] as "one of the most splendid princes who ever adorned the throne of David."

Hezekiah succeeded his father, Ahaz, at the age of twenty-five, B.C. 726. We are unable to estimate his natural character very highly. Tender and emotional, with a soft and timid disposition, we find him rash in action, and speedily terrified by the consequences of his inconsiderateness; unduly elated in prosperity, and despondent when reverses came. Flattered by attention, and ostentatious in display, and clinging to life with an almost cowardly tenacity, we must agree in the substantial truth of Chalmers' words,[3] that "the incidental exhibition of himself made by Hezekiah is anything but magnanimous," and abstain from placing him in the first rank of Old Testament worthies.

The strength of Hezekiah's reign lay in the counsels of Isaiah. The warnings and advice so contemptuously scorned by his unhappy father (Isa. vii. 12) were reverently followed, and in all the emergencies of his chequered reign his immediate resort was to the aged prophet. To him he may be said to have owed his throne and his life. It was doubtless at Isaiah's instigation, and under his direction, confirmed by the prophecy of Micah (Jer. xxvi. 18; Micah iii. 12), that immediately on his accession he set about the great work of religious reformation which distinguishes his reign. His first care was to restore the Temple worship suspended by Ahaz. He opened the long-closed doors of the Temple, and overlaid their valves with plates of gold (2 Chron. xxix. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 16). The polluted courts were cleansed, and the sacred furniture set in order by the Levites, whose active zeal is contrasted with the greater lukewarmness of the priests (2 Chron. xxix. 34). The vessels that Ahaz had cut in pieces and cast away, were re-consecrated, and restored to the altar-service (*ib.* xxviii. 24; xxix. 19), and the old Temple ritual solemnly renewed in its most gorgeous form. A sin-offering of the most comprehensive nature having been first offered as a great national expiation, the king himself taking the chief place in the purificatory rite (*ib.* vv. 20—24), a burnt-offering followed, as a symbol of the self-dedication of the purified nation (*ib.* vv. 27—29). A burst of sacred song—the chanting of psalms, and instrumental music ordained by David—celebrated the renewal of the ancient sacrifices; and the people, now once more consecrated to God's service, testified their joy by numerous free-will offerings (*ib.* vv. 27—33). These preparations had occupied so much time that the proper date for the Passover arrived before all things

[1] See Perowne, *Book of Psalms*, vol. i., p. 77.
[2] Ewald, *History of Israel*, E. Tr., vol. iv., p. 172.
[3] *Daily Scripture Readings*, vol. iii., p. 309.

necessary had been got ready, and the people gathered. The feast, therefore, as the law allowed (Numb. ix. 10, 11), was deferred to the fourteenth day of the second month. Hezekiah, resolved that it should be, as far as possible, a solemn act of the whole nation, invited the northern kingdom, at that time tottering to its fall under the feeble rule of Hoshea (2 Chron. xxx. 1, 5—11), as well as his own, to take part in it. This invitation, though scornfully rejected by the greater part of Israel, was accepted by some few. Five of the ten tribes were represented (*ib.* vv. 10—18), and Hezekiah showed himself a true son of the prophet who so witheringly denounces ritual formalism when contrasted with the true worship of the heart and life (Isa. i. 11—17; lviii. 2—7), by admitting these Israelite worshippers to the feast, although deficient in the legal purifications, with the prayer, "The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary" (2 Chron. xxx. 18—20).

Sudden as this reformation was (*ib.* xxix. 36), it was thoroughly popular. The nation went along with, and even outstripped, their young king in his zeal for religious purity. The great Passover, bringing together worshippers from all parts of the kingdom, had afforded an opportunity for mutual kindling of their religious ardour. On its termination, bands of enthusiasts poured forth from the holy city, their zeal against idolatry wrought to its highest pitch, and spread themselves over the whole land, destroying the marks of superstition wherever they were found. The record of these violent and tumultuary proceedings seems a page out of the history of our own Reformation, or of the Great Rebellion. As then, much that was innocent perished with that which was baneful. The high places, though practically sanctioned by Samuel, David, Solomon, and other sincere worshippers of Jehovah; and furnishing the only centres for religious meeting to the inhabitants of the country districts, had become tainted with idolatrous rites, and shared the fate of the images and groves. The destruction of these ancient places of religious assembly, hallowed by the memories of centuries, must have been regarded with much secret indignation, of which, at a later period, Rabshakeh sought to avail himself (2 Kings xviii. 22). How merely superficial this reformation was, how deeply the spirit of idolatry had eaten into the heart of the nation, is seen in the sudden recoil under Manasseh. One time-honoured memorial of Israel's nomad life in the wilderness—"the brazen serpent that Moses had made"—fell a victim, at the same time, to the superstitions of which it had been the object. Hezekiah "brake it in pieces, and called it Nehushtan" (2 Kings xviii. 4).[1]

Hezekiah's religious reformation was prematurely checked by the approach of a most tremendous danger, threatening the existence of Judah as a nation. Elated by the internal prosperity of his kingdom, and indignant that the people of Jehovah should be tributary to a heathen monarch, Hezekiah had thrown off his allegiance to the king of Assyria, and withheld the customary tribute. His rebellion was speedily followed by the subjugation of the northern kingdom, and the deportation of the ten tribes. The capture of Samaria might well make Hezekiah tremble for the fate of Jerusalem. Nor was the incensed suzerain slow in preparing to chastise his rebellious vassal. But the blow was for a time suspended. The rich prize of the merchant city of Tyre diverted Shalmaneser's army, and the protracted and unsuccessful siege left the invader no leisure for attacking Jerusalem. Five years elapsed; Sargon succeeded Shalmaneser, and Sennacherib Sargon. Hezekiah, like a wise ruler, employed the interval in strengthening the walls of the city, adding to the fortifications, replenishing his arsenals, and cutting off the waters of which a besieging army might avail itself, and diverting them for the supply of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5). At length the dreaded hour came. Sennacherib invaded Judæa at the head of an immense army, covering the land like a vast inundation, sweeping all before its devastating tide. One by one the fortified towns—"the fenced cities of Judah"—fell into the invader's hand. Only Jerusalem remained. Sennacherib's object was the subjugation of Egypt. Jerusalem was chiefly valuable as a strong fortress, which it was unsafe to leave untaken in his rear. The Scriptural narrative is here so brief that it is not easy to determine whether the Assyrian army actually undertook the siege of Jerusalem, or whether the spectacle so graphically described by Isaiah (Isa. xxii. 1—7) of the multitudinous array of nations as they defiled past the walls of the city in their varied costume, seen from the housetops by the panic-stricken inhabitants, was of itself sufficient to procure submission. Isaiah vainly urged trust in the Lord. For the time Hezekiah was in the hands of far other counsellors; men demoralised by the reign of Ahaz, among whom Shebna has a bad pre-eminence, in whom all real faith in God was dead, and who, careless of national honour, resigned themselves to sensual enjoyment—"Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die" (*ib.* ver. 13). Convinced by them of the hopelessness of resistance, Hezekiah dispatched an embassy to the Assyrian king, who had marched forward with the main body of his troops to the reduction of the important frontier town of Lachish, acknowledging the guilt of his rebellion, and placing himself completely at Sennacherib's mercy. No submission could be more abject. "I have offended: return from me; that which thou puttest on me I will bear" (2 Kings xviii. 14). The terms exacted were crushingly oppressive. The royal and sacred treasuries were emptied to raise the sum demanded as the price of peace, and Hezekiah was even compelled to undo his own work, and strip the gates and pillars of the Temple of the plates of gold with which he had overlaid them (*ib.* vv. 15, 16).

[1] According to the A. V., it was Hezekiah who gave the brazen serpent the name of "Nehushtan," contemptuously calling it a mere "bit of brass." It is, however, more probable that the words should be translated "they called it," or "one called it," Nehushtan being its popular name, with an evident allusion to the word *nachash*, "a serpent," preserving the sound, but softening the sense.

This is the darkest page in the history of Hezekiah. He had yet to learn the lesson of faith in God, of which he became so signal an example. Better counsels prevailed. Isaiah regained his ascendancy. Shebna was degraded from the post of chief minister, and surrendered his robe and key of office to the excellent Eliakim. Trust in the Lord was inculcated as a more powerful defence than any "arm of flesh." However enormously the Assyrian's host outnumbered the forces of Judah, there were more with them than with him. The confidence of the monarch spread through the people; they "rested themselves on the words of Hezekiah" (2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 8). This confidence was soon put to the severest test. Whether it was that Hezekiah had been entering into negotiations with Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, and, relying on aid from him, had once again asserted his independence, or that Sennacherib, having met with reverses in his Egyptian campaign, and doubtful of the good faith of his Jewish vassal, had resolved to anticipate possible treachery by his annihilation as a separate power, the Assyrian king dispatched a large detachment to Jerusalem, under the command of the "Tartan," or general, accompanied by two of his highest officials, the "chief of the eunuchs," and the "chief of the cup-bearers," to demand an unconditional surrender.[1] The embassy took its stand on the same spot where, many years before, Isaiah had met Ahaz, and warned him of the ruin that would threaten his kingdom from the Assyrians, whom he was bent on calling in to his aid against the allied forces of Syria and Israel (1 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3, 17—20; viii. 7, 8). With a proper sense of his dignity, Hezekiah, when summoned, refused to appear personally, but sent Eliakim, and the now degraded Shebna, and Joah the royal chronicler, to receive the Assyrian envoys. The Rabshakeh—who, from his command of fluent Hebrew, is not unreasonably supposed to have been a renegade Jew—delivered a defiant message, taunting Hezekiah with his powerlessness to resist the force of his master, and with the vanity of his expectations of effectual help from the "bruised reed" of Egypt. Eliakim, noticing with uneasiness the effect his words—the substantial truth of which he too well knew—were already having on the populace who were eagerly listening from the walls, begged him to speak in Aramaic, with which he and his companions were acquainted. But Rabshakeh followed up his advantage, and at once addressed himself to the people, warning them in brutally coarse language of the extremities to which a siege would reduce them, and drawing a glowing picture of the advantages they would gain if they would leave their city and their sovereign to their fate, and, throwing themselves on the great king's mercy, allow him to transplant them to a good and fertile land, where they would enjoy the blessings of peace and plenty. Hezekiah's trust in Jehovah, he told them, was idle. No local deities had hitherto been strong enough to protect their land. Who was Jehovah, then, that he should deliver Jerusalem out of Sennacherib's hand? No acclamation of assent, nor even a murmur of approbation, followed Rabshakeh's speech. Hezekiah's command had been, "Answer him not," and it was obeyed. Full of horror at his bold blasphemies, the ministers hastened to their master with rent garments, and reported the audacious defiance. Despairing of any human succour, Hezekiah at once threw himself on the protection of Him whom Sennacherib had defied. It was a supreme crisis for himself and his kingdom. Utter distress was combined with utter helplessness. "The children were come to the birth, and there was not strength to bring forth." Prayer to the One who could effectually help was his only refuge. At the same time, he dispatched his chief minister to Isaiah, beseeching him to add his intercessions to his own, and "lift up his prayer for the remnant that were left" (2 Kings xix. 4). The prophet's answer was reassuring. His strong faith in Jehovah never wavered for an instant; nor would he allow Hezekiah to fear. "The Lord had heard the blasphemous taunts of Rabshakeh, and would avenge them. The haughty monarch's career should be soon cut short. Terrible news would prostrate his proud spirit, and he would return defeated to his own land, where he should fall by the sword" (*ib.* vv. 6, 7).

The Assyrian envoys communicated the issue of their embassage to Sennacherib, who had, meanwhile, broken up from Lachish, probably from inability to reduce it without serious loss of time, and was besieging Libnah. The hostile movement of Tirhakah from the south-west made it essential that the annoyance of Hezekiah's continued resistance should be stopped, and that Jerusalem should be his, as a fortress for his troops to fall back upon in case of need. It was inconvenient to spare troops to take the city by assault. He anticipated that his threats would do the work. So a second embassy was sent to Hezekiah, bearing a letter couched in terms of still more insolent defiance. "Every king had fallen before Assyria, and should the king of Judah be an exception? To trust to his God for deliverance was only to deceive himself" (*ib.* vv. 9—13). Once more Hezekiah is presented to us as an example of faith and prayer. His instant resort is to the insulted Majesty of Heaven. With the blasphemous document in his hand, he enters into the Temple, and spreads it before the Lord, calling upon the "living God" to manifest the difference between Himself and the dumb idols which had proved so powerless to protect their votaries, and, by the strangeness of His deliverance, force all the kingdoms of the earth to acknowledge Jehovah as the one true God. The answer to his prayer was given in one of Isaiah's sublimest lyrical flights, unsurpassed, perhaps, in the whole range of prophetical Scripture. "The virgin, the daughter of Sion, tossed her head, and laughed to scorn the menaces of the invader. The vainglorious Assyrian might vaunt of his conquests as the

[1] In our A. V., Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh are used as if they were proper names, and are usually so understood. This is an error. They are not proper names, but designations of office. "Tartan" is the ordinary title of an Assyrian general; "Rab-saris" signifies the "chief eunuchs;" "Rab-shakeh" probably "the chief cup bearer," or "butler" (cf. Gen. xl. 1).

fruit of his own wisdom and might. He should be taught that he was but the instrument of the contemned Jehovah; "the rod of His hand, the staff of His indignation" (Isa. x. 5), to be cast aside when he had done his Master's work. He should be ignominiously dragged away from the city, which he was menacing with utter destruction, without setting foot on its sacred soil, or even coming near it, with a ring in his nostrils, and a bridle in his mouth, like one of his own prisoners. And the deliverance so complete, so unlooked for, should come from no human power. Jehovah would do it for his own sake, and his servant David's sake. "The zeal of the Lord of Hosts" should sweep away the multitudinous hosts of Assyria" (2 Kings xix. 20—34).

How this deliverance was to come to pass God did not reveal. Not even Isaiah knew. But that it would be both the king and the prophet most surely believed. Nor had they long to wait for the issue. "The word of God runneth very swiftly." That very night, within a few hours of the utterance of Isaiah's words, "the angel of Jehovah went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand." How, we know not; nor can we ever know certainly, for the Word of God is silent. But, whether by the suffocating blast of the simoom, or by a sudden pestilence—agencies which the Lord of Nature employs when and as He pleases—the destruction of the host was utter. The few survivors awoke next morning to a wide scene of death. Their comrades of the night before lay all around them "dead corpses."

"For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he passed;
And the eyes of the sleepers waxed deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew still;
And the might of the Gentile, unsmote by the sword,
Had melted like snow in the glance of the Lord."
(Byron, *Hebrew Melodies.*)

With the annihilation of his host all Sennacherib's schemes of conquest vanished. In haste and dismay the proud blasphemer returned to his own land, destined, ere very long, to complete the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, falling by the hands of his own sons in the shrine of Nisroch his god, the last conqueror of his race. "Within a few years from that time the Assyrian power suddenly vanished from the earth."[1]

A new danger speedily threatened Hezekiah; not now for his kingdom, but for his life. Worn out, perhaps, with the anxieties of the fearful crisis through which he had passed, he was struck down by a disease, the mortal nature of which Isaiah was divinely commissioned to declare. The weakness of Hezekiah's character—his want of moral fibre—was at once displayed. Utterly overwhelmed with the announcement of the speedy approach of death, the tender-hearted monarch burst into a torrent of tears, and with averted face poured forth a prayer for prolonged life. Length of days was, under the old covenant, the reward promised to faithfulness of service. Hezekiah could not unjustly appeal to the integrity of his work, and expostulate with God for thus cutting short his days—he was not yet forty—in the midst of his years, and bidding him leave the land of light and joy and gladness for the darkness and sadness and silence of the grave. We must not judge Hezekiah by a Christian standard. "Life and immortality" had not yet been "brought to light by the Gospel." The resurrection of Christ had not yet illumined the impenetrable obscurity of the grave, and we can pardon one of Hezekiah's sensitive temperament for shrinking, with what seems to us an almost craven fear, from descending into its gloom. We should have liked a more manly bearing. But the Old Testament saints were men of their own epoch—not of ours—and, let us never forget, "men of like passions with ourselves;" and whatever we may think of Hezekiah's prayer, God regarded it with favour. The cry for prolonged life had hardly been upraised, and Isaiah, after uttering the sentence of death, had barely left the precincts of the palace, when he was commissioned to return and reverse his own sentence, promising recovery and the addition of fifteen years to Hezekiah's span of days. Not even when the end is certain will God allow the proper means to be neglected. A poultice of figs applied to the boil by Isaiah's direction worked the cure. The revulsion was so sudden that Hezekiah may be excused for desiring a sign to convince him of the truth of Isaiah's words. The sign was granted, and like his father, Ahaz (Isa. vii. 11), he was permitted to choose between two forms of it. He chose the most apparently difficult: "the shadow should return ten degrees on his father's sun-dial." "And Isaiah cried unto Jehovah, and he brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down on the dial of Ahaz" (2 Kings xx. 11). Where Scripture is silent, it is our wisdom to be silent also, and not to speculate on the possible natural causes of this retrogression. "Whoever truly believes in the Old Testament must also be prepared to believe in a miracle."[2] Cheered by this sign, the king's recovery was speedy. In three days he was able to go up to the Temple to give thanks to Him who had "delivered his soul from the pit of corruption," and permitted him to look forward to making known God's truth to his yet unborn children. Hezekiah's marriage probably took place soon afterwards. His wife, Hephzibah, was a native of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxi. 1), traditionally a daughter of Isaiah (cf. Isa. lxii. 4). His son and successor, Manasseh, was not born till three years afterwards (cf. 2 Kings xx. 6; xxi. 1).

Of the remaining fifteen years of Hezekiah's life one transaction alone remains on record. In this we are expressly told that "God left him" to himself, "to try him," that by his grievous failure he might learn his own weakness, and humble himself before God. His deliverance from the monaces of Assyria had the effect of placing him in a very elevated position among neighbouring states. It was certainly politic to court the friendship and secure the alliance of the favourite of

[1] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. ii., p. 490.

[2] Niebuhr, *Geschicht Assurs u. Babels*, p. 49, quoted by Rev. H. Browne in Kitto; *Cyclop. Bibl. Lit.*, vol. ii. 296.

a God whose power had proved so irresistible. The marvel of Hezekiah's recovery, with its attendant miraculous portent, increased his fame. Neighbouring princes hastened to place themselves under his protection, and vied with one another in the largeness of the gifts to Hezekiah and the house of his God (2 Chron. xxxii. 23). The sudden change was too much for his not over-strong character. Elated by finding himself the object of so much adulation and wondering reverence, "his heart was lifted up, and he rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him" (*ib.* ver. 25). The chief of the potentates who sought intercourse with Hezekiah was Merodach-baladan, the viceroy of the Assyrian province of Babylon. His ambassadors came with the ostensible purpose of congratulating Hezekiah on his recovery, and inquiring into the particulars of the retrogression of the shadow, which would have especial interest for the Chaldean astronomers. The real purpose lay deeper. He was already contemplating throwing off his allegiance to Assyria, and he was anxious to acquaint himself with the internal resources of Hezekiah's kingdom, that he might know how far an alliance with Judah would help him towards his design. The honour of receiving such visitors carried Hezekiah beyond himself. Heedless of the cupidity he would be thus awakening, and only desirous to show, by the immense amount of the treasures at his command, how valuable an ally he might be, he ostentatiously displayed the whole of his resources to the Babylonian ambassadors. "There was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah showed them not" (*ib.* ver. 13). Isaiah was too keen-sighted not to discern the real object of this visit, and too loyal a servant of Jehovah not to feel the unsuitableness of any alliance between the people of God and the godless Babylonian power. Sternly did the aged prophet interrogate the monarch as to his visitors, and their object; and then raising the veil of the future, in words of terrible import he warned him of the instability of the possessions he was glorying in, and the treachery of the alliance he was so eagerly courting. "The king of Babylon was to accomplish that which the king of Assyria had attempted and failed in. All the treasures that he was displaying with so much pride should be taken as spoil to Babylon: 'nothing should be left;' nay, more, his children should be carried captive thither, and become the degraded menials of the royal palace." The pious but feeble nature of Hezekiah bowed in submission to the Divine decree; "He humbled himself for the pride of his heart" (2 Chron. xxxii. 26). "The word of the Lord" could not but be "good" in its ultimate issues. As for himself, he should be spared witnessing the threatened calamities; "peace and truth" were to last his days, and with that assurance he was, perhaps, too easily contented (2 Kings xx. 19). His reply was not magnanimous. It is difficult to acquit it altogether of something very like selfishness. But his words embody a truth. "It is no small mercy in Him, and no small comfort to us, if either He take us away before His judgments come, or keep His judgments till we are gone. A grief it is to know that these things shall happen, but some happiness withal, and to be acknowledged as a great favour from God, to be assured that we shall never see them."[1]

After this we have only the general record of the peace and prosperity in which Hezekiah closed his days. He was not an old man when he died. He slept with his fathers in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign, and was buried with great honour, amid the general mourning of the whole nation; not in the rock-hewn tomb of David, which was probably then full, but in the road leading up to the royal burial-place[2] (2 Chron. xxxii. 33). "With him closed the glory, the independence of the kingdom of Judah. He was the last truly great and good king of God's people."

[1] Bishop Sanderson, *Sermon II. ad Populum.*

[2] The word מַעֲלֵה, translated in the A. V. "chiefest" (marg., "highest") "of the sepulchres," should certainly be rendered "ascent," "going up to," as 1 Sam. ix. 10; Josh. x. 10; xviii. 17; 2 Kings ix. 27; 2 Chron. xx. 16; with the LXX., ἐν ἀναβάσει τάφων υἱῶν Δαυίδ. It is the conjecture of Thenius (2 Kings xx. 21) that there being no longer any space left in the hereditary tomb of the kings of Judah, separate caves were excavated in the road leading up the rocky slope for him and the succeeding kings.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

OPHIDIA.

THE various kinds of serpents, harmless and poisonous, that have been noticed in Palestine and the Bible lands have been mentioned in a preceding article. Bible allusions to serpents, under the English names of viper, asp, adder, cockatrice, &c., are very numerous, and probably in the Hebrew refer to different species. The word *nâchâsh* appears to be the common name of the serpent generally, without reference to any distinct species. The subtlety of the serpent is mentioned in Gen. iii. 1; see also Matt. x. 16, "Be ye wise as serpents." The poisonous properties of some species are frequently alluded to (see Ps. lviii. 4; Prov. xxiii. 32). The forked, sharp tongue of the serpent did not fail to strike the attention of the Hebrew writers, some of whom regarded the tongue as the instrument of poison (see Job xx. 16, "The viper's tongue shall slay him," and compare Ps. cxl. 3); but generally the venom is correctly ascribed to the bite (Numb. xxi. 9; Eccles. x. 8, 11; Prov. xxiii. 32). The serpent's habit of lying concealed in hedges is mentioned in Eccles. x. 8, "Whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him;" "in the holes of walls" (Amos v. 19). The partiality of some serpents

for dry, sandy places is alluded to in Deut. viii. 15, "Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents," *i.e.*, serpents producing burning pains from their bites. The oviparous nature of most of the ophidia is mentioned in Isa. lix. 5, "they hatch the serpent's eggs," where the English version has the unfortunate rendering of "cockatrice." The peculiar and graceful mode of a serpent's progression along the ground is expressly noticed in Prov. xxx. 19, where Agur mentions "the way of a serpent upon a rock" as one of the three, yea four, things "which are too wonderful" for him. "The organs of locomotion for the exceedingly elongate body of the snake are the ribs, the number of which is very great, nearly corresponding to that of the vertebræ of the trunk. Although their motions are in general very quick, and may be adapted to every variation of ground over which they move, yet all the varieties of their locomotion are founded on the following simple process. When a part of their body has found some projection of the ground which affords it a point of support, the ribs alternately of one and the other side are drawn more closely together, thereby producing alternate bends of the body on the corresponding side. The hinder portion of the body being drawn after, some part of it finds another support on the rough ground or projection, and the anterior bends being stretched in a straight line, the front part of the body is propelled in consequence. During this peculiar kind of locomotion the numerous broad shields of the belly are of great advantage, as by means of the free edges of those shields they are enabled to catch the smallest projections on the ground, which may be used as points of support. A pair of ribs corresponds to each of these ventral shields. The snakes are not able to move over a perfectly smooth surface." (Günther, in Ray Society's *Reptiles of British India*, p. 164.)

The following Hebrew words denote some species of serpent:—*Pethen, shephîphon, epheh, 'aeshûb, tsepha,* or *tsephoni.*

Pethen occurs as the name of some poisonous serpent whose venom is several times mentioned, as in Deut. xxxii. 33, "the cruel venom of asps;" Job xx. 14, "the gall of asps within him," &c. The *pethen* is the "deaf adder" of the Psalmist (lviii. 4, 5), "that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." The *pethen* in Isa. xi. 8 is said to dwell in holes; the probable derivation of the word is from a root meaning to "extend" or "expand." Putting all these points together, there is much reason to believe that the Egyptian cobra (*Naia haje*) is the serpent intended. This serpent is, and long has been, the species upon which the serpent-charmers have practised their peculiar science. When irritated, the cobra expands or dilates its neck and breast till almost flat, and its habit is to conceal itself in holes of walls and rocks. The expression "deaf adder which will not be charmed" clearly points to some particular individual which obstinately refused to be charmed, and not to any particular species which was physically incapable of hearing; for the Psalmist is speaking of wicked and obstinate men, whom he compares to obstinate serpents which close their ears to the music of the charmer. A popular notion, not yet wholly eradicated, once pervaded the public mind that the serpent used to stop its ear with its tail! (see Bythner's *Lyre of David*, p. 165, Dee's translation; also Dr. Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, p. 155). No serpent, it may be stated, has any external opening to the ear, the orifice being completely closed. It will be desirable to say a few words on serpent-charming in connection with the passage in the 58th Psalm. Those who professed the art of taming serpents were called by the Hebrews *melachăshim;* the art was called *lachash.* Jeremiah (viii. 17) alludes to the custom in these words: "Behold, I will send serpents, adders (A.V. cockatrices) among you, which will not be charmed, and they shall bite you, saith the Lord;" see also Eccles. x. 11, "Surely the serpent shall bite without enchantment." The serpents usually practised with are the Indian and Egyptian cobras. The art of serpent-charming is of great antiquity. The skill of the Italian Marsi and the Libyan Psylli was celebrated throughout the world. There can be no doubt that the serpent-charmers are not, as a rule, impostors, practising only on individuals whose poison-fangs had been previously drawn or broken off, but that they possess the power of soothing and taming the snakes so as to render them harmless to themselves. If a serpent behaves more suspiciously and exhibits more restlessness than usual, then, as a precaution, the fangs are extracted. The shrill sounds of the flute are those which the serpent-charmers find to have most influence over their animals. Probably serpents, though, comparatively speaking, deaf to ordinary sounds, are capable of hearing pretty distinctly the sharp shrill notes of the flute. Hence the effect produced by such music.

Shephîphon.—Here is another word which we think can be identified, though it occurs but once, viz., in Gen. xlix. 17, "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder [Heb. *shephîphon*] in the path that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider shall fall backward." The Hebrew word is no doubt identical with the Arabic *siffon* or *siphon*, which is used to denote the horned snake (*Cerastes Hasselquistii*), a poisonous serpent well known in the sandy deserts of Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia Petræa. Its habits exactly suit what is said of it in the passage in Genesis. The cerastes likes to coil itself on the sand and to bask in the impress of a camel's foot, lying in ambush for any passing animal. "So great is the terror which its sight inspires in horses," says Tristram, "that I have known mine, when I was riding in the Sahara, suddenly kick and rear, trembling and perspiring in every limb, and no persuasion would induce him to proceed. I was quite unable to account for his terror, until I noticed a cerastes coiled up in a depression two or three paces in front, with its basilisk eyes steadily fixed on us, and no doubt preparing for a spring as the horse passed." The name of cerastes (κέρας, "a horn") is derived from two horn-like processes over the eyes of the males; the females occasion-

ally possess them, but less developed. The cerastes is about a foot in length, and is one of the most dangerous of poisonous snakes.

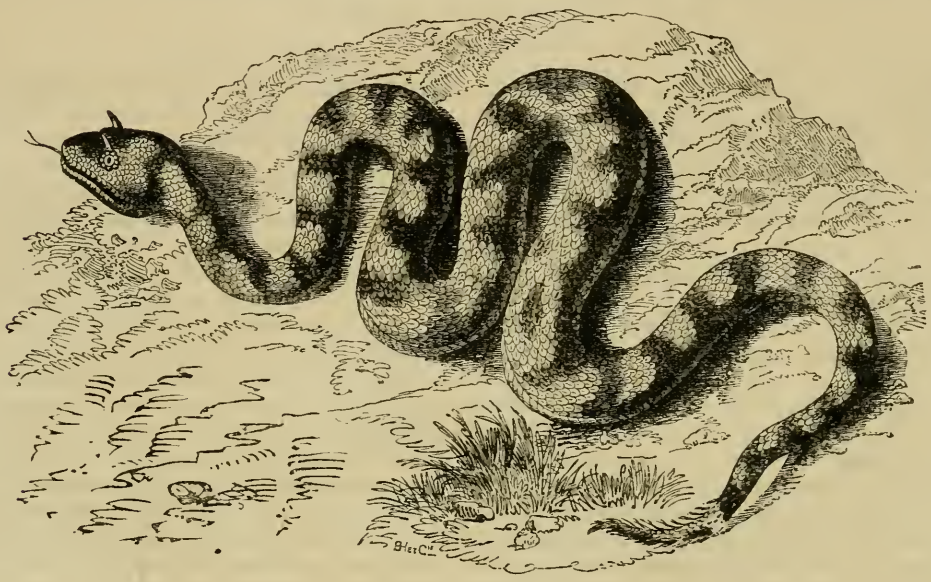
Epheh occurs three times, viz., in Job xx. 16; Isa. xxx. 6; lix. 5, and is always translated "viper;" some kind of poisonous serpent is intended. Shaw mentions a snake which the Arabs call *leffah* (*el effah*), which may be the kind denoted by the Hebrew word. The Arabic ophidian has been referred to the Algerian adder (*Echidna Mauritanica*), and to the toxicoa (*Echis arenicola*) of Egypt and North Africa. Dr. Tristram's party found this viper frequently in winter under stones by the shores of the Dead Sea; it is a small species, about a foot long, common in sandy tracts, rapid in its movements, and poisonous. The viper (ἔχιδνα) which is said to have fastened on St. Paul's hands, and astonished the barbarians at Malta (Acts xxviii. 3), has been identified with the *Vipera*

EGYPTIAN COBRA.

aspis, a not uncommon species on the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. The woods have disappeared from Malta, and no venomous snake is now found in the island.

'Acshûb is found only in Ps. cxl. 3, "Adder's poison is under their lips." The *Vipera ammodytes* and *V. euphratica* are common in Palestine, and very likely came under the notice of the ancient Jews.

Tsepha or *tsephoni* occurs five times in the Old Testament as the name of a venomous serpent (see Prov. xxiii. 32; Isa. xi. 8; xiv. 29; lix. 5; Jer. viii. 17). The root of the word means "to hiss"—a character common to serpents, and one which can afford not the slightest clue. The word is translated "adder" and "cockatrice" in our version. This latter creature—a purely fabulous animal—was supposed to have been hatched by a cock from a viper's eggs; it is represented in old books with a cock's head and a dragon's body. Basilisk, "king of serpents," was another name of the cockatrice. The latter word is probably a corruption of crocodile, through the French *cocatrix*. Tristram thinks the *'acshûb* may denote the *Daboia xanthina*, a large, prettily-marked, yellow serpent, and one of the most dangerous from its size and nocturnal habits; it is not uncommon in Palestine. The "fiery serpents" of the deserts of Sinai, which caused the death of the Israelites at the time of the wanderings (Numb. xxi. 6, 8, and Deut. viii. 15) must have been some highly venomous kind. The Hebrew term rendered "fiery" in our version, "deadly" by the LXX., "burning" in some other versions, alludes probably to the sensation produced by the bites. "The fiery, flying serpent" of Isaiah (xiv. 29; xxx. 6) is distinct from the foregoing. There is no such thing in nature as a flying serpent; and the words of a poet may be taken in a poetical and hyperbolical sense. The serpent, almost throughout the East, has been considered as an emblem of the evil principle, the spirit of disobedience and contumacy; though some nations, as the Phœnicians, Chinese, the Egyptians, the Indians, savage tribes of Africa and America, regarded it as a beneficial genius, a symbol of wisdom and power. But if the serpent was worshipped as the symbol of eternity, it was also regarded as an evil genius and the enemy of the gods, "so contradictory," Dr. Kalisch observes, "is all animal worship. Its principle is in some instances gratitude, and in others fear; but if a noxious animal is very dangerous the fear may manifest itself in two ways—either by the resolute desire of extirpating the beast, or by the wish of averting the conflict with its superior power; thus, the same fear may on the one hand cause fierce enmity, and on the other submission and worship." The general notion with regard to the part the serpent is said to have played in the Fall is that the reptile represents Satan, the Evil Spirit, under its guise. Several writers, however, deny that the Evil Spirit is to be understood in the narrative of Genesis. It is true it is not distinctly mentioned, nor indirectly to be inferred from the story itself; still we know the serpent was amongst Eastern people generally regarded as an emblem of the Spirit of Evil, and early traces of Jewish interpretations favour this view. It was a belief amongst the Jews that the serpent, prior to the part it played in the Fall, moved along in an erect position, and was provided with feet; that, as a punishment, poison was inserted under his tongue, and it was to be regarded as a deadly enemy to man. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 1, § 4) expressly says, "And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go



CERASTES.

rolling along, and dragging himself along the ground." Milton similarly conceives of an erect mode of progression:—

> "Not with indented wave,
> Prone on the ground, as since; but on his rear,
> Circular base of rising folds that tower'd
> Fold above fold, a surging maze." (*Par. Lost*, ix. 496.)

The narrative in the Book of Genesis points to the belief held by the ancient Jews that previous to the curse there was a time when the serpent was not a degraded creature, and the prophet Isaiah pictures a time when the nature of the serpent shall again be changed; not only would the lion and the ox eat straw together, the wolf and the lamb lodge together, but even the enmity between the serpent and other animals would cease; when there would be no danger in the weaned child playing at the hole of the asp, or at the adder's den; dust alone should the serpent eat; nothing was to hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PROPHETS:—OBADIAH.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

SHORT as is the Book of Obadiah, consisting of only twenty-one verses, it has nevertheless been the subject of much controversy, and has questions connected with it of considerable interest and difficulty. As regards its date, critics have placed it as early as the reign of Rehoboam, and as late as the conquest of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Lagus, so that by some it is regarded as the earliest, by others as the latest, of all the prophetical writings. We find, moreover, that the first five verses are repeated in the prophecy of Jeremiah against Edom (chap. xlix. 7—22), and that the two prophets have also thoughts in common where the words are not identical: which, then, of the two borrowed from the other? So again: there is a close relation between the prophecies of Joel and Obadiah. Which, then, was the earlier, and served as a model to the other? Finally, the modern Jews regard the prophecy of Obadiah as the charter of their future greatness, assuring them of the possession of the leading countries of Europe. It will be interesting to see what are the principles of prophetical interpretation which lead them to this belief.

Now we may briefly dismiss any late date for Obadiah by appealing to his place in the canon. This argument has indeed often been pressed too far; but we may at least say that the Jews, in their arrangement of the minor prophets, have drawn a definite line of separation between those who wrote before the Babylonian exile and those who wrote after it; and that this was a matter upon which their information could not have been insufficient. They have also evidently attempted some sort of arrangement of the earlier prophets among themselves, and have placed Obadiah among those who wrote in the reign of Jeroboam II. His exact place was, however, probably fixed by the words of Amos ix. 12, where God promised that Israel should possess the remnant of Edom. Of this prophecy Obadiah's predictions seemed an enlargement, and without meaning to settle his exact date, which possibly they did not know, they placed him where his matter admirably fitted in. In Hosea and Amos we have Israel's punishment, but the latter ends with the promise of restoration, and the subjugation of Edom, his inveterate foe. It seemed, then, natural to place at the head of the roll those prophets whose subject was the fate of Israel herself; and subsequently one who foretold the subjugation of a people with whom the Israelites were ever at war, and their final supremacy.

But as undoubtedly the prophecy was written soon after one of the many captures of Jerusalem (verse 11), and as the Divine anger against Edom was occasioned by his malevolent joy at his brother's adversity, it has generally been supposed that Obadiah must have written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans in B.C. 588; and the more confidence is felt in this conclusion because we find in Ps. cxxxvii. 7 the expression of similar anger against the Edomites for the bitter exultation with which they encouraged the Chaldæans to complete the work of destruction. Moreover, as Nebuchadnezzar, five years after the capture of Jerusalem, reduced the Ammonites and Moabites to obedience (Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 9, § 7), and as the Idumæans lay in the very path of his army, the predictions of the prophet have thus a natural and immediate fulfilment.

It is no sufficient answer to this to point out that the repeatedly recurring phrase "Thou shouldest not" . . (vv. 12, 13, 14) would be more correctly translated, "Do not look upon the day of thy brother; do not rejoice over the children of Judah," &c., as these phrases, though deprecatory in form, may all have been suggested by an accomplished fact. There is something so particular and exact about them, that the sole justification of such charges would be that these crimes had actually been committed. It would be malicious to suggest that your brother should not join in plundering you, nor stand in the crossway to cut off your fugitives, nor deliver up those who had escaped, unless he had done so. Edom is represented in these verses not merely as generally exulting with malignant pleasure over the downfall of Jerusalem, but as having been guilty of special acts of deliberate meanness and cruelty; and these acts, if really committed, would justify the sentence which the

prophet is commissioned to pass. The tenth and eleventh verses seem conclusive upon the point, that the immediate occasion of the prophecy was Edom's malevolent joy at Judah's downfall, and that it had taken part in capturing Jerusalem. The deprecatory form, then, of the appeals would rather lead to the conclusion that Obadiah wrote immediately after the capture, and while the Edomites were still triumphing, and following out their malignant policy of refusing the Jews all refuge.

The question, however, will turn very much upon the relation of Obadiah to Jeremiah. If he copied from Jeremiah, then unquestionably he had in view the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar: if Obadiah be the older, then the occasion was probably that mentioned in 2 Chron. xxi. 17, when the Philistines and Arabians, in the days of Jehoram, made a predatory incursion into Judæa, captured Jerusalem, slew most of the royal family, and retired with much spoil. As the Edomites had revolted from Jehoram, and made their rebellion good in spite of much slaughter, nothing would be more probable than that they would feel a malicious pleasure in seeing their former masters humbled beneath the enemy. The idea that the capture referred to could be that in the reign of Amaziah, when Joash king of Israel demolished four hundred cubits of the city walls (2 Chron. xxv. 23), is disposed of by the fact that Obadiah describes the conquerors as strangers and foreigners. But the invasion of predatory hordes such as were these Arabs in Jehoram's days does not agree with so complete and methodical a subjugation of the Jews as is implied by the flight of the runaways into Edom, and the pursuit of them so far from Jerusalem. The Philistines and Arabs wanted plunder, and would retire as soon as they had gained it. Nebuchadnezzar aimed at total conquest, and at the deportation of all the inhabitants of the land to people his new city of Babylon. Certainly the circumstances agree better with the date usually given, B.C. 588, than with any other.

No controversy, however, is more disputed than whether Jeremiah borrowed from Obadiah, or *vice versa*. The manner in which the former leans upon other books of Holy Scripture, and perpetually uses words and phrases taken from them, is well known, but Obadiah has the same habit. In verses 17, 18, two points are taken from Balaam's prophecy in Numb. xxiv. 18, 19: the first, that Jacob is to possess Esau; the second, that he is to destroy him that remaineth, the word in both places being the same, namely, *sarid*. Amos has the first of these two points in chap. ix. 12, but the word for "remnant" is there *sharith*, and Obadiah, taking the idea probably from Amos, had nevertheless gone back to the *Torah*, and made fuller use of the original prediction, which guaranteed Israel's final ascendancy. From Balaam, too, he took the simile of Edom's setting his nest on high. Again, there are no less than five places where Joel and Obadiah are dependent one upon the other (compare especially Joel iii. 14, Obad. 15; Joel ii. 32, Obad. 17); and though, of course, it is quite possible that Obadiah may have been thus made use of by two prophets so dissimilar as Joel and Jeremiah, it is more probable that he made use of them.

The question is undoubtedly a very difficult one, and critics take different views with arguments which seem very plausible till the other side is read. Upon the whole, I still adhere to the view I published in my Bampton Lectures, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ* (p. 141, 2nd Ed.), that Obadiah wrote after Joel and Jeremiah. The behaviour of Edom at the time of Jerusalem's capture made a very deep impression upon the minds of the Jews, as we learn from Ps. cxxxvii., and Obadiah is to me a proof of the manner in which educated Jews were conversant with their own Scriptures. Profoundly versed both in the Pentateuch and in the Prophets, he poured forth his indignation in this short ode, in which predictions and phrases, with which his memory was stored, formed the vehicle for the expression of deep and earnest feeling. But he is not devoid either of originality or of power, and his poem is well arranged. He begins with Edom's humiliation; he next justifies God's sentence by showing Edom's guilt; and finally, he foretells that there are larger mercies in store for God's people than the possession of the territory of that small state. There is widespread dominion prepared for them, and deliverers who shall rise up in Mount Zion, not for mere human or national glory, but because "the kingdom is Jehovah's."

It is this latter part which has made Obadiah a favourite study with the Jews. They read in his words the certainty, not merely of restoration to their own land, and the extension of their dominion over Idumæa and Philistia, but of the downfall of Christianity, and the conquest, by themselves, of France and Spain. Naturally we ask for the explanation of so extraordinary an interpretation, and we find that it is a settled principle with the Rabbins that Edom is Rome, and the Edomites all Christians whatsoever. For reasons which will scarcely bear the test of criticism, they believe that Janus, the first king of Latium, was Esau's grandson, and that the Latins were not Trojans but Idumæans. To the same stock they refer all the early Christians, as if the apostles and first disciples were not Jews, but Edomites; and affirm that when Constantine made the Roman empire embrace Christianity, it became Idumæan. Accepting this as an established principle, the Jews easily arrive at conclusions of a very startling kind.

The "mount of Esau," in verse 21, is naturally the city of Rome, and by the "saviours" they understand men like the judges of old, who will chastise the Christians as Gideon chastised the Midianites. Sepharad is Spain, probably from some confusion with Hesperia, a name sometimes given to it; but as Jerome's Jewish teacher told him that Sepharad was the Bosporus, and as this might be the Cimmerian Bosporus, now the Strait of Yenikale, situated at the foot of the Caucasus, in the country of Iberia, others think that some Jewish commentator, in his ignorance of geography, confounded this with the Iberia in the north of Spain. Be this as it

may, the notion is now so ingrained in the Jews, that they call the two great divisions of their nation, who have each their own pronunciation of Hebrew, *Sephardim*, who are the Jews of Spain, and *Ashkenazim*, the Jews of Germany. Really Sepharad is probably a district of Lydia, round Sardis. But when once Sepharad had become Spain, Zarephath, a village on the coast of the Mediterranean between Tyre and Sidon, easily became France.

The real fulfilment of the prophecy is to be sought for rather in the triumphs of Christianity than in its defeat. But it is possible that a more full accomplishment remains than any that has yet happened; and with it there may be also a more literal fulfilment to the Jews, dependent, however, upon their acceptance of our Lord as their Messiah. For though the Christian Church, as the antitype, has taken possession of the promises made to the type, the Jewish theocracy, this does not necessarily exclude a fulfilment to the Jews themselves, who, when "the kingdom is Jehovah's," may have their own special rights and privileges in his universal Church.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE:—(3) RACES IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

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§ 4.—TIME OF THE CAPTIVITY.

THE period over which the "Captivity" extends cannot be very exactly defined. The "seventy years" of Jeremiah (xxv. 12; xxvii. 22; xxix. 10) apply only to the kingdom of Judah, and for many reasons cannot be understood as a definite computation, even in the case of the southern kingdom (see Ewald, *Hist.* v. 73; cf. Prideaux, *Connection*, i. 184). If we reckon the duration of the "Captivity" from the destruction of the Holy City by Nebuchadnezzar in the year 586 B.C., when the expatriation of the Chosen People may be said to have become complete, to the return of the first detachment of the Babylonian exiles under Zerubbabel, consequent on the edict of Cyrus in the year 536 B.C., the exact time was about forty-nine years. It must always, however, be kept in mind that this darkest period of the national degradation and misery was only reached by successive steps, and that the recovery from it was also gradual. Taking into account the whole series of deportations by which the land was by degrees emptied of its inhabitants—one district after another seeing its children swept away—the duration of the Captivity extended over a period of not less than 300 years.

As early as the days of Joel (c. 800 B.C.), there had been partial captivities of "Judah and Jerusalem," many of the inhabitants of the southern kingdom having been at this time seized and sold into slavery by the Sidonians, "that they might be removed far from their border" (Joel iii. 1—7). About the same time, as we find from the Book of Amos (809 B.C.—784 B.C.), not only Tyre and Sidon, but the Syrians of Damascus, the Philistines, the Edomites, and the Ammonites had swept the whole population from particular districts of the country, or, in the language of the prophet, had "carried them away with an entire captivity" (Amos i. 1, sq.; cf. Pusey, *Minor Proph.*, in loc.). Then between 747 B.C. and 730, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, following up inroads in the same direction made in the previous reign by his predecessor Pul, king of Assyria (cf. 1 Chron. v. 26), wrested from the northern kingdom some of its fairest territories, including Galilee and the trans-Jordanic provinces of Gilead, and carried away the Israelite inhabitants to Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29). The great deportation of the remains of the ten tribes, the bounds of whose kingdom were now miserably contracted, embracing only the cities of Samaria, followed in the year 719 B.C. In that year, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, "took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (xvii. 6). There now only remained, at least in any force, the two tribes constituting the kingdom of Judah (xvii. 18). Already, as we have seen, terribly weakened by successive captivities in the days of Joel and Amos, this kingdom now began to share in earnest the fate which had befallen her northern neighbour. To say nothing of the probable results of her subjugation (c. 610 B.C.) by Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the great instrument of her threatened judgments, appeared before the walls of Jerusalem in the year 606 B.C. Jehoiakim, then king of Judah, at first submitted to the conqueror of so many other kingdoms without a struggle, but after three years rebelled against him, with, however, no other result than that of involving his kingdom in war not only with the Chaldees, but with their allies or vassals the Syrians, the Moabites, and the Ammonites, amidst whose oppressions his reign and his life closed. Three months after the accession of his successor Jehoiachin, the first step was taken to the utter extinction, for the time, of the kingdom of Judah. In the year 598 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar took possession of Jerusalem, and carried thence Jehoiachin himself and 10,000 captives, including "all the princes and all the mighty men of valour, and all the craftsmen and smiths," together with the treasures of the temple and of the palace of the king (2 Kings xxiv. 10—16). The final blow was not struck till thirteen years afterwards. In the year 586 B.C., having provoked his fate at once by his sins against God,

and his attempts to throw off the Babylonian yoke, the new vassal-king, Zedekiah, after sustaining in Jerusalem a two years' siege, aggravated by a desolating famine, and after seeing his own sons and the princes of Judah massacred before his eyes—the last sight permitted to him—was carried away, blind, to Babylon, followed a few months afterwards by the whole remnant of the people except "some of the poorest of the land," while Jerusalem itself—with its Temple, its palaces, its private houses, and its walls—was razed to its foundations or burned with fire (2 Kings xxv. 9; Jer. lii. 13). The dates of the successive steps of the return, as far as we know them, may be added. The return under Zerubbabel took place in the year 536 B.C.; under Ezra, in 458 B.C.; and under Nehemiah in 445 B.C.

(2.) The ethnical history of Palestine throughout the somewhat indefinite period thus known as the times of the Captivity, is not without difficulty.

Of the population which from the conquest had always hitherto been predominant in the land, there is little to be said. For very many years the race of Israel now almost wholly disappeared from the scenes associated with their past national history. They had not, it is true, utterly vanished from the face of the earth; nor were they without hope of re-assuming their ancient position in the territories granted to their fathers. Neither were they absolutely extinct, even at this time, in Palestine itself—hardly, perhaps, in any part of Palestine. It is sometimes supposed that the deportation of the ten tribes from Samaria had been carried out so thoroughly, that that district was, after the invasion of Shalmaneser, wholly evacuated of its Israelitish inhabitants; but this cannot be maintained. From the history of Josiah we know that at the time of the great passover celebrated by that Judean king at Jerusalem, at a date posterior to the captivity of the ten tribes, scattered remnants at least of its native population—"Israelites," to quote the words of Josephus, "who had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians"—were still found in Samaria (2 Chron. xxxv. 17, 18; Jos., *Ant.* x. 4, § 5). The same fact is even more explicitly mentioned in connection with the deportations of the people of the southern kingdom. The Babylonian conquerors of Judah were anxious that the fields and vineyards and olive-gardens should not be left without cultivators. Accordingly, some of "the poor of the land" were, as already noticed, exempted from the doom inflicted on the nation as a whole. Other exemptions are represented by the daughters of King Zedekiah, by the prophet Jeremiah himself, and by Gedaliah, a Jew of noble birth, who was made native governor, under the Babylonians, of the Hebrew population thus left behind in the land of Judah. This Judean residuum, too, was afterwards joined by numbers of their countrymen, who during the progress of the war had sought safety in flight, having taken refuge in the wilderness fastnesses of Judah, or in neighbouring countries, as Moab, Ammon, and Edom (Jer. xl. 7, 11). Though many of the Jews now referred to—those, namely, who had fixed their residence at Mizpah with Gedaliah—ere long lost heart, and, Gedaliah having meantime perished by assassination, migrated to Egypt, many also remained (Ezra vi. 21). Five years after the destruction of Jerusalem there seems to have been collected in the neighbourhood of that city a sufficient number of Jews to prove a source of annoyance and danger to the Babylonians. At least the Babylonians at that time found it necessary to fit out another expedition against the Judeans, which resulted in their carrying away 745 of the latter to join their brethren in Babylon (Jer. lii. 30). Although, however, all through the very darkest period of the Captivity there might be here and there in the land small bodies of men belonging to all the tribes of Israel who maintained a precarious footing in the midst of the former possessions of their race—such fragments of the ancient Jewish population as in the Middle Ages continued to cling to the same land after even more terrible calamities[1]—still the Jews were for the time hardly without any existence in Palestine. We cannot be surprised that this should have been the case. It must be remembered how many distinct deportations had taken place. The process of transplanting the Hebrews from their own to foreign countries had been going on for centuries in, at one time or other, every part of the territory of Israel. Nor must it be forgotten that throughout all this period there were in operation other agencies by which, even to a still more serious extent, the country was being emptied of its inhabitants; and, indeed, that it is to the sword, the pestilence, and famine, rather than to captivity, that the disappearance of the native population is mainly attributed in the Bible (see, *e.g.*, Jer. xv. 2; Ezek. v. 12). Such an event as the actual exhaustion, one way or other, of the inhabitants of a conquered province is known (Herod. iii. 149; vi. 31) to have been not unusual in the merciless warfare of Eastern nations in these early times.

(3.) The population we find in Palestine at this period accordingly consisted for much the most part of foreign races, some of which can still be identified.

Its numbers must, in the aggregate, have been more considerable than is sometimes imagined. Many cities (like Jerusalem itself) were, it is true, in ruins, or presented the even sadder spectacle of grass-grown streets and houses intact but untenanted (Lam. i. 1; Ezek. vi. 6). In many places the fields lay uncultivated (Jer. iv. 7; Ezek. xxxvi. 33), the roads were unfrequented (Lam. i. 4). Beasts of prey roamed undisturbed in tracts of country which had before been crowded with populous villages (Jer. xlix. 33; Lam. v. 18). Even so rich a district as Samaria had for a time been suffered to return to a state of nature, and was overrun by lions (2 Kings xvii. 25). How complete indeed the desolation

[1] Benjamin of Tudela (*Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 81 sq.) mentions the numbers of his race whom he found in the Holy Land, when he visited it about the year 1163. In Tiberias he found 50 Jews; in Bethlehem, 12 Jews; in Jerusalem, 200; in Gibeon, none; in Sychem, none; in Cæsarea, 10; in Nob, 2; in Joppa, "one Jew only, a dyer by profession."

was in some parts of the land appears from the terms in which the change is described that was to follow the withdrawal of the judgments under which it then lay: "I will cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded. And the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say, This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhabited. Then the heathen that are left round about you shall know that I, the Lord, build the ruined places and plant that that was desolate" (Ezek. xxxvi. 33—36). Upon the whole, however, the country from which Israel had been thrust forth was not by any means allowed to remain altogether without a population of one kind or another.

Of this population the prevailing character differed in different parts of the country, especially in the three great provinces into which, in the later history of Israel, we find Palestine divided.

In the more northern territory, or Galilee, the population was probably very much the same as in all times. Galilee had from the first contained a large intermixture of Phœnicians (Judg. i. 31, sq.). Considerable additions to the same foreign element in its population must have been made when Solomon gave over absolutely twenty of its cities to Hiram king of Tyre in compensation for his services in furnishing materials for the Temple and "the king's house" at Jerusalem. In Isaiah's days it was so largely inhabited by heathens that it was known as "Galilee of the Gentiles" (Isa. ix. 1). Passing on to the times of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 20—23), we find it still chiefly inhabited by "the heathen;" and Strabo (*Geogr.* xvi. 2, § 34) describes it as in his day occupied by "Syrians, Phœnicians, and Arabians." There can be no question, from the general tenor of the history—though the fact is not anywhere expressly stated—that at the time when Jerusalem was lying in ruins, and indeed throughout the whole period of the Captivity, Galilee was very much in the same position as it had been before and after this period as to the character of its population, except that in all probability the proportion of the Jewish inhabitants was very much smaller than it had been at either the earlier or the later dates now referred to (cf. Ewald, v. 231).

If, during the exile, North Palestine was for the most part occupied by old settlers from the border-lands of Phœnicia, with a mixture of Syrians and Arabians, the kingdom of Judah, in the south, ere long fell a prey to one of its own neighbours. It was at this time that a people which from first to last fill a prominent place in Jewish history first obtained an actual footing in the Holy Land. The Edomites have been already noticed as through the founder of their nation, Esau, "brethren" by blood, but by hereditary predisposition among the most inveterate of the enemies of Israel. When Nebuchadnezzar invaded the kingdom of Judah, and besieged Jerusalem, in the days of Zedekiah, several of the Arab peoples joined the army of the Babylonians; but none of them appear to have entered into the quarrel more zealously than "the children of Seir," who indeed not only took an active part in the war, but did everything they could to inflame the passions of the invaders against the common enemy. We find them again and again denounced by the prophets as those who had prompted the extreme measure of razing Jerusalem to its foundations (Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Lam. iv. 22; Ezek. xxv. 12; Obad. 10). No sooner had Jerusalem fallen, than—probably as the reward of the services they had rendered on this occasion—the Edomites claimed and received permission from the conquerors to form settlements in the desolated territories of Judah. It seems that they asserted a right to the occupation of Israel as well as Judah (Ezek. xxxv. 10). At all events they proceeded actually to occupy considerable districts appertaining to the southern kingdom, where we still find them at the time of the return from Babylon (1 Esdras iv. 50; Joseph., *Antiq.* xi. 3, § 8; Ezek. xxxvi. 5). Nor were they ever afterwards wholly rooted out of the land. In the time of Judas Maccabæus (c. 167 B.C.) they held the whole of the southern part of the old kingdom of Judah, with the ancient capital of Hebron, up to the former country of the Philistines to the west, as well as, north-east of Jerusalem, between Jericho and Samaria, a tract of land extending to the Jordan (Ewald, *Hist.*, v. 81). Even after their complete subjugation by John Hyrcanus, the Edomites or Idumeans, as they now began to be called, being incorporated with Israel, to whose worship they were compelled to conform, and to whom, in Herod the Great, they eventually gave the last of her independent sovereigns, continued to occupy some of the same territories, to which it accordingly became customary, both with Jewish and heathen writers, to give the name of Idumea—a name, indeed, sometimes applied (especially in the Latin poets) to the whole of Palestine (Reland, *Palæstina*, i. 48, 69 sq.). And at Eleutheropolis, in the numerous caves which abound there, traces may, it is believed, still be found of these early settlements of the Idumeans. According to Jerome (*Comm. on Obadiah*), they continued for a time to keep up, even in Palestine, the troglodyte habits to which they had been accustomed in Mount Seir (see Robinson, *Researches*, ii. 51—53, 69).

With regard to the third division of the country, our information is more direct. About a hundred and fifty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the capital of Samaria had, as we have seen, been besieged by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and after a three years' siege taken, such remains of the ten tribes as now represented the kingdom of Israel—a kingdom by this time miserably contracted in extent of territory and in population—being carried away into Assyria. How long the desolation thus caused was suffered to continue, is uncertain; but either Shalmaneser himself (2 Kings xvii. 3, 24), or his grandson, Esar-haddon (Ezra iv. 2—10), resolved to colonise the region thus (at least, in great part) emptied of its former inhabitants. The new population was drawn from several places, which

appear to have recently exposed themselves to the same fate which had overtaken Samaria itself. "The king of Assyria brought men from Babylon" ["a fact which," according to Ewald (*Hist.*, iv. 218), "proves that Babylon had then been for some time independent of Nineveh, and had only with great difficulty been again subjugated"], "and from Cuthah" [a place not certainly identified; Ewald, following Abulfeda, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Knobel, and others, make it a city near Babylon; Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 14, § 1; x. 9, § 7; cf. Bochart, *Geogr.*, 833), a country of Persia], "and from Ava" [not identified], "and from Hamath" [a Syrian city on the Orontes], "and from Sepharvaim" [supposed by Vitringa to be also in Syria; by others (see Keil, *in loc.*) to be the same as the Sipphora of Ptolemy, the most southern city of Mesopotamia], "and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof" (2 Kings xvii. 24). Of the strangers thus introduced into Samaria the greater proportion appear to have been "Cutheans," the name by which they were afterwards most generally known amongst the Jews (Jos., *Ant.* ix. 14, § 3; x. 9, § 7). What their numbers were is not stated. They occupied, however, all the cities which the deportation of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser had left uninhabited, "every nation" among them having assigned to it cities of its own (2 Kings xvii. 24, 29); whence we may conclude that these numbers were considerable. We find them still in the same locality after the return of the Jews from Babylon (Ezra iv. 1). And with more or less admixture of Jewish blood (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Samaria;" Milman, *Hist.* i. 420; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, s. v. "Samaritaner;" Trench, *Parables*, 313), but certainly without losing their distinctive character as aliens by descent (Luke xvii. 18; x. 29—37), and, to some extent, in religion (John iv. 22), they continued, under the name of "Samaritans," to form an important element in the population of the Holy Land down to the days of our Lord. Descendants of the same race have, indeed, never ceased to maintain their ancient position in Palestine, and especially in the territory formerly known as Samaria. Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1163) found in the city of Nablous alone "about 100 Cutheans who observe the Mosaic law, and are called Samaritans" (*Early Travels*, 81). Among recent travellers, Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 273; iii. 129) has given the fullest account of the present condition of this remarkable people. He twice visited them, first in the year 1838, and again in the year 1852.

With these principal races, the Phœnicians in the north, the Idumeans in the south, and the Cuthean colonists in Samaria, were, however, intermingled at this time, representatives of many other nationalities. That the Hebrews were not altogether absent, has been already noticed. Among the heathen we find "Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Amorites" (Ezra ix. 1)—remnants from the aborigines or interlopers from the different countries round about. There was also a small body of Babylonian troops, with a governor and probably other officers entrusted with the local administration of the country, which at this time, the reader need hardly be reminded, was a satrapy of the kings of Babylon, as afterwards for so long a period of the kings of Persia.

It need be only added that the ethnological conditions now described must, with little change, have continued to characterise Palestine for very many years after the return of those of the children of the Captivity whose proceedings are narrated in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The original permission of the Persian government for the restoration of a Jewish community in the mother country extended (cf. Ewald, v. 88) only to Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity; but the complete re-occupation—as far as the re-occupation was ever complete—by the Chosen Seed of the Promised Land was the work of centuries.

BIBLE WORDS.

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LEASING (*subst.*), a lie, a falsehood, from the A. S. *leasung*, "lying," which is derived from *leas*, "false," "loose," connected with the Gothic *liusan*, "to lose," *laus*, "empty." (Compare *vanus*, Lat., "false," "lying," "deceptive;" "*vanus* mendaxque," Virg. *Æn.* ii. 80.) It occurs twice in the A. V.: Ps. iv. 2, "How long will ye love vanity, and seek after *leasing?*" v. 6, "Thou shalt destroy them that speak *leasing*." We find it in Wiclif—*e.g.*, "Whanne he spekith *lesyng* he spekith of his owne, for he is a liere, and fadir of it" (John viii. 44); "*lesyng* mongeris" (1 Tim. i. 10). Chaucer (*Knight's Tale*, 1069) speaks of "charmes and force, *lesynges* and flaterye." It is common in *Piers Ploughman*—*e.g.*, "Ah, by *lesynges* thou lyvest, and lecherouse werkes" (ii. 124). In *Passus*, iv. 18, Reason, when arraying himself to ride, called to his assistance

> "Tom Trewe-tonge-telle-me-no-tales—
> Ne *lesyng*-to laugh-of—for I louvd hem neuere."

Shakespeare also knows the word. The Clown in *Twelfth Night* (i. 5) says to Olivia—

> "Now Mercury endue thee with *leasing*, for thou speakest well of fools."

Let (*verb act.*). A word which was formerly used in two senses apparently the reverse of each other: (1) to allow, or permit; (2) to hinder. The latter sense, though very frequent in the A. V. and the literature of the time, is now entirely lost. "The idea of slackening," writes Mr. Wedgwood, "lies at the root of both appli-

cations of the term. When we speak of letting one do something, we conceive of him as previously restrained. . . . At other times the slackness is attributed to the agent, when *let* acquires the sense to be slack in action, delay, or omit doing. . . . When in a causative sense, to *let* one from doing a thing is to make him *let* or omit to do it, to hinder his doing it" (*Dict. Engl. Etym.*, vol. ii., p. 326). It is frequent in the A. V.: Exod. v. 4, "Wherefore do ye *let* the people from their works?" 2 Thess. ii. 7, "He who now *letteth* will *let*, until he be taken out of the way;" Deut. xv. (heading), "There must be no *let* of lending or giving;" Isa. xliii. 13; Rom. i. 13; and in the Collect for the 4th Sunday in Advent, "We are sore *let* and hindered in running the race that is set before us." The word is derived from A. S. *laettan*, Dutch *letten*, "to hinder." We may illustrate its use from Chaucer's description of the theatre of Theseus—

> "When a man was set on o degré,
> He *lette* nought his felawe for to se;"

the spectators being ranged tier above tier, so that none hindered the others' sight. Also from Spenser—

> "Leave, ah leave off, whatever wight thou bee,
> To *let* a weary wretch from her dew rest,
> And trouble dying soule's tranquillite."
> (*Faëry Queene*, II. i. 47.)

And from Shakespeare—

> "What *lets* but one may enter." (*Two Gent. of Verona*, iii. 1.)

List (*verb intrans.*)—Matt. xvii. 12, "They have done to him whatsoever they *listed*," Mark ix. 13; John iii. 8, "The wind bloweth where it *listeth*;" James iii. 4, "Whithersoever the governor *listeth*"—from the A. S. *lystan*, "to wish," "to chuse," "to will," and like that used impersonally in the old writers, *me lyste, me listeth*, "it pleaseth me," but not in the A. V. Examples are infinite:—

> "Alle his werkes he wroughte with loue as him *liste*."
> (*Piers Ploughman*, i. 148.)

Chaucer uses *leste*—"hem *leste*," it pleased them; and *luste*—"him *luste*," it pleased him.

> "Sche walketh up and down, and as hire *liste*,
> Sche gadereth flowers party whyte and rede."
> (*Knight's Tale*, 194.)

It is frequent in Spenser:

> "And when him *list* the prouder lookes subdew,
> He would them gazing blind or turn to other hew"
> (*Faëry Queene*, I., vii. 35);

and in Hooker, both personally and impersonally: "Which the will if it *listed* might hinder from being done" (*Eccl. Pol.*, I. vii. 3); "They are to stand in defence of the freedom which God hath granted, and to do as themselves *list*" (*Ibid.* V. lxxi. 5).

Manner (*subst.*). Lev. xiv. 54, "This is the law for all *manner* plague of leprosy;" Lev. vii. 23, "Ye shall eat no *manner* fat, of ox, or of sheep, or of goat;" Rev. xviii. 12, "All *manner* vessels of ivory, and all *manner* vessels of most precious wood." In these passages, where a reader unacquainted with the usage might conjecture that "of" had been left out by a printer's error, an old form, of constant occurrence in our earlier writers, is retained. John Trevisa (A.D. 1385) says, "Thre *maner* speche," "Thre *maner* people." Chaucer, as quoted by Mr. Aldis Wright, gives "no *maner* joie," "a *maner* Latyn," "such *maner* rime," "thes *maner* murmur." Bishop Fisher has "three *maner* wayes." We meet with this abbreviated form repeatedly in Hooker: "Their (the angel's) longing to do by all means all *manner* good to the creatures of God" (*Eccl. Pol.*, I. iv. 1; "All *manner* virtuous duties," V. iv. 3; "No *manner* persons," VIII. ii. 13. This archaic form has been most unwarrantably modernised by recent printers of the A. V. (*e.g. The Speaker's Commentary*) by the insertion of "of."

Manner, *with the*, is used (Numb. v. 13) in the same sense as "in the very act" (John viii. 4). It is an old law-French phrase, the meaning and derivation of which is illustrated by the following quotation from Blackstone: "A thief taken with the *mainour*—that is, with the thing stolen upon him *in manu*" (in his hand, *hond-habend*)—"might, when so detected, *flagrante delicto*, be brought into court, arraigned, and tried without indictment" (*Commentaries*, bk. iv. c. 23). We find it in Shakespeare thus: Costard says, "The manner of it is, I was taken *with the manner*" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, i. 1); and Prince Henry upbraids Bardolph, "O villain, thou stolest a cup of sack, eighteen years ago, and wert taken *with the manner*" (1 *Henry IV.*, ii. 4). It survives in Dryden: "I have taken you *in the manner*, and will have the law upon you" (*Don Sebastian*, Act 1).

Mete (*verb act.*), to measure. Exod. xvi. 18, "When they did *mete* it [the manna] with an omer;" Ps. lx. 6, "*Mete* out the valley of Succoth;" Matt. vii. 2, "With what measure ye *mete*, it shall be measured to you again;" also Mark iv. 24, Luke vi. 38. *Meted* (Isa. xviii. 2, 7; xl. 12), from the A. S. *metan*, "to measure." The Greek μετρεῖν and the Latin *metiri* spring from a common root, which is indicated by the Sanskrit *mâ*, "to measure," and *matrans*, "a measure." Piers Ploughman says—

> "Thou myghtest better *mete* the myste on Malverne hulles,
> Than gete a momme (mumbling) of here mouth" (*Prolog.* 214);

and again—

> "For the same mesures that ye *mete* amys other elles
> Ye shulden ben weyen therwyth when ye wende hennes (go hence)."
> (i. 175.)

And Shakespeare writes—

> "Their memory
> Shall as a pattern or a measure live,
> By which his grace must *mete* the lives of others."
> (2 *Henry IV.*, iv. 4.)

Meteyard, for "a yard-measure," the A. S. *met-geard*, is found in Lev. xix. 35.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

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THE existence of a church in Rome at a very early period of the Christian era may be inferred not only from the probabilities of the case, but from express testimonies of Scripture. "Strangers of Rome, Jews as well as proselytes," were among the multitude who, on the day of Pentecost, heard in their "own tongue" the "wonderful works of God," and listened to St. Peter's first proclamation of the Gospel. "Andronicus and Junia," most probably dwellers in Rome at the date of St. Paul's Epistle, are declared to have been "in Christ" before himself.[1] When "Claudius commanded all Jews to depart from Rome," there were among the exiles at least two believers, afterwards renowned in the Church and the Apostle's "helpers in Christ Jesus."[2] As St. Paul in his evangelic journeys traversed the Roman "world," he found the faith of the Romans everywhere spoken of. It is true that at a later period the Jews in Rome professed comparative ignorance as to the Christian faith. "As concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against."[3] But the tone is that of supercilious affectation. These proud Hebrews, while willing to hear the renowned apostle, were anxious to show that they had nothing in common with the humble company who had gone forth to meet him "as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns."

2. It is instructive to observe that no apostolic name can be connected excepting indirectly with the earliest days of the Roman church. The tradition which attributes its formation to the labours of St. Peter is easily disproved.[4] Whether that apostle spent his latest days and received the crown of martyrdom in the imperial city, is an open question, and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the affirmative is generally maintained by ecclesiastical historians. But it is certain that when the church in Rome was founded, Peter was still at Jerusalem; that he afterwards dwelt at Cæsarea, returning thence to Jerusalem, and being subsequently found at Antioch; that his special designation as "apostle to the circumcision" would be little likely to lead him afterwards in the direction of Rome; and that towards the close of his life he was in the far East, at Babylon, from which city he wrote his first Epistle.[5] The tone of Paul, moreover, in the Epistle to the Romans is quite irreconcileable with the notion that his brother apostle had occupied or was still occupying the ground. Not only is there no mention of St. Peter among the many salutations at the close of the Epistle, nor any reference, however indirect, to his character and teachings; but St. Paul, while longing to visit Rome, both avows it as his own rule of action not to labour "on another man's foundation," and expresses his desire to impart to the Romans "some spiritual gift" in language which could only be studiously offensive to another apostle if already labouring in the city.[6] There is nothing, therefore, to connect the Roman church with the name of Peter, excepting that, like many other churches, it may be supposed to have been among the results of his great Pentecostal sermon.

3. The "Apostle of the Gentiles" had naturally long been anxious to visit the metropolis of the Gentile world. While still at Ephesus, in his third missionary journey, he planned an extended tour, including Rome, after the visit which he was bound to pay to Jerusalem: "*I must also see Rome*"—a desire fulfilled in how unexpected a way! To visit the Roman church had been his longing and his prayer—his "great desire for many years." To the "fruit" which he had reaped among Greeks and barbarians, thus rendering him their "debtor," it was his ardent desire to add new obligations by trophies of the Gospel gathered "at Rome also."[7] Meantime, upon his way to Jerusalem "to minister unto the saints," during a three months' halt at Corinth, St. Paul addresses to the Roman Church, and through them to the Church Universal, this won-

[1] See Acts ii. 10 (where the phrase "Jews and proselytes" refers immediately, if not exclusively, to the "strangers of Rome"); Rom. xvi. 7.

[2] See Acts xviii. 2. Though not expressly so stated in the history, it is most probable that Aquila and Priscilla were already believers in Christ when they came from Rome to Corinth. The edict of Claudius is mentioned by the Roman historian Suetonius (*Claudius*, chap. xxv.): "Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit." ("He expelled the Jews from Rome, who were continually raising disturbances, at the instigation of Chrestus.") As the Romans mispronounced and misunderstood the name Christus, supposing it to be from the Greek χρηστός (*chrēstus*), "good," it is highly probable that the historian here gives some perverted view of the commotion caused by *Christianity*.

[3] Acts xxviii. 22.

[4] The earliest promulgator of this tradition is Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea about A.D. 325, who says that St. Peter proceeded to Rome *in the second year* of Claudius, and remained in the city as bishop for twenty-five years. So Jerome, at the end of the fourth century. As Herod Agrippa is known to have died in the fourth year of Claudius, and as Peter was imprisoned in Jerusalem in the year of Herod's death, the tradition is clearly false.

[5] Compare Acts xii. 3, 19; Gal. ii. 7—9; Acts xv. 7; Gal. ii. 11; 1 Pet. v. 13. In this last passage, the interpretation of *Babylon* as meaning *Rome* is hardly worthy of serious refutation.

[6] Compare Rom. xv. 20; i. 11; and chap. xvi., *passim*. The absence of all mention of St. Peter has been accounted for by some on the supposition that he was at the time absent on an episcopal visitation. A few dates may here be convenient:—

A.D. 44.—Peter imprisoned at Jerusalem by Herod.
A.D. 50.—Apostolic council at Jerusalem; Peter at Antioch.
A.D. 58.—Epistle to the Romans.
A.D. 65.—First Epistle of Peter, from "Babylon."
A.D. 68.—Martyrdom of Paul (and Peter?) under Nero.

There is thus absolutely no place for the traditional twenty-five years' episcopate of Peter in Rome, even were it possible on other grounds.

[7] See chap. i. 14, 15. The Apostle's declaration that he was "debtor" to the Greeks, &c., is generally interpreted as meaning that he *owed* to all men the proclamation of the Gospel. The context, however, supports the explanation here given.

derful Epistle. Many minute indications concur in fixing the time and place of its composition. Phœbe, the bearer of the Epistle, was "deaconess" of the church in Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth (xvi. 1). Gaius and Erastus (xvi. 23) are Corinthian names (see 1 Cor. i. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 20). Timotheus, Sosipater, and Gaius (xvi. 21, 23) were among the Apostle's companions on his journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 4). Added to which, there appears in the Epistle an evident foreboding of the dangers that actually awaited him from those in Judæa who believed not (Rom. xv. 31). To the Apostle it appeared that deliverance from these enemies would be a necessary condition of his visiting Rome; in reality, it was their success which brought about this end. "Man proposes; God disposes."

4. The genuineness of the Epistle has never been seriously questioned. The friends and foes of Christianity alike have accepted it as the mature fruit of the Apostle's intellect, and the best compendium of his theology. The circumstances of its composition were favourable. His deepest anxieties respecting Corinth were at rest; his work in that city was over; he had "no more place in those parts;" the success of his appeals to Gentile churches on behalf of the necessitous Jewish Christians had filled him with gratitude and joy; in the greetings which close the Epistle we have the very overflow of Christian affection; the Apostle's mind is at leisure to discuss great questions; and the greatest of all at that time were those which reached the height of their interest in the church at Rome. To this church, accordingly, the Epistle was primarily addressed, while it is highly probable that it was expressly intended for much wider diffusion. Different *editions* of the letter, so to speak, have been thought to have existed almost from the first, addressed to different churches, and varying only in their close. In the Epistle as we have it, these different endings are combined, so that the final benediction customary with the Apostle is thrice repeated (xv. 33; xvi. 20, 24), while one grand doxology crowns the whole (xvi. 27).[1] Of course it is possible that benediction might be thus added to benediction in the course of the same letter to the same people; but such repetition is not after the Apostle's manner; and the supposition that we have here indications of an "encyclical" character is at least in perfect harmony with the scope and contents of the Epistle.[2]

5. The Church in Rome was a typical Christian community, in so far as it contained both Jewish and Gentile members.[3] At times the Apostle addresses them as altogether Gentile. "I speak unto you Gentiles, . . . among whom are ye also the called of Jesus Christ . . . as among other Gentiles." "I have written the more boldly unto you, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles;" while of the Jews he speaks in the third person, "My heart's desire and prayer to God for them is, that they might be saved."[4] On the other hand, the whole argument of the Apostle is adapted to Jewish modes of thought: "I speak to them that know the law." He speaks of "Abraham our father;" quotes largely from the Old Testament; appeals to those who "are called Jews;" addresses to the Jews one great branch of his argument: "Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man!"[5] In the words of Professor Jowett, "The Roman church appeared to be at once Jewish and Gentile; Jewish in feeling, Gentile in origin; Jewish, because the Apostle everywhere argues with them as Jews; Gentiles, because he expressly addresses them by name as such."[6] At the same time, the two elements would come into constant conflict; the Judaism of some would be more pronounced; others would claim a wider liberty; one part of the church would have passed by Jewish initiation from heathenism to Christianity; others would be Gentile converts who had never submitted to the Mosaic law. No opportunity could be more fitting for the detailed and authoritative exposition of the relation of Christianity to the Law. And not to the Law of Moses alone; the Apostle, with a wider sweep of thought than in the Epistle lately written to the Galatians, includes in his view every form of legal obligation, and passes from the narrow limits of a controversy between Jew and Gentile to the complete solution of the mighty problem, How can man be just with God? Among the latest words written by the Apostle "with his own hand" to the churches of Galatia, stands the impassioned declaration, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." The same sentiment in another form is repeated as motto and subject of this Epistle to the Romans: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."

6. The outline of thought in this Epistle is marked with peculiar clearness.

I. Introduction (chap. i. 1—17).—The personal references in this first paragraph have been already noticed. The declaration, "I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also," forms the link of transition to the Apostle's main topic.

II. Doctrinal.—"The Righteousness of God," a Divine gift revealed in the Gospel, originating and resulting in faith; in other words, *Justification by faith.*

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[1] This doxology is found in almost all the later MSS. at the end of chapter xiv. Some insert it both there and at the end of chapter xvi.; others omit it altogether.

[2] On this interesting point, see M. Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. lxv. *sq.* There seems no adequate reason for rejecting an hypothesis which so completely explains these reiterated farewells, although when M. Renan tells us (chiefly from the evidence of the names) that chap. xvi. 3—20 was addressed to the Ephesians, 21—24 to the Thessalonians, and 25—27 "to a church unknown," he carries critical conjecture a little too far.

[3] The great number of Jews at that time dwelling in Rome is attested both by historians and poets. The decree of Claudius was but temporary; multitudes had returned, among whom we find Aquila and Priscilla (xvi. 3).

[4] See xi. 13; i. 6, 13; xv. 15, 16; x. 1. In this last passage, "for them" and not "for Israel" is the reading accepted by critics.

[5] See iv. 1; ii. 1, 17, 21; iii. 10—18.

[6] *Commentary*, vol. ii., p. 23.

(1) *The universal need.*—"All under sin." The "wrath of God" against "those who hinder, overbear (κατεχόντων) the truth in unrighteousness" (i. 18).

a. The Gentile world. The law of nature universally violated (i. 19—31).

b. The Jewish world. The Law of God universally broken (chap. ii.).

[Objections from the Jewish point of view; their answer, chiefly from the Old Testament Scriptures (chap. iii. 1—19).]

Grand Conclusion.—"By deeds of Law shall no flesh be justified" (iii. 20).

(2) *The method of salvation.*

a. General announcement: "A RIGHTEOUSNESS is manifested"—"of God"—"without law"—"by faith"—"through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus"—for "Jews and Gentiles" alike—declaring the principle of God's "forbearance" in respect of "sins past"[1]—set forth in a "propitiation"—justifying the believer and "re-establishing the law."

[Jewish question met: How then was *Abraham* justified? Answer: *By faith* (chap. iv.).]

b. Completeness of the salvation. *Key-note:* "Let us have peace!"[2] *Detailed Statement:* "By Christ's death we are reconciled; by His life we shall be saved." The greatness of the "free gift" immeasurably surpasses that of the offence. Contrast between the results of Adam's transgression and the fruits of Christ's redemption (chap. v.).

c. Redemption a power for holiness. [Objection: If salvation is by grace, have we not a licence to continue in sin? Answer: We are raised into a new life, in which continuance in sin is *impossible.*] *Analogies:* Death and resurrection (vi. 1—13); bondage and free service (vi. 14—23); the marriage relation (vii. 1—6).

[The power of the Law in awakening the consciousness of sin and misery, the unavailing struggles of the soul against evil, and the joy of deliverance through Christ, illustrated from the Apostle's own experience (vii. 7—25).]

d. The perfect and final victory over evil. "Christ *for* us, and Christ *in* us" (chap. viii.).

(1) The spiritual life, completed by the Resurrection (vv. 1—17).

(2) Creation perfected, in the perfecting of the "sons of God" (vv. 18—25).

(3) Privilege of access to God (vv. 26, 27).

(4) "All things" in the Divine plan are tributary to the Christian's highest good (vv. 28—30).

(5) The believer's position is unassailable; his triumph in Christ is assured against every possible foe (vv. 31—39).

III. RELATION OF THE JEWS TO THE GOSPEL DISPENSATION.—"To the Jew first, and also to the Gentile."

The Apostle introduces this part of the discussion by expressing his "heart-heaviness and continual sorrow" caused by his countrymen's rejection of Christ, notwithstanding their olden honours and privileges (ix. 1—5).

a. And yet descent from Abraham in itself constituted no claim upon Divine favour (*Ishmael* was Abraham's son, and *Esau* Isaac's). There must in addition be God's *promise,* His *choice,* and the acceptance of His *law of righteousness.* From ancient prophecy it is shown that these might be forfeited by Israelites, and professed by Gentiles (ix. 6—33).

b. Rejection, then, is the consequence of unbelief, shown in the refusal of "God's righteousness." This unbelief is inexcusable, as the Gospel has been clearly preached to Israel. Their own prophets, indeed, foretold their obduracy (chap. x.).

c. Notwithstanding, Israel is not finally cast away.

(1) Jews, as such, are not rejected: "for I also am an Israelite" (xi. 1).

(2) There is still a faithful remnant, as chosen and designated by God. Parallel from Elijah's days (xi. 2—6).

(3) It is only the blindness of unbelief that causes rejection (xi. 7—10).

(4) The fall of the Jews is the opportunity of the Gentiles; and the conversion of the Jews will be the life of the world (xi. 11—16).

(5) Caution to the Gentiles, not to boast themselves against the Jews (xi. 17—24).

(6) "All Israel shall be saved" (xi. 25—33).

d. This section of the Epistle ends with a lofty ascription of praise to God for His wondrous and unsearchable ways (xi. 33—36).

IV. PRACTICAL TEACHINGS.

(1) *General.*—Spirit and conduct of the Christian.

a. The law of consecration—a law of humility (xii. 1—3).

b. The Christian in the church—the law of mutual service (xii. 4—13).

c. The Christian in the world—the law of meekness and forgiveness (xii. 14—21).

d. The Christian's relation to earthly governments—the law of submission (xiii. 1—7).

e. Summary of the foregoing—Love the fulfilling of Law (xiii. 8—14).

(2) *Special.*—Behaviour in things indifferent.

a. The rule of forbearance. God in Christ the only master of the soul (xiv. 1—13).

b. The Christian law of love demands tenderness to the consciences of others (xiv. 14—23).

c. The "strong" are taught by the example of Christ to tolerate the "weak" (xv. 1—7).

d. Application to the questions at issue between Jew and Gentile. Sympathy between the two the lesson of the Old Testament (xv. 8—13).

V. CONCLUSION OF THE EPISTLE.

[1] In iii. 25, the phrase "to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past," should rather be rendered "to declare His righteousness *because of the passing over* of the former sins" (comp. Acts xiv. 16; xvii. 30). The word for *remission* is different.

[2] There can be little doubt, if the testimony of MSS. is to decide the question, that the true reading in chap. v. 1 is ἔχωμεν, "let us have," not ἔχομεν, "we have." The former is adopted by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott. Lachmann is doubtful; Alford retains ἔχομεν.

a. St. Paul's own relation to the Gentile world (xv. 14—21).

b. Intimation of his journeys, including (as he hoped) a visit to Rome (xv. 22—32).

First benediction (ver. 33).

c. Introduction of Phœbe, the bearer of the letter (xvi. 1, 2).

d. Greetings to friends (xvi. 3—16).

Apostolic warning ("with his own hand?") and *second benediction* (vv. 17—20).

e. Greetings from friends (xvi. 21—23).

Third benediction (ver. 24).

f. Final doxology (xvi. 25—27).

7. It only remains to note the fact that this Epistle to the Romans was written, not in their own language, the Latin, but in Greek. Of this the simple explanation is that the Greek had already become the *literary* language of the Empire. It was the tongue which, no doubt, St. Paul himself best understood; and the great majority of his hearers would understand it also. "The Greek language was understood and employed at Rome in the first century. The Jews residing there learned it by intercourse with the Greek-speaking inhabitants and with the Romans themselves, many of whom preferred it to the Latin. The oldest Jewish tombs of Rome have Greek inscriptions, as we learn from Aringhi.[1] Gentile Christians generally understood Greek, as we infer from various witnesses; from Martial, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Ovid. Ignatius, Dionysius of Corinth, and Irenæus wrote in Greek to the Roman Christians. Justin Martyr, who resided in Rome for a time, wrote his apologies to the Roman emperors in the same tongue. Clement and Hermas wrote in Greek. Of the names of the first twelve bishops of Rome, ten are Greek and only two Latin."[2] It may be added that of the twenty-four names found in chap. xvi. 5—15, one is Hebrew, seven are Latin, and sixteen Greek. "The names," says Canon Lightfoot, "belong for the most part to the middle and lower grades of society. Many of them are found in the *columbaria* of the freedmen and slaves of the early Roman emperors." There were "saints" "in Cæsar's household" (Phil. iv. 22).

8. It is no part of our present purpose to discuss the opinions that have been entertained concerning the theology of this Epistle. For these the reader is referred to the doctrinal commentaries, as those of Calvin, Tholuck, Olshausen, Stuart, Jowett, Hodge, and Hinton. Even more valuable to the student are the expositions (like that of Dr. Vaughan[3]) which enable the reader to judge for himself as to the meaning by a comparison of Scripture with Scripture. Much also depends upon the use of single words and phrases; and a Greek Concordance, wisely used, is often the best commentary. "The Epistle to the Romans," says Dr. Vaughan, "occupies a central place, chronologically as well as doctrinally, amongst all the writings of St. Paul. We see him in the fulness of his Christian strength, every part of his education still tenaciously grasped, and consecrate for all time to the Church's and to his Master's service. No peculiar circumstance of his readers, no exceptional experience of his own, here narrows his scope or colours his style. It is the Gospel, pure and simple—the Fall and the Redemption—the weakness of Law and the might of Grace—which he sets forth in this letter in words strong and pregnant, at once characteristic of the writer and worthy of the august theme."

[1] *Roma Subterranea*, vol. i., p. 397, &c.

[2] Dr. Davidson, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, vol. i., p. 141.

[3] *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. With Notes*, by C. J. Vaughan, D.D.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

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"According to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience."—EPHES. ii. 2.

THERE are two words in the Greek Testament for the term "world" in our version. The one is αἰών, the other is κόσμος. In this one passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians the two are combined, "according to the αἰών of this κόσμος." There is a clear difference between the two terms. The former regards *time*, the latter *space*. The one (αἰών) expresses an "age" or "period," indefinite, or even infinite; it is used sometimes for a lifetime, sometimes for a generation, more often (in Scripture) for one of those vast aggregates of time which enter into God's counsels in reference to man's being and destiny; and this either in combination, singular or plural (as, *e.g.*, "the age of the age," "the age of the ages," "the ages of the ages," &c.), or simply as "the age," whether in the sense of "eternity," past (John ix. 32) or future (John vi. 51), or of "time" in contradistinction to both (Mark iv. 19). In this last use it is often combined with "this," or "the present" (Matt. xii. 32; xiii. 22; Luke xvi. 8; Rom. xii. 2; 1 Cor. i. 20; ii. 6, 8; Gal. i. 4; 1 Tim. vi. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 10, &c.), in contrast with "that" or "the future," or "the coming" (Luke xviii. 30; xx. 35; Ephes. i. 21). When, for example, St. Paul says, "Be not conformed to this world" (Rom. xii. 2), he uses the word αἰών as the appropriate term for that temporary condition of man's world, which shall cease at the revelation of Christ in glory. "Wear not the garb of time; live for eternity." The idea of *time* is never wholly lost in the use of αἰών,

although it is thrown completely into the background in such a phrase as that of Heb. i. 2, "By whom also he made the worlds" (literally, "the ages").

The other word, κόσμος, from (1) its original idea of "order," "arrangement," "apparatus," which it apparently retains in the Septuagint, being there always followed by a genitive of explanation, as "the κόσμος of heaven," "the heaven and the earth, and all the κόσμος of them," &c. (see Gen. ii. 1; Deut. iv. 19, &c.), passes into (2) that of "world," or material universe, and is so found repeatedly in the Apocrypha and the New Testament. Its onward course is as clearly traceable. Becoming next (3) specially appropriated to the world of *men*, as in the well-known phrases of St. John's Gospel, "God so loved the world;" "My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world," &c. (see John i. 10, 29; iii. 16, 17; iv. 42; vi. 33, 51; vii. 4, 7, &c.), the κόσμος sinks at last into a term of disparagement and reproach, denoting either (*a*) the world of sense and matter, in contrast with spirit and heaven; as in the phrases, "the rudiments of the world" (Gal. iv. 3; Col. ii. 8), "careth for the things of the world" (1 Cor. vii. 33, 34); or (*b*) the world as affected by sin, and lying under God's displeasure; as in the expressions, "that we should not be condemned with the world" (1 Cor. xi. 32), "without God in the world" (Ephes. ii. 12), "the pollutions of the world" (2 Pet. ii. 20), "the whole world lieth in wickedness" (1 John v. 19), &c.

"According to the αἰὼν of this κόσμος," then, is, in other words, "in accordance with the time-state of this matter-world;" on those principles which belong to the present temporary passing condition of a universe of sense and matter, infected with the disease, and lying under the penalties, of sin and the fall.

2. The life of sin is further characterised as "according to the prince of the power of the air." It is not only shaped by the rule of human example, or by that tradition of evil which comes down to it from an ancestry of like passions and corruptions (1 Pet. i. 18). There is a subtle agency of solicitation and temptation which has its plan, its aim, and its rule, and which is carried on by a spiritual agent, here described as "the prince of the power of the air."

The term "prince," or "ruler" (ἄρχων), as applied to the devil, has ample illustration in the Gospels. The phrase "prince of this world," or "prince of the world" (according to the best manuscripts in one place), occurs three times in our Lord's discourses in the Gospel of St. John (xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11). The idea of a power, actual though not original, exercised by a personal agent, himself first fallen, over the human being which has once of will and choice admitted his influence, is present everywhere, expressly or by implication, in the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation.

The peculiarity of the expression before us lies in the description of the place and seat of this hostile power. "The prince of the power (ἐξουσία) of the air (ἀήρ)." The "power" over which Satan rules is said to belong to the "air." The figure is that of an organised and concentrated authority, such as that which we call a "government" or "empire," having a constituted and recognised head, and a definite and even localised realm and capital. The use of ἐξουσία is remarkable. A faint illustration of it may be found in Luke iv. 6, where, after showing "all the kingdoms of the world," the tempter says, "All this power [empire] will I give thee;" or in Luke xxiii. 7, where Pilate, learning that Jesus is a Galilæan, "knows that he belongs to Herod's jurisdiction" (government). Elsewhere ἐξουσία seems to be used (like ἀρχή) almost personally. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. . . . Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he (or 'it') is the minister of God to thee for good" (Rom. xiii. 1—4). We understand it here of that collective "empire" of evil, of which the devil is the head, and of which the "air" is described as the scene and home.

The word ἀήρ in Scripture has but one meaning. It has none of its derived senses of "mist" or "gloom," such as might make it the synonym of σκότος in Luke xxii. 53, Ephes. vi. 12, or Col. i. 13. We find it in the literal sense in the six other places of its occurrence: Acts xxii. 23 ("and threw dust into the air"); 1 Cor. ix. 26 ("not as one that beateth the air"); xiv. 9 ("ye shall speak into the air"); 1 Thess. iv. 17 ("to meet the Lord in the air"); Rev. ix. 2 ("the sun and the air were darkened"); xvi. 17 ("poured out his vial into the air"). "The power of the air," in the passage before us, must connect in some way the air or atmosphere with the agency of evil spirits.

There is a parallel passage in chap. vi. 12 of this Epistle, where St. Paul speaks of the Christian struggle (πάλη) as "not against flesh and blood, but against principalities (ἀρχάς), against powers (ἐξουσίας), against the rulers of the darkness of this world [literally, 'the world-rulers of this darkness'], against spiritual wickedness in high places [literally, 'against the spiritual things,' the spirit-hosts or spirit-forces, 'of wickedness in the heavenly places']." In that remarkable passage, the abode of evil spirits is called τὰ ἐπουράνια, the very same term which is used again and again in this Epistle for the abode of Christ and His people, and of the holy angels (Ephes. i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10). We cannot but infer that the ἀήρ of chap. ii. 2 is the ἐπουράνια of vi. 12; and we seek some connecting link elsewhere.

In the Gospels and Acts we find repeatedly τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ as the Greek equivalent for "the birds of the air" (Matt. vi. 26; viii. 20; xiii. 32; Mark iv. 32; Luke viii. 5; ix. 58; xiii. 19; Acts x. 12; xi. 6). There is a lower as well as a higher heaven; an οὐρανός synonymous with ἀήρ, as well as an οὐρανός which is the home of God. The heaven which "gives rain" (James v. 18), or prognosticates fair or foul weather (Matt. xvi. 3; Luke xii. 56), is οὐρανός in the Greek, as well as the "heaven" which is "God's throne" (Matt. v. 34). There is a "mid-heaven" (μεσουράνημα) in which the birds fly (Rev. xix. 17), as well as a "third heaven," the presence of God Himself, to which St. Paul was caught up to hear "unspeakable words" (2 Cor. xii. 2, 4).

Thus "the prince of the power of the air" is another name for the prince of "the spirit-hosts of evil in the heavenly places."

If now we ask what is the force of this designation, we shall see in it an intimation (1) of the nearness to us, even as in the air we breathe, of our spiritual foes; (2) of their free and unrestricted action; (3) of the invisible and impalpable character of their presence; not in "flesh and blood," not in the form of human opponents or persecutors, but in that of subtler and more secret influences which can only be counteracted by prayer and watching.

3. There remains one point, minute perhaps, but not trifling, in reference to the third and last clause of this text. An English reader might suppose "the spirit that now worketh," &c., to be a further description of "the prince of the power of the air;" or, to use grammatical language, the word "spirit" to be in apposition with the word "prince." It is not so. The word "spirit" is, in the original, in the genitive case, not the accusative; and is in apposition, not with "prince," but with "power." The devil is called "the prince [or ruler] of the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." The "spirit" itself is under the rule and dominion of Satan. He sends it forth, he commissions, directs, and controls it. The πνεῦμα which actually ἐνεργεῖ, is not the person, but the vassal, of the tempter. The influence, the agency, the inspiration of evil, is so far one and the same that it can be spoken of in the singular; as elsewhere we read of "spirits," "evil spirits," "unclean spirits," so here we read of "the spirit;" yet, in whichever form it be expressed, we are to remember that it is but an effluence and emanation from one who manages in secret the empire of temptation, and is skilful as well as vigilant alike in counsel and action.

With the exception of the variety of *number*, the phrase here resembles that of the Gospels, "the prince of the devils" (Matt. ix. 34; xii. 24; Mark iii. 22; Luke xi. 15). For the singular number here we may find a partial parallel in 1 John iv. 1, 6, where the singular "the spirit of error," and (possibly) "the *spirit* of antichrist," follows the mention of "the spirits," "every spirit," &c.; as though there was a unity in the diversity of the agents and agencies of evil. Of the general idea we see a striking illustration in the "lying spirit" of Micaiah's vision (1 Kings xxii. 21, 22).

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

VI.—SAMARIA.

IT is extremely difficult to define the limits of the province of Samaria. Josephus states that it lay "between Judæa and Galilee," and that it commenced at "a village called Ginaea (Jenin) on the great plain (Esdraelon)," and extended "to the toparchy of Acrabatta;" we shall therefore not be far wrong in assigning as its boundaries, the ridge of Carmel and the plain of Esdraelon on the north, the Jordan Valley on the east, the great Wady Belat on the south, and the Mediterranean on the west. In the Old Testament the name Samaria is sometimes used in a general sense to denote, first the kingdom of the ten tribes, as in 1 Kings xiii. 32, where the prediction of the "man of God" is directed against "the altar in Bethel and against all the houses of the high places which are in the cities of Samaria," before the town of Samaria was built; and, afterwards, the more limited territory of the later kings of Israel. Thus the king of Assyria is said to have placed certain nations or people in "the cities of Samaria;" Ezekiel speaks of the "captivity of Samaria and her daughters" (Ezek. xvi. 53); Amos of the "mountains of Samaria," (Amos iii. 9); and Hosea, evidently in allusion to the worship instituted by Jeroboam at Bethel, exclaims, "Thy calf, O Samaria, hath cast thee off;" and again, "The calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces" (Hosea viii. 5, 6). Gradually the kingdom of Israel declined until, in the ninth year of King Hoshea, the remnant of the ten tribes was carried away to Assyria, and "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof" (2 Kings xvii. 24).

An interesting question now arises as to the extent to which the deportation of the Jewish population was carried, and their place occupied by the new settlers, who, as Josephus says, were called "Samaritans, taking the name of the country to which they were removed" (*Ant.* x. 9, § 7). Several writers maintain that the later Samaritans of the book of Ezra and of the New Testament were of purely Assyrian origin, whilst others, with whom we are inclined to agree, think it most probable that a remnant of the tribes was left, and that during the Captivity, and after it, a mingled race grew up which owed its origin to the Israelites left in the country, and to the foreign colonists. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that after the return of the Jews from Captivity a bitter feeling existed between them and the Samaritans, and that this broke out into open enmity on the refusal of Zerubbabel to allow the latter any part in the rebuilding of the Temple. Upon this the Samaritans accused the Jews of rebellious designs against the Persian Government, and were able to stop the work

at Jerusalem during the reigns of two kings. Henceforward the division between the two people appears to have been continually growing greater; the erection of a temple on Mount Gerizim intensified the religious hatred, whilst the political division of the country under foreign government must have contributed its part to the feeling of national dislike. "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation: they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem," says Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclus. i. 25, 26); and Josephus informs us that the Samaritans gave themselves out as Jews when it suited them, and at other times concealed their connection, as when they addressed a letter to Antiochus Epiphanes as God, styling themselves Sidonians, and asking permission to give the name of Jupiter Hellenius to their temple. Perhaps the expression "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil," used as a term of bitter reproach amongst the Jews, is a better indication of the feeling with which they regarded their neighbours than anything we could quote. So, too, the Samaritans used to light rival beacon fires at the rising of the new moon to mislead the Jewish watchers on the hill-tops; they waylaid Jews on their way to Jerusalem, and refused them hospitality, as in the case of the Samaritans of a certain village who would not receive our Lord "because his face was as though He would go to Jerusalem" (Luke ix. 53); they are said on one occasion to have defiled the Temple by scattering dead men's bones on the sacred pavement; they claimed for their copy of the Law a higher antiquity than that of any possessed by the Jews; and they even contended that the temple on Gerizim was the true temple, and not that at Jerusalem. During the first four centuries of the present era the Samaritans appear to have been in a flourishing state, in spite of the slaughter of more than 10,000 of them by Vespasian; but towards the close of the fifth century they were so severely punished for an outrage committed on the Christians at Nablus (Neapolis), that they never recovered their importance, and gradually dwindled away until they now number not more than a few families at Nablus.

With the exception of the strip of plain along the sea-coast, the character of Samaria is essentially mountainous, and this tract is sometimes alluded to in the Bible as "the mountains of Ephraim;" the valleys, which descend to the Jordan on the one hand, and to the Mediterranean on the other, take the character of wild ravines, but they frequently rise in small plains of great richness, such as those of El Mukhna and Dothain. There is, however, one exception in the remarkable pass through the vale of Nablus between Ebal and Gerizim which affords easy access from the coast to the hill country. The roads naturally follow the features of the country; there is one great highway from north to south along the central ridge or "backbone," whilst the other roads pass up the transverse valleys to meet it. There is no want of water, and in some places there is careful terrace culture on the hill-sides; Carmel and other hills are partially covered with dense thickets, and there are indications that forests of some size existed at one time. Josephus, probably, gives a fair account of the state of the country in his day, when he tells us it was very fruitful, had abundance of trees, and was full of "autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild and that which is the effect of cultivation;" he also adds that it was thickly populated, and that by reason of the excellent grass the cattle yielded more milk than those in other places.

In this beautiful province, with its fruitful soil and well-watered valleys, Joseph was to be "a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well; whose branches run over the wall" (Gen. xlix. 22). And in the fuller blessing of Moses his land was to be blessed of the Lord "for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon, and for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills" (Deut. xxxiii. 13—15).

That portion of the Jordan Valley which lies within the province of Samaria having already been described, and the coast-plain being reserved for future notice, we will confine our attention to the principal points of interest in the hill country. At the north-western extremity of Samaria is the rugged ridge of Carmel, the sides of which, says Lieutenant Conder, "always steep, often precipitous, are covered thickly with a wilderness of shrubs of dark and rich green;" in places the bare rock appears covered only by a thorny herbage, whilst in others "all is one soft surface of thick vegetation:" this feature of Carmel which adds so much to its beauty has often been noticed by travellers, and is also alluded to in the Bible. On the promontory running into the sea stands the convent from which the celebrated order of Carmelites sprung, but the point of chief interest is the shapeless ruin at the eastern end of the ridge called by the Arabs "El Maharrakah" (the sacrifice), where in all probability stood "the altar of the Lord that was broken down," and which was repaired by Elijah on the occasion of his memorable conflict with the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 20—40). Not far distant is a well which may have furnished water for the trenches round the altar, and in the plains below winds the Kishon, to which Elijah "brought down" the false prophets "and slew them there." Carmel is also mentioned in connection with Elisha, who appears to have been living there when visited by the Shunammite woman whose son he raised from the dead (2 Kings iv. 25). Proceeding south-eastward along the foot of the hills that form the southern border of the plain of Esdraelon, we reach Lejjun, the Legio of Eusebius and Jerome, and the Megiddo of the Old Testament. Legio was an important and well-known place during the occupation of Palestine by the Romans, guarding one of the principal passes from the maritime plain to Esdraelon, through which the high road from Egypt to Damascus formerly ran. The ruins cover a

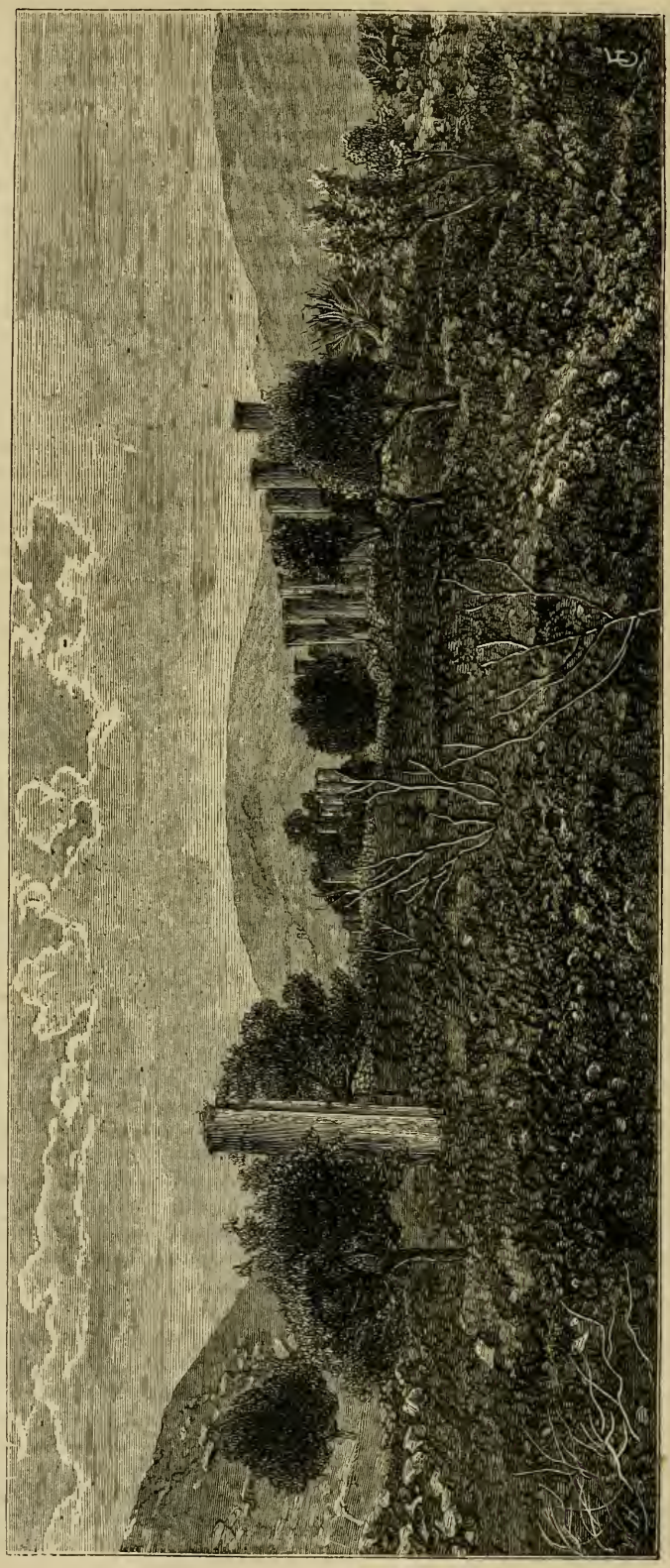
large extent of ground on either side of a small stream that comes down from the hills of Samaria, but there are no visible remains of any important building except those of the Saracenic khan which Maundrel stayed at in 1697. Some four miles eastward is the village of Taanuk, situated on the southern side of a large isolated *tell*, which is covered with ruins, cisterns, and rock-hewn tombs; in this place we readily recognise the old Canaanitish city of Taanach, which is so often mentioned in the Bible in connection with Megiddo. Still farther east is Jenin (En-gannim, "the fountain of the gardens"), prettily situated at the foot of the hills; a fine fountain bursts forth behind the village, and its waters are brought in by a covered aqueduct, and then carried away to give life to the rich gardens which still surround the village and add much to its beauty.

South-west of Jenin is the rich plain of Dothain, with an isolated *tell* or mound bearing the same name, on which are some ruins and the tomb of Neby Dothain; at its foot are the two wells from which the place takes its name. In Dothain we probably have the Dothan of Gen. xxxvii. 17, where Joseph was thrown into a "pit," one of those rock-hewn cisterns which are so common in the country, by his brethren, and where he was sold to a party of Midianites or Ishmaelites on their way to Egypt. It was at Dothain that Elisha was residing when the army of Benhadad invaded Israel, and there, too, that the remarkable event took place which is described in 2 Kings vi. 13—18, when "the mountain was full of horses and chariots round about Elisha," and the Syrian host sent to seize him were smitten with blindness. South of Dothain is the curious upland basin of Merj el-Ghurruk, the "drowned meadow," which has no outlet to the sea, and after heavy rain becomes a lake; and on a hill guarding a pass to the west is the curious walled village of Sanur, which appears to have escaped the general devastation of the country, and presents an interesting specimen of the class of village that once covered many of the hill-tops in Palestine. South-east of the Merj lies the large village of Tubaz (Thebez), prettily situated on the hill-side, and overlooking a rich upland plain, well cultivated and dotted with olive-trees; there are many rock-hewn tombs and fragments of ruins, but no traces have yet been found of the old walls that surrounded the place when it was besieged by Abimelech, or of the tower at the foot of which he met his death at the hands of his armour-bearer after having been struck by a piece of millstone thrown down from above (Judg. ix. 53, 54). Below Tubaz runs the Roman road from Nablus to Beisan, and if we follow it a short distance towards the latter place we reach Teyasir, generally identified with Asher, a town of Manasseh, but which we would rather identify with Tirzah, the residence of Jeroboam, Baasha, Elah, and Zimri, a place celebrated for its beauty. Tirzah has usually been placed at Telluzah, in the mountains north of Nablus, but this seems a rather inconvenient situation for the capital of the kingdom of Israel. Teyasir, on the other hand, occupies an important position at the head of one of the passes leading to the Jordan Valley, and its situation, though not commanding any extensive

MAP OF SAMARIA.

view, is extremely picturesque; near the village is a remarkable tomb of masonry, somewhat similar to one at Malul, near Nazareth. A short distance south-east of Tubaz, on an isolated conical *tell*, is the deserted village of Ainun, a name identical with Ænon, the place in which John the Baptist is said to have been baptising (John iii. 23). The position of Ænon has been the subject of much dispute; the only indication we have of its situation is that it was near to Salim, and that "there was much water there." There are no springs at Ainun, but Lieut. Conder, R.E., has pointed out that in the upper part of the great Wady Farah there are copious springs midway between Ainun and the village of Salim, which lies due east of Nablus. Lieut. Conder, in his report on the subject, adds, "It has been suggested that our Lord's journey through Samaria was with the object of visiting the Baptist, and were such the case He 'needs must' pass by Shechem (Nablus) in order to arrive at the springs of Wady Farah." There are several Salims in Palestine, but with the exception of one near Taanuk, on the southern skirts of Esdraelon, none of them have springs in their vicinity; the name Ainun, however, seems to point to the springs of Wady Farah as those at which John baptised.

From Tubaz the old Roman road runs to the south-west, and, ascending the narrow gorge of Wady Bludan, reaches the fertile plain of El Mukhna, with the two mountains of Ebal and Gerizim on its western side, flanking the broad pass which leads to Nablus, the ancient Shechem. At the eastern end of the pass are Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb; the former is covered by a vaulted chamber, and lies within the ruins of an old church of the fourth century; it is seventy-five feet deep, lined with rough stones, and has been sunk in the rich alluvial soil of the plain. Christians, Jews, Moslems, and Samaritans agree in regarding this as Jacob's well, and, as the Christian tradition dates from the early part of the fourth century, there seems little reason to doubt that it is the same well at which our Lord met the Samaritan woman. Captain Anderson, R.E., who has given an interesting account of his descent of the well in



SEBUSTIYEH (SAMARIA), THE STREET OF COLUMNS. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, aptly remarks that "the existence of a well in a place where water-springs are abundant is sufficiently remarkable to give this well a peculiar history." North of the well is the small square building known as Joseph's Tomb, quite modern, with vases for burning offerings similar to those noticed at Meiron in Galilee. The great depth of soil at this point precludes the idea that Joseph was buried in a rock-hewn tomb, but we know that his body was embalmed in Egypt, placed in a coffin or sarcophagus, and brought to Palestine by the Israelites, probably in one of the wagons which accompanied them on their march, and this sarcophagus may still remain in the soil beneath the little building. As we proceed up the pass we notice, on the left-hand side, a small enclosure with trees, gardens, a well, and several masonry tombs, one of which is said to be that of Sheikh Yusuf (Joseph); and it is curious to notice that this tomb was shown to Maundrel as that of Joseph; the name of the enclosure is El Amud (the column or pillar), and the Rev. George Williams has identified it, with some probability, as the site of "the pillar that was in Shechem," where Abimelech was made king (Judg. ix. 6), and of the terebinth of Moreh near which Abraham built his first altar to the Lord after entering the Promised Land, and Joshua set up a great stone (Josh. xxiv. 26).

A little further, and we reach the water-parting between the waters of the Mediterranean and those of the Dead Sea, and here there is a remarkable topographical feature, a recess on either side of the valley, forming a grand national amphitheatre which was in all probability the scene of the ratification of the Law. It will be remembered that, in accordance with the command of Moses, the Israelites were, after their entrance into the Promised Land, to "put" the curse on Mount Ebal and the blessing on Mount Gerizim; "this was to be accomplished by a ceremonial in which half the tribes stood on the one mount and half on the other; those on Gerizim responding to and affirming blessings, those on Ebal curses, as pronounced by the Levites, who remained with the ark in the centre of the interval." It is hardly too much to say of this natural amphitheatre that there is no other place in Palestine so suitable for the assembly of a large body of men within the limits to which the human voice could reach, and where at the same time each individual would be able to see what was going on. The recesses in the two mountains that form the amphitheatre are exactly opposite to each other, and the limestone strata running up to the very summits in a succession of ledges present the appearance of regular benches. A grander sight can scarcely be imagined than that which the reading of the Law must have presented: the ark borne by the Levites, on the gentle elevation that separates the waters that flow westward from those flowing towards the Jordan, and "all Israel and their elders, and officers, and their judges," on this side and on that, "half of them over against Mount Gerizim and half of them over against Mount Ebal," covering the bare hill-sides from head to foot. It has frequently been urged that it would be impossible to assemble the twelve tribes on the ground at the same time, and that, supposing this to be possible, they would not be able to hear the Law read. There are really few places which afford such conveniences for the assembly of a large number of persons, or give, within the same area, so much standing ground; but until there are correct plans of the great natural amphitheatre, no accurate calculation of the numbers it would hold can be made. With regard to the second point there can be no doubt, for the air of Palestine is so clear that the voice can be heard at distances which would seem impossible in England, and it is not unusual for men passing along the valley to keep up a conversation with others on the heights. Even if this were not the case, it is not necessary to suppose that every word of the Law was heard by the spectators; the blessings and cursings were probably as familiar to the Israelites as the Ten Commandments are to us, and the responses would be taken up as soon as the voice of the reader ceased. On the right hand was Mount Ebal, its slopes covered with the remains of that terrace-culture which once clothed the bare hills of Samaria with the olive and vine, and its summit commanding one of the most remarkable and extensive views in Palestine; on the left is Mount Gerizim, attaining its greatest elevation at the eastern extremity, where there is a small plateau supporting the ruins of a castle, and within it the foundations of an octagonal church, with curious side chapels, supposed to have been built by Justinian, circa A.D. 533. South of the castle there are many rude foundations, and a sloping rock, believed by the Samaritans to mark the position of the altar of their temple; still farther south, above the plain of El Mukhna, the place at which Abraham was about to offer up Isaac is pointed out; and beyond are the ruins of a small town with a portion of its surrounding wall. West of the castle some massive foundations are shown as the "twelve stones" set up by Joshua after the reading of the Law; they are really a portion of a solid platform of unhewn stones, which, with somewhat similar platforms on the east, may have formed part of the great substructure on which the Samaritan temple rested. Westward, at the foot of the elevation on which the temple stood, is the place at which the small remnant of the Samaritans still keep the Passover in accordance with the directions contained in Exod. xii. 1—28; and not far off are the ruins of Louzah, which have been identified with those of the second Luz, founded by the inhabitants of the first town of that name when expelled by the Ephraimites from Bethel.

Returning to the valley, and proceeding westward from the scene of the delivery of the Law, we soon reach the trees and gardens that surround the town of Nablus, and the bright sparkling streams that give to the vale of Nablus so much of its peculiar beauty. The town contains nothing of very great interest except the principal mosque, which is in itself a history of the changes that have taken place

from the time when the first basilica was erected, to the day when the church of the Crusaders was adapted to the service of the followers of Mahomet. At the south-west end of the town is the place where, according to tradition, Jacob received the coat of Joseph, after he had been sold by his brethren to the Midianites. Behind the town the slope of Gerizim is broken into several bold cliffs, which have the appearance of overhanging the town, and from the top of one of these, whence escape to the mountains behind would be easy, we can readily picture Jotham delivering the striking parable (Judg. ix. 7—21), on the occasion of his being told that Abimelech had been made king "by the plain of the pillar that was in Shechem." It was to Shechem that, after Solomon's death, all Israel came to make Rehoboam king; and it was at the same place that, on the secession of the ten tribes, the capital of the new kingdom of Israel was established by Jeroboam: this was, however, soon removed to Tirzah, and Shechem, though a city of refuge, lost much of its importance till it became in later times the chief town of the Samaritans. During the reign of Vespasian, the city was rebuilt and called Neapolis, "the new city," whence the modern name of Nablus is derived. The decline of the Samaritans dates from about A.D. 487, when their temple on Gerizim was destroyed in consequence of an attack which they had made on the Christians who lived in the town. On several occasions afterwards they attempted to regain their lost importance, but each successive rising was put down with great severity, and in the twelfth century there were only about one hundred at Nablus, and perhaps four or five hundred in other parts of Palestine; all have now disappeared, with the exception of the few families who still live under the shadow of their holy mountain.

North-west of Nablus is Sebustiyeh (Samaria). It would be difficult to find a more beautiful situation for a town than that offered by the hill on which the old capital of the kingdom of Israel was built, and no description can give an adequate idea of the charm of the view from the highest point looking westward. The hill, really a spur of the main range, though almost isolated from it, stands as it were in a vast amphitheatre, the sides of which were once covered with the olive and vine; there is a large accumulation of rubbish in which the Arabs frequently turn up coins, gems, bronzes, and other relics of the ancient city; and there is perhaps no place where a richer harvest awaits the future explorer. The complete destruction of Samaria, and the great buildings which it contained, with the exception of the church built by the Crusaders, is in striking accordance with the threat of Micah, "I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof" (Micah i. 6). There are the remains of two temples on the hill itself, and a third at the foot of the northern slope, which, with the exception of the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem, must have been superior to any building of the kind in Palestine. On the southern side of the hill we can still trace, by the columns on either side, the magnificent street, fifty yards wide, which ran from the western to the eastern gateway, and the old city wall that followed in an irregular manner the contour of the hill; the western gateway is readily recognised, but the eastern has disappeared and been replaced, apparently, by the Church of St. John the Baptist. This church, now used as a mosque, is, with the exception of that of the Holy Sepulchre, the largest built by the Crusaders in Palestine, and is supposed to enclose within its walls the tomb of the Baptist. The tomb-chamber, or grotto, is some fourteen feet below the level of the ground, but the *loculi*, or receptacles for the bodies, are of masonry, and the whole chamber appears to have been constructed in imitation of a rock-hewn tomb, at the time the church was built.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES.

BY THE EDITOR.

MUCH that bears upon the authorship and character of this Epistle has already been brought before the readers of the BIBLE EDUCATOR in the paper on the coincidences connecting it with the Gospel of St. Matthew (Vol. I., p. 325), and in the series of notes on some of its more difficult passages (Vol. I., pp. 31, 53, 66, 100). Something more, however, is needed to place the Epistle in its true relation to the other books of the New Testament, and to state what is known as to the life and character of the writer.

2. Of the three disciples bearing the name of James (the English reader may need to be reminded that this is the strangely-altered form of the Jacob of the Old Testament, and the Ἰακῶβος of the Greeks, and that it is therefore as much a Hebrew name as Judas or Simeon), there can be no reasonable doubt that it is to the one known as the "brother of the Lord" that this Epistle is to be ascribed. The son of Zebedee was cut off by the sword of Herod Agrippa I. before there had been time for the activity of a Christian teacher to take the form of an encyclical letter to the whole body of Jews scattered throughout the world. The son of Alphæus (on the assumption that he was distinct from the "brother of the Lord"), although an apostle, is too little prominent in the history of the Acts for us to think of him as the author. The one teacher of the name who presents himself in the New Testament as

likely to have so written is the James who, after the death of the brother of John, seems to have taken his place in the Apostolic body; whom St. Paul recognised as being, with Peter and John, among the pillars of the Church (Gal. ii. 12); who was manifestly left in charge of the Church of Jerusalem on St. Peter's departure (Acts xii. 17); who took his place as president in the first Council of the Church (Acts xv. 13); who was found by St. Paul, on his last visit to the Holy City, after all the other Apostles had apparently departed, as the guide and teacher of the Jewish Church (Acts xxi. 18); whose name carried so much weight with it that it was used, rightly or wrongly, by the Judaising opponents of St. Paul, as the watchword under which they fought (Gal. ii. 12).

Taking this conclusion as proved, it will be obvious that it gives a very special interest to the Epistle that had this James as its author. If we would rightly measure that interest, we might picture to ourselves what our excitement and curiosity would be, if this letter, instead of having had a place among the canonical books from the first, had been disinterred from the MSS. of some old library, and brought to light as a new contribution to the history of that marvellous past. An epistle by the brother of the Son of Man in whose name all Christendom has placed its trust—by one who had grown up with Him, witnessed His mighty works, known His home life as well as His public ministry: should we not turn to its pages with an eager desire to learn how such an one had come to believe in the Divine mission, the Divine nature, of Him with whom he had lived in the companionship of the daily incidents of the common life of the village and the carpenter's shop, and what aspect of the religion of Christ had most impressed itself on his mind and heart? The interest is greater when we remember that, during the greater part of our Lord's ministry, James, as one of the brethren, did not, in any full sense of the word, "believe" on Him, doubted His claims to be the Christ, tried to impede His preaching, as more anxious for His personal safety than for the acknowledgment of His claims. Something must have happened beyond the facts recorded in the Gospels to work the change of which the Acts and this Epistle bear witness. What that was, a single passing allusion in St. Paul's narrative of our Lord's appearances after His resurrection may serve to show—"After that He was seen of James" (1 Cor. xv. 7). That manifestation changed unbelief or doubt into the full assurance of faith, and threw a new light upon the life and death that had preceded it, and thus explains how it was that we find him, as one of the brethren of the Lord, taking part in the first gathering of the disciples after the Ascension (Acts i. 14). The part that he took in the government of the Church at Jerusalem has been already noticed. The special character of his ministry, as compared with that of St. Peter, may be inferred from the fact that he could remain at Jerusalem in safety when that Apostle's life was endangered by Herod's persecution; that he remains as the permanent overseer of the Church there while others go forth on missions to Jew or Gentile; that he is recognised by those who were zealots for the Law as their natural leader (Gal. ii. 12; Acts xxi. 20). He reproduced, as was natural, the features of the earthly life of the brother whom he now recognised as the Lord, as one sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. In the teaching of that Lord, as remembered, or as recorded, it may be, in the first notes or memoirs that formed the basis of the Gospel of St. Matthew, he found the groundwork of his belief, and hence his Epistle presents, as has been shown, more parallels than any other with the Sermon on the Mount. If we may accept the traditions embodied in the narrative of Hegesippus, the earliest writer of an ecclesiastical history, fragments of whose writings are preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 23), he reproduced also in part the life of the Baptist; lived as a Nazarite, or a Rechabite, in the austerity of his abstinence; became known as emphatically the just, or righteous; like the Essenes, wore a linen garment, as symbolising his consecration to a priesthood other than that of Aaron; spent days and nights in the Temple in constant prayer, till his knees were as hard as a camel's; was revered by the whole multitude at Jerusalem, and had some privileges of precedence in the Temple granted him by the priesthood. A time came, however, according to this account, when the current of feeling changed. The priests, led, it may be, by the difference between his mode of life and that of the growing body of Gentile Christians, thought that they might extort from him a rejection of the claims of the prophet of Nazareth as the Christ, and led him to the parapet of the Temple that he might make his recantation in the presence of the assembled people. His faith, so the account runs, did not fail him. To the question put to him, "Tell us what is the door of Jesus?" (possibly a distorted echo of Matt. vii. 13, 14), he answered, "Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come in the clouds of heaven." Some of those who heard him raised hosannas, but the Scribes and Pharisees threw him from the Temple and then stoned him, and his last words were, like those of his Lord, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

Strange and legendary as this history is, it may be regarded as having a substratum of truth, and, taken together with the undoubted facts recorded in the New Testament, helps us to understand the Epistle which we are now considering. It is written, as by one to whom the Church of the Circumcision had been specially committed, to "the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad." Its formula of salutation (i. 1) is the same as that which the same writer had used in the encyclical letter of Acts xv. 29 ("greeting," the Greek χαίρειν, as distinguished from St. Paul's "grace and peace"). Its teaching is, so to speak, on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount, of the teaching of the Baptist, of the sapiential and prophetic books of the Old Testament, rather than on those which are more or less common to the teaching of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John. It represented the stage of education which Jewish Christians had,

for the most part, reached, the *aspect* of truth which was fitted for their reception, the *substance* of a truth which is eternal and divine, though it is not all the truth; but it does not touch on the mystery that had been hid from ages and generations, or on the deeper things of God that had been laid open to the minds of St. Paul or of St. John. It does not follow that the writer himself was not in all essential points in harmony with the truths of those whose teaching was apparently wider and fuller than his own. He had, we know, after the gospel which St. Paul preached had been "communicated" to him, recognised the grace which had been given to the Apostle of the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 2, 9). On every occasion on which that Apostle visited Jerusalem he found a welcome from St. James and those whom he influenced, and readily fell in with the counsels which were given that he too should adapt his teaching and his life, in things indifferent, to the capacity of those with whom he there came in contact, and once more be to the Jews a Jew (Acts xxi. 23, 24). The decree of the Council at Jerusalem settled the terms of an agreement between the two great divisions of the Church, and from those terms St. James did not recede. But the atmosphere in which he lived, the habitual tenor of his own life, the state of those whom he had to teach, were conditions which influenced him, as they influence others, and they explain the special phenomena of the Epistle.

I agree with Dean Alford in thinking it probable that the Epistle of St. James is perhaps the earliest in date of all the books of the New Testament. There is no reference to the controversies of which Acts xv. records the commencement, and which continued, with more or less heat, for long years afterwards; no allusion to the duties, in act or feeling, of Jewish Christians towards their Gentile brethren. The "assembly" of Christians is still spoken of (in the original) as a "synagogue" (ii. 2). The word "Church" (*Ecclesia*) does not occur in it. All these data lead to the inference that it was written before, and not after, the conversion of the Gentiles and its after consequences had become prominent facts. The dominant thought of the Epistle is that "the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ" is the highest form of the wisdom after which every true Israelite should seek; that He, as the Judge of all, standeth at the door, and will punish every secret sin; that worldliness in every form, greed of gain, contempt of the poor and needy, wrong done knowingly by the rich to those who laboured in their fields, bitterness of speech, hypocrisy, formalism, want of active charity—the sins which were most prominent in the religious life of Pharisaic Judaism—were those against which, by visible judgments of the sword and miseries and desolation in this life, not less than in the judgment of the last great day, the sentence of condemnation would be most severe.

The inference thus suggested is obviously important in its bearing upon the question which has, in almost every age of the Church, occupied men's minds—How we are to reconcile the teaching of St. James, that "a man is justified by works, and not by faith only," with that of St. Paul, that "a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." It is comparatively easy to see that the two formulæ are but opposite poles of the same great truth. The faith and the works must each of them be *living*, and the faith that does not issue in acts of love is dead, as the acts themselves are dead unless they spring, not from mere impulse or love of gain or a far-sighted calculation of profit, but from trust in God. But if the conclusion to which we have been led be legitimate, it follows that we need not think, as men have for the most part thought, of St. James as modifying or correcting either the actual teaching of St. Paul or perversions of that teaching by those who professed to be his followers. If that had been St. James's aim, we must believe that he would have written more openly, and referred, as St. Peter refers, to those things in the writings of his "beloved brother," some of which were hard to be understood. But there is absolutely no evidence, external or internal, for assuming such a purpose. Those to whom St. James wrote were, of all classes of Christians, the least likely to take up and exaggerate the teaching of the Apostle from whom so many of them shrank; and if the date thus assumed be correct—*i.e.*, that the Epistle was written before, and not after, the Council of Acts xv.—there had hardly been time for them to become acquainted with it. It is significant, too, that when he specifies the special form of faith in which men put a false trust, it was not belief in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, but the old simple Monotheistic creed of Judaism, "Thou believest that there is one God." The Antinomianism which he attacked was that of those whom the Baptist had reproved as expecting salvation without repentance, because they said within themselves that they had Abraham to their father (Matt. iii. 9), and thought that the simple repetition of the formula which served them as a creed —"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord"—would ensure their admission into the kingdom of heaven. Against these he presses home the fact that the faith of Abraham their father was not a bare assent to a dogma, but a living and active trust, issuing in thorough, unhesitating obedience.

Such, then, was the life, and such the teaching of the "brother of the Lord." And therefore we may give thanks that the Epistle which embodies it has, in the providence of God, been preserved for the permanent instruction of the Church, and see in it, not, as Luther once rashly said, "an epistle of straw," taking its place with the wood, hay, stubble, that even good men have built upon the one Foundation, but among the precious treasures which the Church could ill afford to lose. So long as worldliness combines with formalism; so long as men mistake the confession of an orthodox creed for a life of godliness, and dispute about that creed with bitterness and passion; so long as men are tempted to combine the love of Mammon with that of God; so long, *i.e.*, as the Church is militant on earth, the teaching of the Epistle of St. James can never become obsolete, and it will deliver its stern, but necessary warnings in the ears of every generation.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

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"And hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances."—EPHES. ii. 14, 15.

THE general idea of this passage is plain, but the details are difficult. Addressing communities predominantly Gentile, St. Paul reminds them of the greatness of the change by which they have been brought into their present condition of grace and church membership. "Now in Christ Jesus ye, who sometime were far off, are [were] made nigh by [in] the blood of Christ." There is an evident reference, brought out still more distinctly in verse 17, to the words of Isaiah lvii. 19, "Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord; and I will heal him" (comp. Acts ii. 39). This "making nigh" is (1) "in Christ Jesus," by inclusion and incorporation in Him. It is (2) a thing done and accomplished: the aorist tense points to the moment of their evangelisation, of their conversion and baptism; if not to an earlier time still, when the great redemption was wrought, and the kingdom of heaven opened, once for all, to all believers. It is (3) "in the blood of Christ:" just as the high priest is said (Heb. ix. 25), to enter the Holy of Holies on the day of Atonement, "in" the blood of the appointed victims, as though enveloped in its protecting covering, so Christians are said to be brought nigh to God "in the blood of Christ" (compare Heb. x. 19), as their enclosing and encasing safeguard, their very passport and condition of entrance into the holy and blessed Presence which is their sanctuary and home.

He goes on to enlarge upon their "making nigh," in its groundwork and history. "For He [Himself] is our peace, who made both [Jew and Gentile] one, and broke down the middle wall of partition, having abolished, in His flesh, the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances, that He might create, in Himself, the two into one new man, so making peace."

This is, in substance, the rendering of our English version, made with a true insight into a construction which has been much perplexed and distorted by some later interpreters.

"The middle wall of partition" is a phrase of some obscurity, till we examine its separate terms by the help of parallel passages of Scripture. The compound μεσότοιχον occurs here only. But we have τοῖχος in the Septuagint version of Isa. v. 5, as an equivalent to φραγμός, in the words, "I will take away the hedge (φραγμός) thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall (τοῖχος) thereof, and it shall be trodden down:" and we have in Ezek. iv. 3 the expression, 'Set it for a wall (τοῖχος) of iron between (ἀναμέσον) thee and the city;" showing that the μεσότοιχον is "a wall between" two persons or parties, as (here) the Jew and the Gentile. The genitive τοῦ φραγμοῦ is explanatory: "the mid wall [consisting] of the φραγμός." The passage just quoted from Isaiah is the key to the sense as well as the phrase. The φραγμός (or τοῖχος) there is the "fence" or "hedge" placed by "the Lord of Hosts" round His "vineyard," "the house of Israel;" and the same word is used in the same application in our Lord's parable of the wicked husbandmen, in Matt. xxi. 33, and Mark xii. 1. This hedge or fence between Israel and the Gentile world was the Mosaic Law; not one part of that law, but the law as a whole, moral, judicial, and ceremonial. Christ is here said to have "broken down" this barrier between Jew and Gentile by His death on the cross.

The following clause, subordinate and almost parenthetical in construction, is added in explanation of the brief statement of the former. "Having abolished, in His flesh, the enmity." The "flesh" spoken of is that "body of flesh," wherein Christ "reconciled" us "through death" (Col. i. 22); that "flesh" in which Christ, "the mystery of godliness," was "manifested" at His nativity (1 Tim. iii. 16); that "likeness of flesh of sin," in which God "sent His own Son" (Rom. viii. 3); that "flesh" which He "gave for the life of the world" (John vi. 51); that "flesh" in respect of which He was "put to death" (1 Pet. iii. 18), "suffered for us" (1 Pet. iv. 1); that "body of Christ" by which we were put to death to the law" (Rom. vii. 6). The "enmity" spoken of is not only, or chiefly, the feud between Jew and Gentile, springing out of the selection of the one as the depositary of the promise, and the possessor of the revelation, to which the other was a stranger: it is rather that deeper and subtler enmity which man the sinner, whether Jew or Gentile, cherishes towards a forsaken and defied God, and of which all human antagonisms, whether of self-interest, passion, or religion, are but the sallies and outbursts. It is that "enmity against God" which St. Paul makes a characteristic of "the φρόνημα of the flesh" (Rom. viii. 7); St. James, of "the friendship of the world" (James iv. 4): that of which St. Paul speaks when he says, "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son" (Rom. v. 10); and again, "You that were sometime alienated and enemies in your mind by [in] wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled" (Col. i. 21).

It is remarkable, yet in perfect harmony with his language elsewhere, that St. Paul makes this "enmity" to be, in other words, "the law of commandments contained in ordinances." It would be a gratuitous assumption to limit this "law" to the ceremonial portion of the Mosaic revelation. The word "commandments" (ἐντολαί) is the regular phrase for the Divine precepts of duty, even for those of the decalogue itself. Our Lord, quoting the fifth Commandment,

calls it "God's ἐντολή" (Matt. xv. 3—6); and says to the young ruler, "Thou knowest the commandments (τὰς ἐντολάς), Do not commit adultery, Do not kill," &c. (Mark x. 19). St. Paul speaks of the tenth commandment as the ἐντολή (Rom. vii. 8, &c.); and calls the fifth "the first ἐντολὴ with promise" (Ephes. vi. 2). Nor is the other word, "ordinances" (δόγματα), suggestive of any limitation. Probably meaning a "decree," as in the phrases, "a decree from Cæsar Augustus" (Luke ii. 1), "the decrees of Cæsar" (Acts xvii. 7), "the decrees that were ordained by the apostles and elders" (Acts xvi. 4); the word δόγμα is found, besides, only in this passage and in the parallel verse of the accompanying Epistle (Col. ii. 14), "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us"—or more literally, "the handwriting that was against us by its δόγματα"—where the sense is at least as ambiguous as here, and must be decided by the same considerations.

There is nothing in St. Paul's language elsewhere, or in the known experience of human nature, to make the restriction of the word to "ordinances," in the sense of "ceremonial rules," true or appropriate. The whole argument of the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans turns upon the effect, not of ceremonial, but of moral precepts upon the heart and life of the fallen creature. It is not the difficulty of an exact attention to a minute and burdensome ritual, but the difficulty of obeying, in the spirit, a moral rule such as, "Thou shalt not desire," which St. Paul there adduces in justification of his startling expression, "The motions (παθήματα) of sins, which [motions] were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death" (Rom. vii. 5). And so, in the paradoxical aphorism of 1 Cor. xv. 56, "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law," it is not of the ceremonial law, but of the moral, regarded as a revelation of duty, saying, "Do this, and thou shalt live"—but also, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them"—that St. Paul speaks, with a deep insight into that "weakness of the mortal nature," which makes law itself a stimulus to transgression, and "the thing which should have been for our health an occasion of falling."

The statement before us is, that Christ by His death abolished the Law, not in one part of it, but as a whole; not only took away, by His Atonement, its condemning power in reference to this part; but also destroyed it as a system of commands and prohibitions, offering reward and punishment on the condition of a rigid and self-satisfying obedience. The Law of Moses is no longer the Divine rule for man; although, in its moral part, being the transcript of a prior law, the relationship of the creature to the Creator, it must ever retain its binding force, not in virtue of its enactment by Moses, but of its expressing a part of that "mind of Christ" (1 Cor. ii. 16), which is the unwritten, but heart-written code of the Christian.

BIBLE WORDS.

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NEESING (*subst.*). The printers have allowed the old form to remain, Job xli. 18, "By his [leviathan's] *neesings* a light doth shine, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning," though in 2 Kings iv. 35, "the childe *neesed* seven times," they have without any authority prefixed the *s*. The A. S. was *niesan*, and both forms were in general use, and both are found in Minshew. "Neesing" is the word in Job both in Beck and Wiclif, though in Madden's edition, through mistaking the long *s* for an *f*, we find an alternative form, *fneesynge*. The readers of Shakespeare will remember Puck's trick of slipping away, in the form of a three-legged stool, from under the story-teller, who "topples down," to the merriment of the whole party, who

> "Waxen in their mirth, and *neeze*, and swear
> A merrier hour was never wasted there."
> (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1.)

Nether (*adj.*), lower, A. S. *nither*, *nyther*, or *neothra*; German, *nieder*. It is frequent in the A. V.: Exod. xix. 17, "They stood at the *nether* part of the mount;" "the upper and the *nether* millstone" are mentioned in Deut. xxiv. 6; Caleb gave his daughter Achsah "the upper springs and the *nether* springs" (Josh. xv. 19; Judg. i. 15). See also 1 Kings ix. 17; 1 Chron. vii. 24; Job xli. 24; Ezek. xxxi. 14, 16, 18; xxxii. 18, 24. The superlative *nethermost* occurs 1 Kings vi. 6. In Shakespeare we find *nether* twice in connection with "lip:" "a foolish hanging of the *nether* lip" (1 *Henry IV.*, ii. 4); "why gnaw ye so your *nether* lip?" (*Othello*, v. 2). Bacon narrates how, in Julian's satire, "The Cæsars," all the emperors were "invited to a banquet of the gods, and Silenus the jester sat at the *nether* end of the table, and bestowed a scoff on every one as they came in."

Or ever (*prep.*). *Or*, in the sense of "before," was in frequent use in our early language, and when coupled with *ever* or *ere* is found several times in the A. V. Ps. xc. 2, "Before the mountains were brought forth, *or ever* Thou hadst formed the earth and the world;" Prov. viii. 23, "I [wisdom] was set up from everlasting . . *or ever* the earth was;" Cant. vi. 12, "*Or ever* I was aware;" Dan. vi. 24, "The lions had the mastery of them . . . *or ever* they came to the bottom of the den;" and in the Prayer-book Psalter, Ps. lviii. 8, "*Or ever* your pots be made hot with thorns." *Or* and

ere are early prepositions signifying "before." The earlier forms are stated by Dr. Morris (*English Accidence*, p. 205) to be *ar* and *ae-r*, both being comparatives of the root *â*. *Or* is connected with the German *ur*, and in A. S. appears as a substantive, signifying "beginning," "origin." *Or* is constantly used by itself, as by Chaucer—

> "Therefore I rede (advise) you this counsel take,
> Forsaketh sinne, *or* (before) sinne you forsake."
> (*Doctour's Tale*, 12,219, 12,220.)
>
> "Clear was the day, as I have told *or* this."
> (*Knight's Tale*, 1,685.)

And by Henry the Minstrel (A.D. 1461)—

> "Willyam Wallace, *or* he was man of armys,
> Gret pite thocht that Scotland tuke sic harmys."
> (*Wallace*, i. 618.)

Another frequent construction is *or than*, "before that," as in Wiclif, Gen. xxvii. 10, "That he (Isaac) blisse to thee *or than* he die;" and *or that*, as in Chaucer—

> "*Or that* I further in this tale pace." (*Prologue*, 36.)

The reduplicated form *or ever*, or *or ere*, which is the only one found in the A. V., is frequent in Shakespeare—

> "Ha I I been any god of power I would
> Have sunk the sea within the earth, *or ere*
> It should the good ship so have swallowed." (*Tempest*, i. 2.)

The form *ere ever* appears once in the Apocrypha, Ecclus. xxiii. 20, "He knew all things *ere ever* they were created," and is the reading adopted by Collier and Knight, instead of the usual "or ever," in *Hamlet*, i. 2—

> "Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven,
> *Ere* I had *ever* seen that day, Horatio."

Ouches, sockets of gold or other precious metal, to hold jewels. The word is only used in the A. V., Exod. xxviii. 11, 13, and xxxix. 16, 18, for the gold settings of the onyx stones of the high priest's ephod, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes. In a marginal note to Wiclif's version, Exod. xxv. 7, the "breastplate," or "racional," is defined as "an *ouche* on the priest's breast, on which was written doom and treuth." In Cranmer's version, for *ouches* we read "*hooles* of gold." The true form appears to be *nouche* (as *nadder* is of *adder*, *napron* of *apron*, *newt* of *eft*, &c.), derived from the Italian *nocchio*, a "knob" or "knot." This form appears in Wiclif, Exod. xxviii. 4; 1 Macc. x. 89; xi. 58, &c., and is used by Chaucer, of Griselda—

> "A coroune on hire hed they han ydressed,
> And sette hire ful of *nouches* gret or smal."
> (*Clerke's Tale*, 8,258.)

Spenser uses the form *owch*; thus he describes Duessa—

> "Like a Persian mitre on her hed
> She wore with crowns and *owches* garnished." (*F. Q.*, I. ii. 13.)

Shakespeare's Falstaff sings a scrap of a song—

> "Brooches, pearls, and *owches*." (2 *Henry IV.*, ii. 4.)

These examples show that *ouche* was used in a wider sense, not merely for the setting, but for the whole jewel.

Peep (*verb intran.*), found twice in the A. V.: Isa. viii. 19, "Wizards that *peep* and mutter;" x. 14, "There was none (nestling) that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or *peeped*." It is an imitative word, like "cheep," formed after the shrill cry of young birds, like the Greek πιππίζειν, the Latin *pipire*, the French *pepier*. It is used by Sir M. Wiat, c. 1540, for the squeak of a mouse—

> "At last she asked softly who was there;
> And in her language, as well as she could,
> '*Peep*,' quod the other, 'Sister, I am here.'" (*Sat.* i. 42.)

The French verb *pepier* is explained by Cotgrave "to *peep*, cheep, or pule as a young bird in the neast;" and *pepieur*, as "a *peeper*, cheeper, puler." Ben Jonson adopts it, but probably borrows it from the Scriptural use—

> "O the onely oracle
> That ever *peept*, or spoke out of a doublet."
> (*Staple of News*, Act ii., sc. 4, Richardson.)

Pill (*verb act.*), to pare, bark, skin, the same as the modern *peel*, which is also found (Isa. xviii. 2, 7; Ezek. xxix. 18). *Pilled* only occurs in the A. V.: Gen. xxx. 37, 38, "Jacob took him rods . . . and *pilled* white strakes in them, . . . and he set the rods which he had *pilled* before the flocks;" and Tob. xi. 13, "The whiteness *pilled* away from the corners of his eyes." Wiclif's version of the former passage is vigorously idiomatic: Jacob "a parti unryendide them [took off the rind or bark], and riendis drawun awey . . . in thilke that weren *pilde* semede whyteness." Chaucer describes the Sompnour—

> "Quyk he was, and chirped as a sparwe,
> With skalled browes blake, and *piled* berd" (cropt beard).
> (*Prol.* 627.)

Shakespeare makes Shylock say of Jacob—

> "The skilful shepherd *pilled* me certain wands."
> (*Merchant of Venice*, i. 3.);

and Queen Margaret—

> "Hear me, you wrangling pirates that fall out
> In sharing that which you have *pilled* from me."
> (*Richard III.*, i. 3.)

Poll (*verb act.*), to cut, to lop, to clip the *poll* or head. So a *pollard* is a tree whose head has been lopped, and a *polled* cow is one without horns. This verb is often connected by old writers with the preceding, *pill*. Thus—

> "He hath a groom of evil guize,
> Which *pols* and *pils* the poor in piteous wize."
> (Spenser, *F. Q.*, V. ii. 6.)
>
> "*Pilling* and *polling* is grown out of request since plaine pilfering came into fashion." *Winwood's Memorial* (Nares).

It is used in the A. V. of Absalom cutting his hair, 2 Sam. xiv. 26, "When he *polled* his head, for at every year's end he *polled* it; because the hair was heavy on him, therefore he *polled* it;" and in a similar sense, Ezek. xliv. 20, "Neither shall they (the priests) shave their heads . . . they shall only *poll* their heads," and Micah i. 16, "*Poll* thee for thy delicate children." Wiclif employs it, 1 Cor. xi. 6, "If a womman be not veylid or keuerid, he she *pollid*; for if it is a foul thing to a woman for to be *pollid*, or for to be maad ballid, veyle she hir head." Richardson quotes from North's *Plutarch*: "His death did so grieve them that they *polled* themselves, they clipped off their horses' and mules' hair" (p. 280).

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

BY THE EDITOR.

It has often been said that the contrast between the Peter of the Gospel—impulsive, unsteadfast, slow of heart to understand the mysteries of the kingdom—and the same Apostle as he meets us in the Acts, firm and courageous, ready to go to prison and to death, the ruler of a church, the preacher of a faith, the interpreter of Scripture, is one of the most convincing proofs of the power of Christ's resurrection and the mighty working of the Pentecostal gift. And so indeed it is. The change that had taken place was too rapid to be explained by the ordinary processes of growth and development, of study and of thought, and we are compelled to "wonder," as the Scribes and Pharisees wondered then, at the transformation of those who had been known as "unlearned and ignorant men" into apostles and theologians. The first of the Epistles that bear the name of St. Peter presents, however, a yet more marvellous contrast to the utterances of rash zeal and half-formed thoughts, as of one who wist not what he said, of which so many are recorded in the Gospels. Nowhere, not even in the fullest and loftiest portions of St. Paul's writings, is there a deeper insight into the mysteries of the faith, a spirit more entirely in harmony with the mind of Christ. To him have been in part revealed the things which "the angels desire to look into" (1 Pet. i. 12), the mystery of the completion of the redeeming work behind the veil that separates us from the unseen world, the preaching to the "spirits in prison," the "Gospel preached unto the dead" (1 Pet. iii. 19; iv. 6). And with this there is a delicate and subtle handling of the great ethical duties of man's life, as modified by the facts and precepts of the Gospel, which reminds us of the Epistle to the Ephesians. No one can read the Epistle itself in the spirit of earnestness and prayer, without being brought some way onward in his heavenly course. Those who are familiar with Leighton's noble Commentary will see to what a height of holiness and spiritual wisdom it may lead one who fulfils the conditions of a true learner.

In this instance it is allowable, I believe, to trace the ordinary as well as the special and supernatural workings of Divine grace, the influence of growth and experience, of companionship with a mind more rapidly and fully illumined than his own, of writings in which the higher truths of faith were set forth in their completeness. We know from St. Paul's own statement (Gal. ii. 2, 9) that St. Peter, like St. James, had accepted the Gospel which that Apostle preached unto the Gentiles, and had given to him the right hand of fellowship. We know, from the narrative of the Acts (xv. 7), that he welcomed and supported him against the narrower zeal of the half-Christianised Pharisees. If we assume the genuineness of the Second Epistle that bears his name, we know also that most, if not all, the writings of that Apostle (including some, it may be, that have not come down to us) had found their way into his hands, and that though he found in them some things "hard to be understood," he had yet recognised the writer as having had a wisdom given to him, which made them a revelation of truths to which the Church would do well to give heed. If for one moment there had been something like antagonism between the two (Gal. ii. 11), the pain of that conflict, like the other paroxysm of contention that divided Barnabas from St. Paul, had left behind it no traces of bitterness; and the Epistle which he writes to churches, many of which must have been founded by St. Paul, and all of which had come in contact with his teaching, bears not the slightest trace of resentment or alienation. He is content to learn from the teacher who had rebuked him, and reproduces largely (as a glance at the marginal references in any ordinary Bible will show abundantly) the truths which he had been taught by him. The assumption thus made on the strength of his own words in 2 Pet. iii. 15, is, to say the least, confirmed by two facts, which would, even without them, have suggested the same inference. When he writes his first Epistle, Mark is with him (v. 13), who had been St. Paul's fellow-traveller and fellow-worker in his first missionary journey, and who was not likely to have been chosen for that office unless he had been previously trained by the Apostle for it. Sylvanus, the bearer of the Epistle, had been with St. Paul at Antioch for many months, was chosen to take the place of Barnabas in his second and greater missionary enterprise among the Gentiles, had himself been joined with the Apostle in the salutations of two of his Epistles (1 and 2 Thessalonians), and had probably acted as his amanuensis.

We know too little of the life of St. Peter outside the record of the Acts to be able to say with certainty what circumstances led him to address these churches, which, so far as we know, he had not visited; nor at what time he wrote these Epistles to them. We have a few scattered hints, and have to piece them together as we can. And first, we have no trace of his presence at Jerusalem for any length of time after the Council of Acts xv. For a considerable length of time he lived and worked at Antioch, still the Apostle of the Circumcision (Gal. ii. 11), yet teaching in the mother-city of Gentile Christendom. Thence he appears to have gone to the further East, and to have made the great city on the Euphrates—so famous in the history and prophecy of Israel, still flourishing and wealthy, and the seat of

a large Jewish population—the head-quarters of his ministry. In the name of the church of Babylon,[1] as elect together with them, he sends greetings to those to whom he writes (1 Pet. v. 13). And he writes, it will be noticed, still as the Apostle of the Circumcision, to those who, like the "twelve tribes scattered abroad" of St. James's Epistle, were "among the strangers of the dispersion"—Jews dwelling among Gentiles. It was at a time, apparently, when they needed counsel, when no other teacher of equal authority was at hand to comfort them; when St. Paul, who had founded so many churches in those regions, had been cut off from them, possibly after that last visit of his, subsequent to the first imprisonment at Rome, of which we read that it was a time of trial and persecution, which led "all in Asia" to turn away from him (2 Tim. i. 15). From this Epistle we learn that they were at the beginning of a "fiery trial" (1 Pet. iv. 12); that their name was cast out as evil (ii. 12); that the name of Christian, which had had its birth-place in Antioch (Acts xi. 26), had spread westward to these Asiatic churches, and was, as afterwards under Trajan, the test-word of their persecutors. If they accepted the title, they were looked upon as self-condemned; to disown it, to plead "not guilty" to the charge of being a Christian, was enough to ensure them an acquittal. We may infer from the earnest counsels of chaps. ii., iii., that the Apostle feared lest the enthusiasm of their new life should lead them to take part in anarchic or revolutionary movements; from his warnings against the luxury that showed itself in "the plaiting of hair and wearing of gold, and putting on of apparel" (iii. 3), that the new faith numbered some at least of the "honourable women" of the wealthier classes among its disciples; from his desire that the believers should be able to give an answer (literally, an *apology*) to every man that asked them a reason of the hope that was in them" (iii. 15), that there were men among them with sufficient culture to venture on such a vindication. The profound spiritual truths of which the Epistle is the utterance, must be left to the meditation of the devout reader, guided by a teacher like Leighton. Here it will be enough to note the external facts as to the writer of the Epistle, and those to whom it was addressed, which will best help the student to appreciate its general bearing. And here, in addition to what has been already dwelt on, we may note two or three points of interest.

(1.) St. Peter lived as St. Paul did, in the expectation of the coming of Christ as not far off. The thought of his "appearing" to judge the quick and the dead, to redress all wrongs and punish all evil, and reward the faithful, is the ground of his hope for the future. But even in the First Epistle, and yet more strongly as we shall see in the Second, this hope is tempered by the feeling that the times and the seasons were not revealed to him; that the prophets of the New Testament, not less than those of the Old, were still in the position of those who "enquired and searched diligently, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings that should come on Christ (τὰ παθήματα εἰς Χριστὸν), not in Himself only, but in His people, and the glory that should follow" (i. 11).[2]

(2.) We may note some coincidences bearing on the personal history of the writer. He who had heard of the witness of the Baptist to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world" (John i. 29, 36), dwells on the fact that all believers were redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" (1 Pet. i. 19). He to whom had been given the special thrice-repeated charge, "Feed my sheep" (John xxi. 15—17), reproduces that command in his exhortation to his brother elders to feed the flock of God which was among them, and points to Christ almost in the very words which the beloved disciple has recorded, as the "Chief Shepherd" that shall reward all faithful shepherds who serve under Him (1 Pet. v. 2). He who for so many years was a fellow-worker with the brother of his Lord, dwells on the truth that those who live the new life are "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever" (1 Pet. i. 23); even as St. James had taught that "God of His own will begat us with the Word of Truth" (James i. 18); and gives, as he does, as the reward of the highest Christian grace, manifested in act, that it "shall cover the multitude of sins" (James v. 20; 1 Pet. iv. 8). He whom Satan had "desired to have that he might sift him as wheat" (Luke xxii. 31), and who in that sifting had failed so grievously, warns men out of his own bitter experience, that "their adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about, seeking whom he may devour" (1 Pet. v. 8). Such was the Epistle, the genuineness of which may be looked on as all but unquestioned, even by the wildest criticism, which the Galilean fisherman left as a perpetual possession to the Church of Christ. The keys of the kingdom of heaven had been given to him as the symbol that he was called to the office of a scribe instructed to the kingdom of heaven; and with these he had, as it were, opened the doors of the house of the Interpreter, and brought forth out of the treasures of the Divine wisdom "things new and old." The claims which have been made to rest on that power of the keys, on the promise that on the faith which he proclaimed Christ would build His Church, may be baseless, and in their ultimate development monstrous; but in the teaching of this Epistle, so rich in all spiritual knowledge, in all that can establish and strengthen the unstable soul, we may recognise no unworthy fulfilment of that high function of which the promise spoke.

[1] The conjecture that St. Peter wrote from a garrison town named Babylon, on the Egyptian frontier, or that he anticipated the mystic symbolism of the Apocalypse, and thus indicated that he wrote from Rome, may safely be dismissed as altogether arbitrary.

[2] I may be allowed to refer to the paper on "The Prophets of the New Testament," in my volume of *Biblical Studies*, for the exegesis of this passage.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

BY WILLIAM CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

ORDERS XXVI.—XXIX. SIMARUBEÆ, SAPINDACEÆ, MELIACEÆ, AND VITACEÆ.

THE small order of Quassiads (*Simarubeæ*), consisting of bitter shrubs or trees, natives of tropical regions, is represented in the flora of Palestine by a single tree, which is found only in the depressed valley of the Dead Sea, reaching as far north as Jericho. This is the *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, Del., a small scrubby thorn-tree with a hard wood used for making walking-sticks at Jerusalem, and an oval fruit not unlike a walnut, from which is obtained an oil prepared by the Arabs of Jericho, and sold to travellers under the erroneous name of Balm of Gilead.

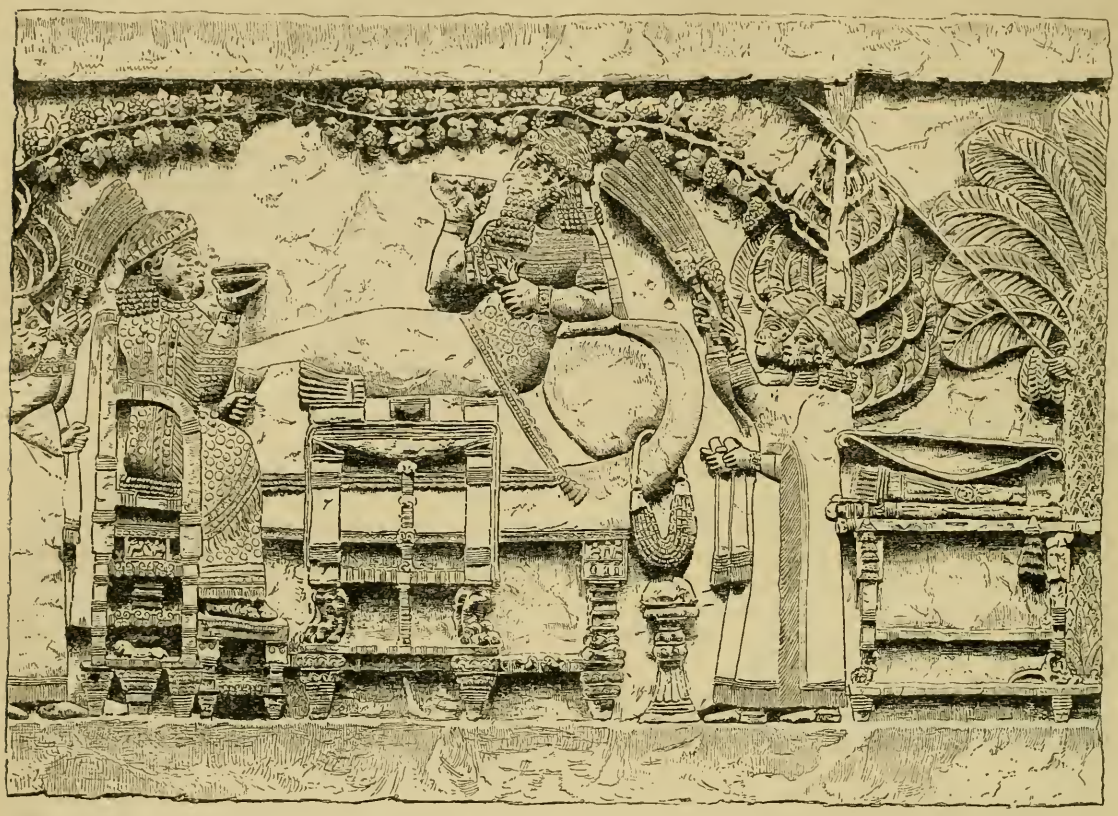
The large order of Soapworts (*Sapindaceæ*) is represented in the Holy Land by two maples found on the Lebanon range; while a single species of the Meliad order (*Meliaceæ*) is planted abundantly by the roadsides, but nowhere occurs in a wild state. This is the Bead tree, or Pride of India (*Melia Azedarach*, Linn.), forming an agreeable shade to the travellers by its dense mass of compound winged leaves. The sweet-scented lilac flowers are collected into an erect spike, and are succeeded by a cluster of pale blue fruits, about the size of currants, which are often used as beads for rosaries.

The Vines (*Vitaceæ*) form a small order of climbing plants, widely distributed over the tropical and subtropical regions of the world. They have large simple leaves like the grape-vine, or compound leaves like the Virginian creeper, an American plant largely grown in England. and which is, perhaps, not generically distinct from the true vines. The indigenous flora of Europe is without any representative of the order, though the well-known grape-vine has long been under cultivation in the southern countries of this continent. The Romans brought the vine to Britain. The different attempts that have been since made to bring it into cultivation have failed. It was found to be at best but a precarious crop, and it never produced a satisfactory wine, because the summer temperature is neither sufficiently great nor long continued to ripen the grape completely. Further north than 50° north latitude is too cold, and further south than 36° is too hot for the vine to attain perfection. It, however, accommodates itself remarkably to artificial treatment, and is consequently extensively cultivated under glass in countries much beyond its northern limits.

The vine has been cultivated from the remotest antiquity on account of its fruit. Representations of it are to be found in the early sculptured monuments of Egypt and Assyria; while the Bible carries its history back to the days of Noah, who "began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard" (Gen. ix. 20). Like other plants which have been from the earliest times associated with man, it is impossible to discover its native locality. It is generally believed that the mountainous region between the Euphrates and the Caspian Sea to the north-east of Palestine is its original country. Wild vines are frequently met with in the woods in this region, but these may be the evidence and the remains of a former cultivation, rather than the spontaneous growth of the plant in its native locality. It is certainly not indigenous to Palestine, but is still under cultivation there. A wild vine (*Vitis orientalis*, Linn.) having compound leaves, like those of the Virginian creeper, is sometimes met with on the low lands near the coast, and is indigenous to this region.

So numerous are the references to the vine and its products in the Bible that it would be impossible to notice them all in this paper. From them we learn that in the days of Abraham the Holy Land produced its grape harvest, for Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought forth bread and wine for Abraham's refreshment, when he was on his way back from delivering Lot out of the hands of his captors (Gen. xiv. 18). When Joseph was carried into Egypt, he found the vine cultivated there; and we learn from the dream of the royal butler that the sweet and unfermented juice of the grape was drunk by Pharaoh. "A vine was before me . . . and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand: and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand" (Gen. xl. 9—11). Some 200 years later the captive Israelites were familiar with the vine in Egypt, where it must then have been extensively grown, seeing that the fig and it are specially mentioned as the crops which were destroyed by the plague of hail that the Lord rained on Egypt. "He destroyed their vines with hail, and their sycomore-trees with great hailstones (Ps. lxxviii. 47, margin). In the wilderness the memories of the Israelites went back to these fruitful vineyards. In their murmurings against Moses, their plaint was, "Wherefore have ye made us to come out of Egypt, to bring us into this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates" (Numb. xx. 5).

The terms in which the Lord described to His people while journeying in the wilderness the land which He had given to them, shows that the vine had already been extensively cultivated there. It was "a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates" (Deut. viii. 8), where they should possess vineyards and olive-trees which they had not planted (Deut. vi. 11). And the men whom Moses sent to spy the land, whether it was good or bad, confirmed this description; when, having cut down from the valley of Eshcol "a branch with one cluster of grapes, they bare it between two upon a staff" into the camp (Numb. xiii. 23), at once an earnest and an evidence to the people of



SITTING UNDER THE VINE. (*From the Assyrian Sculptures.*)

the rich land they were going to possess. When at length, Israel having obtained possession of the land, Judah received as his portion the terraced hills of the south clad with vineyards, the blessing of Jacob was fully realised, "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes" (Gen. xlix. 11). The extraordinary productiveness of the vineyards of Judah must have often recalled to the devout husbandman this prophetic blessing of his ancestor; just as the modern aspect of the whole region forcibly recalls to the traveller a later prophetic warning now singularly fulfilled, "I will destroy her vines and her fig-trees, whereof she hath said, These are my rewards that my lovers have given me: and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them" (Hos. ii. 12). The terraced hills are all bare; not a vine is to be seen in the valley of Eshcol; and there are no traces of Solomon's famous vineyards at En-gedi, save the terraces, and the huge empty cisterns which supplied the vines with water. The Turks and Saracens, who have so long held the land, have been the chief means of bringing about this state of things, the use of wine being forbidden to them by their religion. But they will not always possess the land; and in the picture of restored Israel, which the sure word of prophecy gives, the vine occupies a prominent place. The few and scattered, yet singularly productive vineyards of Judah, which travellers see, will yet spread until they again cover the terraced hills of that land, as it is said, "I will bring back the captivity of my people Israel, . . . and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof" (Amos ix. 14). "The mountains shall drop sweet wine" (Amos ix. 13).

When the vine was planted in a garden, or near a house, it was generally trained over trellis-work, so as to secure the shady arbour so coveted in the East. The sculptures from the palaces of Assyria represent scenes in the royal garden where the king and queen, or their guests, are resting under the grateful shade of carefully-trained vines, and are being refreshed with the juice expressed from the grapes, which abundantly hang from them.

In the vineyard the vine was not carried to such a height; the branches were kept from the ground by short props. The vineyard was enclosed by a fence, to protect it from the sheep and cattle, which are fond of the tender leaves, as well as from the wild animals, which made destructive inroads upon it. In the poetic figure of Israel, represented as a vine brought out of Egypt, so exquisitely sustained and amplified in the 80th Psalm, the writer deplores that through the broken-down hedges "the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it" (Ps. lxxx.

13). Jackals and foxes, both alike fond of grapes, are great enemies to the vine-growers. To one or other of these animals Solomon refers, when he says, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that destroy the vines: for our vines bear tender grapes" (Cant. ii. 15).

Besides the fence, each vineyard was provided with a watch-tower, which afforded protection to the cultivator, and enabled him to detect the approach of any enemy. The vines require continual attention; they must be carefully pruned and purged, that they may bring forth more and better fruit; they must be propped up and weeded; so that during the growth of the vines the tower was always occupied by some one discharging those duties.

Each vineyard had its wine-press, the practice being to express the juice from the grape in the field. The wine-presses were generally hewn out of the solid rock, and large numbers of them remain at the present day. They consisted of two vats or presses, the upper and larger one for treading the grapes, and a smaller one for receiving the juice or mast. Dr. Robinson thus describes one of these ancient wine-presses which he observed near Jerusalem:—"Advantage had been taken of a ledge of rock; on the upper side, towards the south, a shallow vat had been dug out eight feet square and fifteen inches deep, its bottom declining slightly toward the south. The thickness of rock left on the north side was one foot; and two feet lower down on that side another smaller vat was excavated, four feet square by three feet deep. The grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat, and the juice drawn off by a hole at the bottom, still remaining, into the lower vat. This ancient press would seem to prove that in other days these hills were covered with vineyards; and such is its state of preservation that, were there still grapes in the vicinity, it might at once be brought into use without repair" (*Bibl. Research.*, iii., p. 137). Canon Tristram observed no less than eleven of these wine-presses on the east of Carmel alone. Being dug out of the rock, they are often filled with earth, and passed by travellers without being observed.

The juice of the grape was pressed out by men, more or fewer in number in proportion to the size of the press. It was a fatiguing operation, and they sang or shouted to encourage each other. "He shall give a shout, as they that tread the grapes" (Jer. xxv. 30).

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER AND THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT cannot be denied, and ought not to be concealed, that the second Epistle that bears the name of St. Peter does not stand, as regards the evidence for its authenticity, on the same footing as the first. While that is recognised in all the early catalogues of the books of the New Testament as acknowledged and received, and quoted by some at least of the early Fathers of the Church, the second Epistle is classed by Eusebius, as late as the fourth century, as among the *Antilegomena*, or books whose authority had been questioned. It is not directly quoted by any writer before the latter part of the third century, though phrases occur in some earlier writers that seem, as it were, echoes of its language, or of that of some writing closely resembling it.

Origen, and later on, Jerome, speak of it in the same terms as Eusebius, as an Epistle that had been questioned. After their time, however, it was received as genuine, and took its place in the canon of Scripture without question, until the application of a more searching criticism as to the origin and authorship of each single book of the New Testament brought these facts to light, and led not a few inquirers to reject it as spurious. The doubt thus originated has been strengthened, in the judgment of many critics, by the contents of the Epistle. Their character, it is said, and not without truth, differs from that of the first. It is less Pauline in its tone, and more apocalyptic; deals more in dark and awful pictures of the wickedness of false teachers and their followers, and of the final close of all things by the coming of the Son of Man, and the manifestation of the new heaven and the new earth. The very language in which that manifestation is spoken of, the answer given to those who began to ask the question, "Where then is the promise of His coming?"—when they saw that year after year passed on without the fulfilment of that promise—points, it is said, to a date later than any which comes within the limits of St. Peter's life. Lastly, there is the striking parallelism between chap. ii. of this Epistle and that which bears the name of St. Jude. That resemblance is, of course, perfectly compatible with the hypothesis of St. Peter's authorship, whatever view we take of the mutual relations of the two documents. Either writer might have reproduced what had been written by the other, or both might have drawn from some common source. The resemblance is therefore not in itself, like the want of external evidence or the difference of style, an objection to the genuineness of the Epistle. It is a phenomenon that has to be accounted for, and possibly this explanation may lead us to view the other more perplexing phenomena in their true light.

It is obvious that on the admission of its spuriousness the Epistle loses much of its interest and value. There is no question here of a conjectural or traditional authorship, such as that with which we have to deal in regard to the Gospels, which do not in their text, as

distinct from their titles, claim to be written by this or that disciple. If the Epistle be not by St. Peter, it is a deliberate and, from our modern point of view, fraudulent personation. The writer claims to be "Simeon, an apostle of Jesus Christ," to have been present in the holy mount, and to have heard the voice that came from heaven at the vision of the "excellent glory" of the Transfiguration. If he were not this, and the document itself was an apocryphal writing of the second century, then its interest would be limited to the fact that it bears witness (1) to the authority of the first Epistle, of which it claims to be the successor; (2) to the reception of a narrative of the Transfiguration like that contained in the first three Gospels, and therefore, by inference, to the recognition of the narrative of those Gospels as a whole; (3) to the existence of a collection, more or less complete, of the Epistles of St. Paul, and to the recognition of their authority even by those who looked to St. Peter, the Apostle of the Circumcision, as their guide and teacher. We need not undervalue the importance of the testimony thus given, but it is clear that, if this were all, the Epistle would have to take its place among the *Apocrypha* of the New Testament, and that its claims upon our reverence and faith would be altogether gone.

Here, as elsewhere, the argument from coincidences has a claim to be heard. Do we find resemblances between the two Epistles, such as would be natural in the same writer, but such also as are too inconspicuous to admit of our believing that a writer of a later date would have hit upon them as giving the supposititious document which he meant to foist upon the Church the character of genuineness? I submit that the following, comparatively minute as they may seem, have this character:—

(1) We have this exceptional form of salutation, "Grace and peace *be multiplied*," in both Epistles, and in them only.

(2) In 1 Pet. i. 19, we have the combination of the words ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου ("without blemish and without spot"). In 2 Pet. ii. 13, we have the like combination, as in a writer to whom the one word naturally suggested the other, of σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι ("spots and blemishes"). So again, ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι, in 2 Pet. iii. 14, the latter word not occurring elsewhere in the New Testament.

(3) The use of the rare verb ἐποπτεύειν ("behold") in 1 Pet. ii. 12; iii. 2, and of the equally rare noun ἐπόπται in 2 Pet. i. 16, neither word occurring elsewhere in the New Testament.

(4) The remarkable use of the word ἀρετή ("virtue"), as applied to God, in 1 Pet. ii. 9 (where it is wrongly translated "praises" in the Authorised Version) and 2 Pet. i. 3.

(5) The writer's fondness for the word "precious" in both Epistles, as applied to faith (2 Pet. i. 1), the trial of faith (1 Pet. i. 7), the blood of Christ (1 Pet. i. 19), the promises of the Gospel (2 Pet. i. 4).

(6) Each Epistle quotes a whole verse from the Book of Proverbs, quotations from which occur but seldom in the Apostolic writings: 1 Pet. iv. 18, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" from the Greek version of Prov. xi. 31; and 2 Pet. ii. 22, "The dog is returned to his own vomit again," from Prov. xxvi. 11.

(7) The use of ἡ ὁδὸς ("the *way* of truth") in 2 Pet. ii. 2, in the half-technical sense, as equivalent to the faith or religion of Christianity, that was characteristic of the Apostolic age (Acts xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 22), but was not common in the age that followed.

In addition to these verbal coincidences, we may note some that affect the substance and teaching of the Epistle. In both, the gift of prophecy and the existence of an order of prophets in the Apostolic Church are prominent topics of thought (1 Pet. i. 10—12; 2 Pet. i. 19—21; iii. 2). In both, stress is laid upon the teaching of the history of the Deluge (1 Pet. iii. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 5; iii. 6). In both, there is the same reference to deeper, half-traditional mysteries connected with that history, to the "spirits in prison that had been aforetime disobedient," to "the angels that sinned," and were connected, in some mysterious way, with the sins that brought about that great judgment.

The incidental mention of Silvanus in 1 Pet. v. 12, as has been pointed out already, explains the reference to St. Paul's Epistles in 2 Pet. iii. 15. That of Mark, in 1 Pet. v. 13, taken together with the traditional connection of his Gospel with St. Peter, fits in with the declaration of the writer of the second Epistle that "he would endeavour that his readers should be able, after his decease, to have the things of which he wrote in remembrance, so that they might feel sure that they had not followed cunningly-devised fables" (2 Pet. i. 15, 16), and with the numerous verbal coincidences between both the Epistles and the Gospel which bears St. Mark's name. In the words, "Knowing that the putting off of my tabernacle cometh suddenly" (2 Pet. i. 14), we may trace a distinct reference to the words of our Lord in the narrative recorded in John xxi.; while in 1 Pet. v. 2—4, "Feed the flock of God that is among you . . . when Christ the chief Shepherd shall appear," we have an equally distinct echo of the thrice-repeated command, "Feed my sheep," in the same chapter.

So far for the points of resemblance, which at least tend to show identity of authorship. What explanation can be given of the more startling and prominent differences? The answer is to be found, I believe, in the state of the Church in the period to which these Epistles and the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul and that of St. Jude all alike belong. It was a time of persecution, of morbid excitement, of strange heresies, of wild lawlessness. In every church there were prophets stirred with the thought of what they saw around them, of what they beheld in vision as in the near or distant future. St. Peter, we have seen, wrote his first Epistle at the commencement of such a period. Assume an interval of a year or two, or even of a few months, and there would be time for these phenomena to affect his thoughts and speech. It might well be that as St. Paul records words which the Spirit had spoken expressly in

prophetic utterances in the Church (1 Tim. iv. 1), so St. Peter might have heard or read a "prophetic word" (2 Pet. i. 19), full of like warnings and denunciations. Such a "word of prophecy," in proportion to the impression it made on men's minds, would be reproduced with more or less variation, and transcribed and circulated, would become, as it were, the text of Apostolic sermons. This is, I believe, the natural and sufficient explanation of the resemblance between the Second Epistle of St. Peter and the Epistle of St. Jude. It explains also, in no small measure, the difference between the tone and thought of the two Epistles now under consideration; the stress laid upon "true knowledge" (ἐπίγνωσις) (2 Pet. i. 2, 3, 8; ii. 20; iii. 18), in contrast with the speculative knowledge of which the false teachers boasted; on the truth of the facts of which the Apostle had been an eye-witness, in contrast with the cunningly-devised "fables," against which St. Paul, no less than St. Peter, utters so strong a protest (2 Pet. i. 16).

But it would follow, on this supposition, that an Epistle sent by a special messenger to churches excited, persecuted, unsettled, would not be received in the same way, or publicly read to the same extent, as one which dealt more with the great truths, promises, laws of life, which belonged fully to every age, and met the wants of every heart. As a matter of fact, even after its reception into the canon of Scripture, the Second Epistle of St. Peter has never attracted the minds of men to study it in the same measure as the First. If we may reason from this later experience, it is open to us to believe that, after having done its work, it was for a time less read, sought after, circulated—practically, perhaps, forgotten; and that, therefore, when it was rescued from this obscurity, it was viewed at first with suspicion and distrust. The fact that it was afterwards received, in spite of that suspicion, may, at least, be held as showing (even while we do not claim any very high critical authority for their judgment) that the more the Epistle was known, the more scholars and collectors of MSS., like Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, not altogether careless of such questions, or incompetent to deal with them, came to know the facts of the case, the more they were disposed to look on the evidence in its favour as stronger than the doubts and distrust which sprung out of gaps and defects in that evidence. In that conclusion we too may be content to rest.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE.

So much has been said of this Epistle in connection with that with which it is so closely allied, and with the special difficulties which it here and there presents, that it will not be necessary to do more than say a few words as to the writer and the readers of the Epistle. The fact that it, too, was placed by Eusebius among the *Antilegomena*, or disputed writings, and that it is absent from the *Peschito* or earliest Syriac version, ought not, indeed, to be passed over; but it admits of the same explanation as that which applied to the Second Epistle of St. Peter. It was recognised, however, in the Muratorian Canon, and by Origen. We may reasonably infer, from the fact that the writer calls himself, not an "apostle," but a "servant" of Jesus Christ, and refers to the apostles (ver. 17) as a distinct body, that he himself was not of the number of the twelve. This, of course, at once distinguishes him from the "Judas, not Iscariot," the "Judas, brother [or, possibly, son] of James," of whom we read in the Gospels. His further description of himself as "brother of James," as his claim to be heard, connects him with the Bishop of Jerusalem, and helps us to identify him with the Judas who is named in Matt. xiii. 55, as among the brethren of the Lord. On this assumption, all that was said of the early life of his more conspicuous brother, the early want of faith, the subsequent full belief, applies equally to him. Of his work in the Apostolic Church we know absolutely nothing, and we only learn from a tradition that his grandchildren were brought before the Emperor Domitian as belonging to the kingly line of David, and were found to be poor working men, from whom no political danger could be apprehended; that he probably continued to reside in Palestine, and was, perhaps, the only one of the family that continued the life of the carpenter's shop of Nazareth. We may infer, from his reference to his brother James as clothing his words with authority, from the quotations or references to purely Jewish traditions, oral or written, that the writer was himself of the church of circumcision, and was writing to members of that church, at a time when they were in danger, not so much from the Judaising, Pharisaic tendency against which St. Paul had contended, as from the half-Gnostic, half-Oriental Jewish fables, coming from those who claimed to be doctors of the Law, and yet were lawless and ungodly, and who represented the second growth of heresies in the Apostolic Church. To what section of that church he wrote, we have no certain knowledge. The state of the Asiatic churches, as described in the Pastoral Epistles and those of St. Peter, might well lead us to think of them; but the same phenomena were probably to be found almost everywhere. As in those Epistles, so here, the "faith," in its objective sense as almost equivalent to a creed, is assumed to have been preached, delivered, handed down, and men are called upon to "contend earnestly" for it. The key-note of the whole group is the "putting men in remembrance" of what they knew before.

The special difficulties connected with the traditions about Michael the archangel disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, and the quotation from the prophecy of Enoch, do not require any full discussion. It may be enough to say that these allusive references do not compel us to give to either a higher authority than they would possess had they not been mentioned. It would be a strained and untenable view of inspiration to assume that the one tradition out of many that had surrounded the life of Moses with legendary fancies, the one passage in a book certainly apocryphal, originating, perhaps, in the time of the Maccabees,

developed under Herod the Great, otherwise full of wild and fantastic dreams, were in this way taken from the mass of worthless matter with which they were associated, and then stamped and re-issued with a new and divine authority. What we may legitimately infer is the strong hold which such traditions and such books had upon the minds even of devout Christians; how largely they may have influenced the thoughts of men as to the remote past and the immediate future. As men held the treasure of the truth in earthen vessels, as they built upon the one foundation, not only gold and silver and precious stones, but wood, hay, stubble, so it was here. As we cannot suppose for a moment that these facts were specially revealed to the writer of the Epistle, or that they had been handed down by a tradition from primitive times, of which not a trace exists in the canonical or apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, no other conclusion is open to us than to see here that mingling of the divine and human which we recognise in greater or less measure throughout the sacred volume. Recognising in that volume diversities of gifts and degrees of greatness, we may see in the absence from St. Paul's Epistles of such references and quotations, a token that the mind of the great Apostle lived and breathed habitually in a higher atmosphere; did not dwell on that which filled the thoughts of others, or, at least, took its place among their familiar imagery; and saw more clearly than others the truth as it is in Jesus. What we do learn from the presence of the allusions in St. Jude's Epistle is that the acceptance of such traditions does not affect the testimony which a man bears to the things which he has seen and heard, or to the faith which has been delivered to him, or the strength of his protest against evil, or the fulness and fervour of his hope or love. That is a lesson which it is well to bear in mind as we look back upon the long history of the Church of Christ, and are tempted to place on the same level the essential convictions and the floating opinions, or incidental allusive references, of those who have been among the saints of God; and it is a gain and not a loss to have a crucial instance to guide us in such an epistle as that which bears the name of St. Jude.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

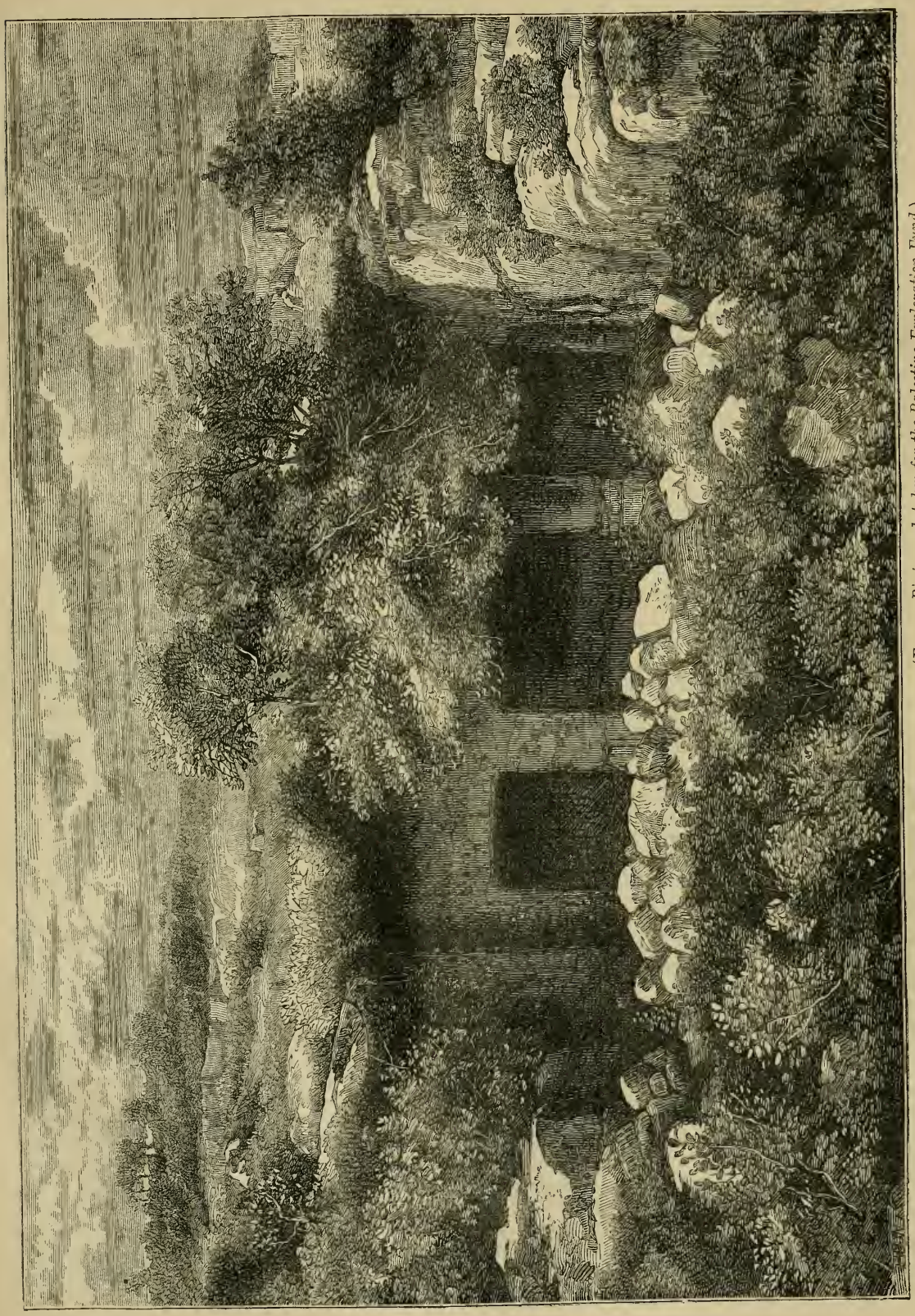
PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

VI.—SAMARIA (*concluded*).

SAMARIA was founded by Omri in the sixth year of his reign, and became the capital of the kingdom of Israel until its capture by the Assyrians about B.C. 721. Here Ahab raised a magnificent temple to Baal, which was afterwards destroyed by Jehu on the occasion of the slaughter of the priests and worshippers of Baal (2 Kings x. 23—27); and it was in the pool of Samaria that Ahab's chariot was washed after the disastrous battle of Ramoth-gilead, "and the dogs licked up his blood, and they washed his armour, according unto the word of the Lord which he spake" (1 Kings xxii. 38). The city was twice ineffectually besieged by Benhadad, king of Syria, and on the second occasion was miraculously relieved after the inhabitants had been reduced by famine to the most horrible extremities to sustain life; the whole story of the siege, with the episode of the two women (2 Kings vi. 26—29), is one of the most thrilling in the Old Testament, and the local circumstances attending it have been well brought out by Van de Velde: "As the mountains round the hill of Shemer are higher than that hill itself, the enemy must have been able to discover clearly the internal condition of the besieged Samaria. . . . . The inhabitants, whether they turned their eyes upwards or downwards, to the surrounding hills, or into the valley, must have seen all full of enemies. . . . . The mountains, and the adjacent circle of hills, were so densely occupied by the enemy that not a man could pass through to bring provisions to the beleaguered city. The Syrians on the hills must have been able, from where they stood, plainly to distinguish the famishing inhabitants." On the third occasion the city was taken by the Assyrians, but only after a siege of three years, and with its fall the kingdom of Israel came to an end. In later years Samaria was rebuilt by Herod the Great, who embellished it with fine buildings, and called it Sebaste, whence it derives its present name Sebustiyeh, one of the few instances in which the more modern name has entirely supplanted the older one. It was to the Sebaste built by Herod that Philip went down to preach the Gospel; and "there was great joy in that city," and many, "both men and women, were baptised;" amongst others, Simon the sorcerer, who was afterwards so severely reproved by St. Peter for his worldliness (Acts viii. 5—25).

In the hills west of Nablus, Lieutenant Conder has succeeded in bringing to light many ancient sites previously unknown, and amongst others the extensive ruins of Deir Asruhr, which he identifies with Sozuza, the seat of a Christian bishop, first mentioned at the Council of Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century. The ruins occupy a commanding position, and cover an area of about a square mile; many of the buildings are in a fair state of preservation, and appear to be Roman, or even older, but the place has not yet been identified with any Bible name. Proceeding southwards from Nablus along the rich plain of El Mukhna, and passing Lubban (Lebonah),



TIBNEH (TIMNATH), THE SUPPOSED TOMB OF JOSHUA. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

we reach the ruins of Seilun (Shiloh), the position of which is given with great minuteness in Judg. xxi. 19, as being "on the north side of Bethel, on the east of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah." The ruins of Shiloh cover the surface of a *tell* on a spur that lies between two valleys which unite about a quarter of a mile above Khan Lubban. In their present state they are nothing more than the ruins of an Arab village, but there are traces of early foundations, and the walls are built of old material; the most interesting feature is a sort of level open court, seventy-seven feet wide, and four hundred and twelve feet long, partly hewn out of the rock, that may very possibly have been prepared to receive the tabernacle, which, according to Rabbinical traditions, was "a structure of low stone walls, with the tent drawn over the top." It is at any rate important to find a place, in the undoubted ruins of Shiloh, sufficiently large to have received a tent of the dimensions of the tabernacle, and one apparently specially prepared for its reception. It was at Shiloh that the ark rested from the death of Joshua till its capture by the Philistines at the disastrous battle of Aphek, and here, in the most sacred of Jewish sanctuaries, Samuel was brought up and called to the prophetic office. After the loss of the ark and death of Eli, Shiloh appears to have been deserted, and Jeremiah (vii. 12) refers to it as a striking example of the Divine indignation: "Go ye now to my place which is in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel." In the hill-sides round the ruins are several rock-hewn tombs, in one of which, if we may trust Jewish tradition, Eli and his sons were buried; and in a small valley to the north-east is a spring which may have been the scene of the seizure of "the daughters of Shiloh" by the Benjamites, when the men lay in wait in the vineyards for the women as they went forth "to dance in dances." There is no grandeur or beauty in the position of Shiloh, but from its seclusion and central situation it was well adapted to be the resting-place of the ark and the principal sanctuary of the Jewish nation.

Southward from Seilun lies Jifna, the ancient Gophna, and hence the old Roman road, which passed westwards by Tibneh to the maritime plain, and Cæsarea can be plainly traced. Tibneh has generally been identified with Timnath-serah, or Timnath-heres, the town given to Joshua after the partition of the country between the twelve tribes, and in "the border" of which he was buried. The ruins are of some extent, but consist merely of heaps of stones; the surrounding country is wild and rugged, and must have been extremely picturesque when the hill-sides were covered with terraces bearing olive and vine. In the rocks south of the ruins are a number of tombs, one of which, having certain peculiarities in its construction, has been identified by several writers with the tomb of Joshua. On the face of a sort of vestibule in front of the tomb are some two hundred niches for lamps, arranged in vertical rows; they are all more or less blackened by smoke, and when filled with lighted lamps must have presented a wild weird appearance, throwing out long shadows from the pillars which support the roof. From the vestibule a small low door leads into the first tomb chamber, in which are five *loculi*, or receptacles for bodies, with the usual bench running in front of them; hence a passage about seven feet long, and two and a half feet high, runs into a second and smaller chamber, with a single *loculus* at the end, which is supposed to have been the last resting-place of Joshua. The whole arrangement of the tomb is peculiar, and unlike anything existing elsewhere in Palestine; but there is no tradition, nor indeed anything to show that it is Joshua's tomb, with the exception of its close proximity to the supposed site of Timnath.

At the southern extremity of Samaria lay Bethel, the "house of God," a name which has passed into our language almost as a household word, and now represented by the few Arab houses that form the village of Beitin, on the high road from Jerusalem to Nablus. There are the remains of a square tower, a small church, an old pool, which receives the water of a small spring, and in the rocks towards the west a large number of rock-hewn tombs. The ruins lie at the head of a valley, which soon deepens into a grand gorge, as it falls to the Jordan Valley, and behind them the ground rises a little to a broad shoulder on which the natural rock has been worn by the weather into strange forms, amongst which Jacob may have laid himself down to sleep after taking of "the stones of that place and putting them for his pillow." It was here that, during his dream, Jacob received the promise, that in him and in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed; and on awakening he took the stone that had served for his pillow, and setting it up for a pillar, anointed it, and called the name of the place Bethel, thus changing its name from Luz, by which it had previously been known. On his return from Padan-aram, whilst passing down the country from Shechem to Mamre, Jacob again stayed at Bethel, and erected an altar on the place where God had appeared to him during his dream. In after years, Bethel was one of the towns to which Samuel went each year in circuit to judge the people, but it was in connection with the worship of the Golden Calf, after the division of the country into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, that the place became of so much importance. The sanctity attached to Bethel from its having been the site of Jacob's altar, and its position, within sight of the Temple at Jerusalem, made it well adapted to become the great southern sanctuary of the kingdom of Israel, and its situation commanding the road to the north, and the southern passes from the Jordan Valley, rendered it of no slight importance as a border fortress. We can only allude to the tragic story of the man of God of Judah, who boldly presented himself before Jeroboam, as he stood by the altar to burn incense, and predicted the vengeance of the Lord (1 Kings xiii. 1—32), a prediction so remarkably fulfilled when Josiah brake down the altar and the high place, and "took the bones out

of the sepulchres, and burned them upon the altar, and polluted it" (2 Kings xxiii. 15, 16); and will conclude by drawing attention to the curious fact, that every Jew who worshipped on Mount Moriah must have had before him evidence of the idolatry which was so widely spread over the country in the glistening walls of the temple of Bethel; and that every priest who offered on the altar of Jeroboam must have been reminded of the purer worship in the Temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JEHOSHAPHAT.

BY THE REV. W. BENHAM, B.D., VICAR OF MARGATE.

[Places where mentioned:—1 Kings xv. 24; xxii., *passim*; 2 Kings i. 17; iii. *passim*; viii. 16; xii. 18; 1 Chron. iii. 10; 2 Chron. xvii.—xx., *passim*; xxi. 1, 2, 12; xxii. 9; Joel iii. 2, 12; Matt. i. 8.]

JEHOSHAPHAT, the fourth king of Judah, was the son of Asa and Azubah. Of his mother no further mention is made. His father reigned over Judah for forty-one years, and is pronounced in the Book of Kings to have done that which is right in the sight of the Lord; though the account in the Chronicles exhibits some unfavourable features in his character. He began very well, and showed his zeal for the Lord by casting out idolatry. But afterwards, when the animosity between the sister kingdoms had broken out more bitterly than ever, he resorted to the fatal expedient of calling in foreign help against his adversary. It was the beginning of a gloomy end. He imprisoned the seer, Hanani, for rebuking him, and "oppressed some of the people at the same time" (see 2 Chron. xvi. 7—10). His growing worldliness was further shown by the fact, that when seized with disease, "he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians." He died in B.C. 917, and was honoured with a magnificent funeral (2 Chron. xvi. 13, 14).

The accession of Jehoshaphat was welcomed with bright hopes by the nation. They brought him presents, and he had riches and honour in abundance (2 Chron. xvii. 5, 6). And the hopes were not disappointed. "He walked," we are told, "in the first ways of his father"[1] (xvii. 3). His influence grew and increased so much that the fear of the Lord fell upon the kingdoms around; none made war upon him, and the Philistines and Arabians brought him tribute.

Two distinct features marked the early portion of the reign. The first is the means which he set on foot for the education of the people. In the third year of his reign he appointed five princes to take the general superintendence of the work, and established them in the cities of Judah. And with them he sent Levites and priests, who taking the book of the Law with them, went about through the cities of Judah and taught the people. It is, in fact, the first missionary effort on record. He had resumed his father's crusade against idolatry, but he had found, also, that there was need of something more than mere iconoclasm. We can easily imagine the ignorant, practically heathen state in which the people lived. For the first time, instruction in the ways of God was brought to their homes. As old Matthew Henry well writes, "He dealt with them as reasonable creatures, and would not lead them blindfold, no, not into a reformation, but endeavoured to have them well taught, knowing that that was the way to have them well cured." The organisation thus set on foot was, in all probability, the beginning of the synagogue system, which Ezra afterwards so fully extended and completed.

His second step was to reorganise the military force. He built castles and storehouses in Judah; increased the means of communication and traffic with the towns, and garrisoned them; and he made Jerusalem a great centre of military operations. Like David, he had his heroes (*gibborim*), or mighty men, of which one Adnah was commander. There were two other captains from the tribe of Judah, and two of Benjamin.

Meanwhile great changes had taken place in the kingdom of Israel. The alliance between Asa and Benhadad had proved too much for Baasha, and in all probability hastened his end. His son Elah, after a reign of two years, had perished by the sword of Zimri, and a time of dreadful anarchy followed, which was brought to an end by Omri, who succeeded to the northern throne ten years before the accession of Jehoshaphat to that of Judah. Seven years later—that is, therefore, three years before the accession of Jehoshaphat—Ahab succeeded Omri, and a new policy began. A close alliance was entered into between Jehoshaphat and Ahab. It proved disastrous, but it might have been most beneficial. Ahab was of a disposition which, rightly directed, might have made him a blessing to his people. "The Scripture—which speaks of the cities which he built, and his ivory house, and his might, and the wars which he warred—leaves the impression upon our minds that he was intellectually superior to his predecessors, of a higher ambition, less narrow in his notions. He had not the dread which Jeroboam felt of intercourse with Jerusalem; he cultivated the friendship of Jehoshaphat" (Maurice's *Prophets and Kings*, p. 125). Certainly, peace between two sister kingdoms must be better than war. And there was

[1] Our version has "his father David;" but such a phrase occurs nowhere else, and it is hard to make sense of it as thus applied. The LXX. and some Hebrew MSS. omit "David," which reading is confirmed by internal evidence. There will be evident significance in making a distinction between the first and last years of Asa.

nothing, therefore, in the alliance which appeared to threaten the peace of either people. But Ahab formed another alliance. He married Jezebel of Sidon, and at once succumbed to her stronger will. His first step was to naturalise the worship of her country; and from that day Baal worship was the established religion of Israel, never to be rooted out until the ruthless hand of Jehu destroyed it and the Ahab dynasty together. This made the alliance dangerous, which otherwise would have been wise and politic; for a man who touches pitch will be defiled. But the danger was greatly increased by the cordiality of the alliance, resulting in an intermarriage. Jehoshaphat's heir, Jehoram, married Ahab's daughter, Athaliah. There is a Jewish tradition that when Ahab humbled himself for his sin (1 Kings xxi. 27—29) and lay in sackcloth, he sent for Jehoshaphat to advise and exhort him, and even submitted to hard stripes from his hand. This is most likely sheer fable, but the penitence of Ahab was very probably known to Jehoshaphat, and may have led to the visit of Jehoshaphat to Samaria. It was the first visit since the disruption of Solomon's monarchy. To testify his pleasure at so auspicious an occasion—as a man of the world would be sure to call it—Ahab prepared great festivities to flatter and honour his guest. All was splendour and hopefulness. The star of peace had surely now returned (2 Chron. xviii. 2).

A practical result followed upon this interchange of compliments. Ahab proposed an offensive alliance against the king of Syria, and an attack on Ramoth-gilead. Jehoshaphat's father had made alliance with Syria against Israel; the son may have rejoiced in thinking that he was following a better and more enlightened course. He entered into it heartily. "I am as thou art," he said; "my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses." But his overflowing amiability did not overpower his piety towards God. He would not go forth until counsel had been sought at the mouth of the Lord. Then began a scene which the Scripture depicts with marvellous dramatic power. Four hundred false prophets, either worshippers of the golden calves, or fresh importations by Jezebel of Baalites, raised the cry, "Go up and prosper." Jehoshaphat was not satisfied. He would fain hear a prophet of the Lord; and Micaiah, the son of Imlah, was remembered by Ahab, though he added, "I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil." It was he, according to Josephus, who had denounced Ahab for letting Benhadad escape (1 Kings xx. 35—43). The consultation with Micaiah added, in Ahab's warped and self-willed judgment, a fresh instance of Micaiah's ill-will to him, for the prophet foretold, in solemn and impassioned words, what the terrible result of the expedition would be. It was an evil spirit, he said, which had entered into his flatterers, even the spirit of false prophecy. It would bring him to his death, and all Israel would be scattered, as sheep that have not a shepherd. One of the false prophets, Zedekiah, thereupon struck Micaiah on the cheek, with taunting words; to which Josephus makes two curious additions. He says that Zedekiah taunted Micaiah with contradicting Elijah, for whereas Micaiah was foretelling the king's fall at Ramoth-gilead, Elijah had said that the dogs should lick up his blood in Naboth's vineyard. And Josephus adds, that when Zedekiah struck Micaiah, he defied him thus: "Ye shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Iddo caused the hand of King Jeroboam to wither." The apparent triumph of the experiment, Josephus adds, put an end to Ahab's hesitations, and even induced Jehoshaphat to overcome his scruples.

Ahab, however, was ill at ease, and like the coward which he continually showed himself to be, he determined to save himself, at his friend's risk, from the ruin which Micaiah had foretold. On pretence of giving up the post of command to Jehoshaphat, he persuaded him to assume his royal robes, while he disguised himself as a common soldier. Perhaps he hoped Jehoshaphat's uprightness would protect him. The ruse was nearly proving fatal to Jehoshaphat. The Syrian captains, commissioned to fight only against Ahab, thought that Jehoshaphat was he, and surrounded him. "But Jehoshaphat cried out, and the Lord helped him; and God moved them to depart from him" (2 Chron. xviii. 31). Meanwhile a chance arrow, shot, according to tradition, from the bow of Naaman, struck Ahab between the joints of his armour, and wounded him in the lung. He lingered until nightfall, and then died.

Jehoshaphat returned home in peace, but was met with a stern rebuke from Jehu, the son of that Hanani who had rebuked his father (2 Chron. xix. 2). He seems to have laid the warning to heart,[1] and gave himself once more to the subject of internal reform. This time it was judicial reform which he took in hand. He appointed judges in each city of his kingdom, and constituted a judicial court at Jerusalem, for purposes, apparently, of final appeal, in both ecclesiastical and state matters (2 Chron. xix. 8). It consisted of priests, Levites, and the "chief of the fathers of Israel." Over the ecclesiastical court he placed Amariah, the high priest; over the secular, Zebadiah, the ruler of the house of Judah. The charge which he delivered on this occasion is given in 2 Chron. xix., and there seems to be a distinct reference to it in Ps. lxxxii.

The alliance, however, with the kingdom of Israel still had attractions for him, and he joined Ahab's son Ahaziah, not in a warlike, but a commercial enterprise. No harm, he might think, was likely to come of that; it was merely a partnership for the material good of the two peoples. Where Solomon had built ships, namely, at Ezion-geber (Suez), the two kings founded a fleet to sail into tropical seas, and bring Indian riches home. But again a prophetic voice was raised against the expedition, and it came true, for the ships were broken to pieces (2 Chron. xx. 35—37). Ahaziah proposed a second attempt, but Jehoshaphat refused (1 Kings xxii. 49).

[1] Josephus adds that he performed expiatory sacrifices to God.

More glorious is the next passage in his life. A vast host of Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites formed a confederacy against him; and Jehoshaphat was startled by the sudden news that they had appeared in the rich gardens of En-gedi, west of the Dead Sea (2 Chron. xx. 2).[1] His first step, in contrast to the character of his father Asa, was to seek the Lord's help, by proclaiming a fast, and summoning a congregation to the Temple. The people assembled from all the cities, men, women, and children (ver. 13), and Jehoshaphat led the worship. His prayer, which is given at length, bases his hope upon the petition uttered by Solomon, and declares that he has no help to look for but God's. Upon this, Jahaziel, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, came—as Isaiah afterwards to Hezekiah—with an assurance that his confidence shall be rewarded. "To-morrow," said he, "go ye down against them: behold, they come up by the cliff of Ziz; and ye shall find them at the end of the valley, before the wilderness of Jeruel. Ye shall not need to fight in this battle." Ziz was a steep and difficult zigzag path, cut in the face of the rock. It is the only pass from En-gedi to Jerusalem, and is the route still taken by the Arabs in their marauding expeditions (Dr. Robinson). The assurance was implicitly believed, and the Levites immediately poured forth a song of praise, as if the victory were already won. The next morning, the whole body of the people went forth as appointed, singers in the van of the army, singing their hallelujahs.

How the sudden rout was accomplished we are not clearly told. "The Lord," we are told, "set ambushments" against the enemy, which is interpreted that the men whom the enemy had set in ambush against Judah, fell, by mistake or designedly, upon their own allies, which led to mutual distrust throughout the whole army, so that Ammonites and Moabites fell upon Edomites, and afterwards on one another. The tremendous overthrow is described with vivid power in the sacred narrative, as well as in the Psalms which belong to the period. Take, for example, the 83rd Psalm, which by almost universal consent refers to this event. It throws some fresh light on the history. It begins by describing how the enemies of the Lord took counsel against His "secret ones" (that is, those whom He holds in the hollow of His hand), and resolved to blot out the name of Israel altogether. It gives a list of the confederates, more complete than that in the Chronicles—Edom, Ishmael, Moab, the Hagarenes, Gebal, Ammon, Amalek, the Philistines, Tyrians, and children of Asshur. Two or three in this list call for special remark. The Hagarenes dwelt in the land of Gilead, near, therefore, to Ammon. Gebal is probably the mountain country south of the Dead Sea. The Philistines and the Tyrians, I need not say, were on the west of Judah; the rest on the east. There is no mention of the western invaders in the Chronicles. Their adhesion to the coalition proves how mighty was the danger. Jehoshaphat was literally surrounded by enemies. If by Asshur is meant Assyria, as is generally the case, it is the first mention since the days of Nimrod (Gen. x. 11). The Assyrian monarchy was now an infant power, and this may be its first appearance on the scene where it afterwards played so formidable a part; or the word may mean here *Syria*, in which case we may assume that the confederacy, as far as Syria was concerned, was in retaliation for the help which Jehoshaphat had given Ahab. The expression "they have holpen the children of Lot," is explained by the statement in Chronicles, that the latter had organised the confederacy.

The 48th Psalm, again, gives a splendid description of the overthrow. One illustration, in the rush of the poetic fervour, is taken from a painful experience of the king. "Fear came there upon them, and pain, as of a woman in travail, and as thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with the east wind." The deliverance was to him an assurance of what he had always been taught to believe, "That which we have heard [in the history of past times], such have we seen" (cf. Job xlii. 5). The 47th Psalm belongs to the same happy period.

The valley where this mighty invasion was crushed and destroyed, and where the Jews were three days busily engaged collecting the spoils, was called "the Valley of Berachah" [*i. e.*, Blessing], "because there they blessed the Lord." The prophet Joel speaks of "the valley of Jehoshaphat" (chap. iii. 2), and this is the name now given to the valley of the Kedron. The explanation is probably this: there is a paronomasia on the word "Jehoshaphat," which means, "whose cause the Lord judgeth;" and the prophet, foretelling the overthrow of the nations which oppress Israel, exclaims, "Gather them together into the valley of Kedron; it shall become for them like the valley in which Ammon and Moab fell before Jehoshaphat, for here I will judge my people's cause." Here, be it remembered, was Gethsemane, whence our Lord was dragged to the house of Caiaphas, hard by. He summons, in vision, the nations to witness His sorrow, and judges them by His pierced hands. Wherever Christ crucified is preached, that place becomes to the hearer a valley of Jehoshaphat. The expression "valley of decision" in verse 14 is doubtless an equivalent to this, but "decision" should be translated "hewing in pieces," which makes the simile closer between the judgment of the children of Lot and the final judgment of all the enemies of God.

In the last act which is recorded in Jehoshaphat's life, we have still another sign of the close alliance between the two kingdoms, and it is one in which, as each time before, Jehoshaphat is brought into straits, but is delivered for his faithfulness' sake. And the impression left by this last story is, that though it cost him trouble and anxiety, yet it made him an instrument of deliverance and of good to his ally.[2] Jehoram, the son of Ahab, was to a certain extent a religious reformer, though he is described as having wrought evil in the

[1] For "Syria" read "Edom" in this passage, ארם for ארם. Hazazon-tamar is interpreted by Gesenius "the field of the pastures."

[2] The fact of his having the same name as his brother-in-law, the son of Jehoshaphat, is another indication of community of feeling.

sight of the Lord (see 2 Kings iii. 1—3). He may have been influenced for good by Jehoshaphat. His accession (B.C. 896) was the signal for the revolt of the king of Moab, who had been tributary to Ahab. Jehoram applied to Jehoshaphat for assistance, and it was readily given. The king of Edom also joined the confederacy. The allies passed southward round the Dead Sea, in order to attack the rebellious king from an unexpected quarter. Elisha the prophet, apparently in consequence of a Divine intimation, accompanied the army, unknown to the allied kings. An unforeseen calamity fell upon them; they journeyed seven days through the wilderness of Edom, and found no water. The king of Israel, as his manner was (cf. vi. 33), found no resource but to complain against God, while Jehoshaphat immediately inquired for a prophet of the Lord. Then came the remarkable scene with Elisha; the stern rebuke of the son of Jezebel; the mercy shown for Jehoshaphat's sake; the minstrel, under whose skilful hand the prophet grew calm, and ready for the prophetic impulse; the trenches dug in the sand; the night of waiting; the fulfilled hopes when the morning dawned; the delusion of the Moabites, followed by their utter discomfiture. Kir-haraseth, the strong mountain-fortress of Moab, was levelled with the ground. A ghastly tragedy followed. The king of Moab, hemmed in on all sides, made one desperate effort to break through the besieging host. This failing, in the frenzy of despair, he took his eldest son, and sacrificed him before them all.[1] A shudder of indignation ran through the besiegers, and in very pity they turned away from him and went home.

These are the records which remain of the life of Jehoshaphat. He died in the year 892, at the age of sixty. One warning moral of his life has been drawn with much power by Dr. J. A. Hessey. In his lectures on the Kings of Judah, he heads that on Jehoshaphat with the words "The Dangers of Indecision." But the dangers, great as they were, were all surmounted. The intermarriage alone proved disastrous. Athaliah, true daughter of her mother Jezebel, is like a blood-stained thread in the woof of Jewish history, until Jehoiada's revolution puts her out of the way. But on the whole Jehoshaphat's policy, at home and abroad, was glorious and happy. There had been no reign, on the whole, so prosperous as his, and in external prosperity his kingdom "most nearly rivalled the grandeur of that of David."

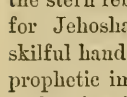
[1] This seems clearly the meaning of the words of 2 Kings iii. 27; and the facts are so stated at length by Josephus. Some, however, suppose that the king of Moab offered the king of Edom's son, resting that opinion mainly upon Amos ii. 1; but an uncertain tradition preserved by Jerome explains the latter passage by stating that the king of Moab, in revenge of what he had suffered, sacrilegiously disinterred the body of the king of Edom after his death, and burned it into lime.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE:—(3) RACES IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL, FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.

§ (5).—TIME OF OUR LORD.



IN bringing these papers on the Ethnology of Palestine to a close, by some account of the races found in that country at the commencement of the Christian era, our space (already as far as this subject is concerned all but exhausted) will not permit us to enter into many details.

At the time of the Captivity, we found the Holy Land in many places utterly desolate; and as far as it was inhabited at all, occupied chiefly by a mixed foreign population of Phœnicians, Syrians, Idumeans, Cutheans, and other alien races, with but a residuum of its former Hebrew possessors—a residuum the extent of which cannot be exactly calculated, but which must at most have been very small. Nor was it otherwise than slowly and by degrees that the edict of Cyrus, which permitted the return of the exiled Jews to their own land, effected any change on these conditions. The permission originally applied, as already noticed, only to Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity; and the whole number of persons who, at least on its first publication, were willing to take advantage of it, was 42,360, or, including the servants in attendance, under 50,000 (Ezra ii. 64). Others of the Babylonian exiles, it is true, gradually followed. Nor was there only the return of fresh detachments from among the captives beyond the Euphrates, but doubtless a continuous re-migration from among the scattered bodies of those Hebrews who, having left the country voluntarily in the troublous times which preceded the final catastrophe, had taken refuge in such asylums as were accessible to them in the territories of neighbouring peoples. Even, however, at the time of the expedition of Nehemiah (B.C. 445), nearly a hundred years after the date of the edict of Cyrus (B.C. 536), though fifteen considerable towns (including Hebron) in the tribe-lands of Judah, and fourteen considerable towns in Benjamin, with their adjacent villages, were found again colonised by Israelites (Neh. xi. 20—36), the land generally seems, as regarded its population, to have remained very much in the same state as during the Captivity. It is impossible here to trace the history of the processes by which the calamities brought on Israel by that judgment were eventually repaired. Indeed, of about 200 years—the very years, too, when some of the most important events connected with that repair must have taken place—our knowledge is extremely meagre and uncertain. For such information as we possess on the subject generally, the reader may be referred to the

articles entitled "Between the Books," in preceding pages of the present work. It is enough to say that by the time of the advent of Christ, Palestine, if not under exactly the same conditions as before the terrible convulsions it had undergone, was once more in the possession of the Chosen Seed, with a population hardly less numerous than that which crowded its narrow confines in the most prosperous days of its earlier history.

That population certainly included now, as in all former times, a considerable proportion of foreigners. The latter were of many different races. With some of these we have been already familiar in the ethnical history of Palestine at periods before noticed. An obvious example is found in the "Samaritans." How far the Cuthean settlers in Samaria of the times of the Captivity had, by intermarriage, established in course of ages a right to the claim which they sometimes made to the possession of Israelite blood in their veins, is a question that has been much debated. That upon the whole the Samaritans of the days of Christ must be regarded as not only "strangers" (Luke xvii. 18), but lineal descendants of "the strangers" introduced into "the cities of Samaria," soon after their conquest, by Shalmaneser, cannot be doubted. Then, Syrians, Arabians, Phœnicians, and Idumeans also continued to form part of the foreign inhabitants of the Holy Land (Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 2, § 34; Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 4, § 5). But fresh blood had likewise been introduced. More than 500 years had elapsed since the Return; and the new masters who had overrun the land, or temporarily occupied it, in succession, could not have failed to import new elements into its permanent population. We have, especially, distinct evidence that such a result had followed the Grecian rule. Many Palestinian cities had been originally founded and colonised by the Greeks in the times of Alexander the Great and his successors. Gerasa, for instance, is said (see Reland, *Palæst.* ii. 806) to have derived its name from the fact that it was originally peopled by a number of the older soldiers of Alexander's army, who being unfit any longer to follow the camp, fixed their residence in this trans-Jordanic city. Paneas—afterwards called by King Herod Cæsarea-Philippi—dates from the same period, and in like manner owed its foundation to the Greeks, who, indeed, left traces throughout the whole of Palestine, of a dominion which lasted nearly three centuries, in the Greek names of cities, places, and streams, which they had almost everywhere substituted for those previously in use (Ewald, *Hist.* v. 235). That in the time of Christ a considerable proportion of the Gentile population to be found in Palestine continued to be of Greek origin, the writings of Josephus everywhere bear abundant evidence. Another important element, likewise introduced since the time of the Captivity, and indeed in the days of Christ, of comparatively recent introduction, was due to the Roman conquest, and the reduction of Palestine to the position of a province of Rome.

Foreigners were not by any means to be found at this time distributed equally over all parts of the land. The principal seats of the heathen population may be very clearly ascertained from contemporary writings. Galilee, the plain of Jericho, and Samaria, are said by Strabo to have been territories inhabited by non-Israelites (*Geogr.* xvi. 2, § 34). In addition to these territories must be mentioned the region of Decapolis. This district, the limits of which are variously stated, and which was partly situated on the west, but for the most part on the east of Jordan, had everywhere (Lightfoot, x. 240) a population in which the heathen predominated.

Of the *cities* which, in the time of our Lord, contained the largest proportion of foreign inhabitants, Cæsarea demands to be first noticed. That city was the headquarters of the Roman garrison; and the foreign troops stationed there, which amounted to almost a legion, or 6,000 men (Ewald), consisting partly of Italian (Acts x. 1; xxvii. 1), but at least invariably of non-Israelite cohorts (Jos., *Ant.* xiv. 10, § 12), did not by any means constitute the chief part of its heathen inhabitants. As the seat of government, and the usual residence of the governor, very many foreigners of all classes, in ever-increasing numbers, were naturally led to take up their residence within its walls, and in the neighbouring villages, or country houses. Like the earlier town on the same site which it superseded, and which in its Greek name, Stratonis Pyrgos, bore testimony to its foreign origin, Cæsarea, indeed, had been more a Gentile than a Jewish city from its foundation. Herod the Great, by whom Cæsarea was founded, and constructed on a scale of magnificence before unknown in Palestine, colonised it from the first chiefly with foreigners (see Milman, ii. 112), of whom, according to Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 9, § 1), Greeks formed the largest proportion.

Another city remarkable now, as always, for the number of its foreign inhabitants, was the ancient Beth-shean, situated about twelve miles south of the Sea of Galilee, and four miles west of the Jordan. It was one of the Canaanite cities from which the primitive inhabitants were not wholly expelled at the period of the Conquest (Judg. i. 27). For a time it bore the name of Scythopolis (2 Macc. xii. 29; comp. with 1 Macc. v. 52; Jos., *Ant.* v. 1, § 22; vi. 14, § 8; xii. 8, § 5; Euseb., *Onom.* 118), a Greek name which indicates the presence there at one period of a Greek population, but also apparently points to an earlier occupation by races distinct at once from the Greeks and the Canaanites. Though the fact is disputed (Reland, *Palæst.* ii. 992; Robinson, *Res.* iii. 330), it appears upon the whole to be probable (Ewald, iv. 231) that the Scythians, who, according to Herodotus (*Hist.* v. 103—105), made an incursion through Palestine into Egypt about the year B.C. 600, had, as Pliny (v. 16) and a chronicler of the eighth century after Christ (G. Syncellus, *Chron.* i. 505) relate, taken possession of Beth-shean, and given occasion to the subsequent choice of its Greek name. That Beth-shean, which was still in the time of Eusebius a noble city—a fact to which even its existing ruins testify (Irby and Mangles, 92; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria,*

343)—had, about the time of Christ, a large foreign population, we have satisfactory evidence (Jos., *B. J.*, ii. 18, § 3; cf. Lightfoot, *Works*, x. 240).

We have unusually full information as to Tiberias. Tiberias was the capital of the tetrarchy of Galilee, and one of the greatest cities of Palestine. It had been built by Herod Antipas, after the birth of our Lord, and was situated within a few miles of the principal scenes of the Saviour's ministry, though we have no reason to believe that it was ever visited by Him. Josephus speaks expressly of its "Greek" inhabitants (*Vita*, § 12). Herod himself had passed most of his early life abroad, and though by religious profession a Jew, was a foreigner by descent, and all his sympathies were with foreign manners and customs. His gorgeous palace, with its gilded roof and walls adorned with idolatrous sculptures, was destroyed in the Jewish war as offensive to the religious feelings of the nation; but the fact that the city was ceremonially unclean, as being built on the site of a place of sepulture (Jos., *Vita*, § 12; Reland, *Pal.* ii. 1,036), must always have limited the numbers of its Jewish inhabitants.

Other foreign or semi-foreign towns in Palestine, at this time, were Hippo, "replenished with Greeks, but with not a few Jews mixed with them" (Lightfoot, x. 242); Cæsarea-Philippi (Reland, ii. 918), with its grotto, dedicated to the god Pan, remains of which exist to this day (Robinson, *Res.* iii. 347); Pella (Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 4); and Gadara (Lightfoot, x. 241).

Some of the cities just named were indeed so truly foreign cities, that—though within Jewish territory—they were exempt from the regulations of the Jewish code, and, as regarded local jurisdiction, subjected to laws of their own (Winer, *Realwört.*, s. v. "Decapolis"). In most of them were found heathen temples, as well as other buildings—theatres and hippodromes—devoted to uses abhorrent to the spirit of the Jewish religion, and to the prevailing religious feelings of the Jews of that age. From the Mischna (*Aboda Zara*, c. 1., *Misch.* iv.) we learn incidentally that, in some of them, as in Beth-shean, many of the shops were distinguished by idolatrous emblems which enabled the scrupulous Jew to detect and avoid the Gentile purveyors with whom it was unlawful for him to deal.

As to the *native* population of Palestine at this period not much need be said.

That Jews formed the great bulk of the inhabitants is everywhere evident. From the number of victims offered at the passover A. U. 819, Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 9, § 3) reckons that the worshippers who took part in that last celebration of the greatest of the Jewish festivals must have numbered 2,700,000, which it has been shown (Greswell, *Dissert.* ii. 272) will, after every allowance is made for the probable number of Jews of the Dispersion among these worshippers, imply that the strictly Jewish population of the Holy Land was then not less than 6,000,000.

Nor were the Jews in Palestine of that day of less purely Hebrew blood than in any former times. For a moment, in the first century after the Return, there appears to have been ground for apprehension that by the intermarriage of the restored people with the mixed foreign races who as yet disputed the possession of the land with them, the holy seed would cease to exist as a distinct race (Ezra ix.). But the immediate danger was averted by the stringent measures taken by Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra x. 9; Neh. xiii. 23); and if the temptation to a like departure from the principles of the Mosaic law was never afterwards removed, but became one to which the people were more and more exposed, as time went on, by the ever-increasing intimacy of their relations with neighbouring nations, the new zeal for a strict observance, of the letter at least, of their own laws, which from about this time began to take possession of their minds, together with the indiscriminating hatred for alien races and customs, which began to supplant their earlier proneness to the opposite extreme—the result, probably, of greater intimacy with their neighbours, and especially of the wrongs which they had suffered from them—proved a permanent safeguard in the future. A horror of foreign marriages became, indeed, a leading characteristic of the nation (Jos., *Ant.* xi. 8, § 2; xii. 4, § 6; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 6). Every means are known to have been used to maintain the integrity of the Chosen Race. The importance attached to the point is evident from the care with which the genealogies of the different families were preserved from the time of the return from Babylon down to the issue of the decree of Augustus for the census which brought Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem at the time of the Nativity (1 Chron. ix.; Neh. vii. 5; xii.; 1 Macc. ii. 1; viii. 17; xiv. 29; Luke ii, 3), and later. Josephus takes care to mention that he had transcribed the account of his own family from the public tables (*Vita*, § 1; *Contra Ap.* i. 7).

The most remarkable difference in the ethnic condition of the population of Palestine, at this period as compared with earlier periods, was probably found in the change which had taken place in the *national character* of the Jews themselves. For a view of the extent and the nature, as well as the causes of this change, the reader must be referred to works like those of Jost, Milman, and Ewald. Let it suffice to say that there was at once deterioration and improvement. The change, however, whether for good or evil, was, after all, little more than superficial. No people, perhaps, ever preserved its individuality more thoroughly from first to last than that marvellous people which for 2,000 years was so intimately associated with the Holy Land.

The ethnology of Palestine even in those periods which followed not only the time of our Lord, but the date of the latest of the canonical books, is not without at least indirect interest for the Biblical student, especially in connection with the fulfilment of prophecy. But to pursue our inquiries into the periods in question would be beyond the purpose of the present papers.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

AMPHIBIA.

THE *Amphibia*, cold-blooded vertebrates, provided, either temporarily or permanently, with gills for aquatic respiration as well as lungs for aërial respiration, do not appear to be abundantly represented in Palestine, the edible frog (*Rana esculenta*), the tree-frog (*Hyla arborea*), one species of toad (*Bufo pantherinus*), being the only recorded inhabitants. The edible frog is very common both in Egypt and the Holy Land, and so amazingly numerous in some of the lakes and pools of the latter country as "to cover the surface towards evening in one solid, unbroken mass." Its loud croaking at night is said to be perfectly deafening. Frogs are mentioned in the Old Testament only in connection with the account of the second plague of Egypt (Exod. viii. and Ps. lxxviii. 45; cv. 30); compare also in the Apocrypha, Wisdom xix. 10. In the New Testament frogs are mentioned only in Rev. xvi. 13, "I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet." The Hebrew word *tsepharde'a* means, according to Fürst, "marsh-croakers," but Gesenius interprets it "marsh-leapers." Either derivation aptly describes the frog; but it must be mentioned that Egyptian scholars claim the word as a purely local name adopted by the Arabs in Egypt. "The radicals of which it is composed occur in a modified form in the Egyptian for 'tadpole,' *hefennu*, or *hefenr*, which Brugsch renders 'tadpoles,' giving as the Arabic equivalent *walad dofda*, the young dofda" (Canon Cook in *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i., p. 489). Bochart has adduced instances of plagues of frogs having occurred in several places, as at Pæonia and Dardania, where these creatures suddenly appeared in such numbers as to cause the inhabitants to leave the district. The Egyptian plague of frogs, like the other plagues, had probably a direct bearing on Egyptian superstitions. "A female deity with a frog's head, named Heka, was worshipped in the district of Sah (*i.e.*, Benihassan), as the wife of Chnum, the god of the cataracts, or of the inundation, and Lepsius has shown that the frog was connected with the most ancient forms of nature-worship in Egypt. According to Chæremon, the frog was regarded as a symbol of regeneration" (Canon Cook in *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 279).

THE TREE-FROG.

The green and elegant little tree-frog (*Hyla arborea*) may be often seen sitting on a leaf of a tree both in Egypt and Palestine; its food consists of flies. In confinement these tree-frogs eat very sparingly. A specimen in the possession of a friend of ours is content with one blue-bottle in three days. The toad (*Bufo pantherinus*) is a southern form. Tristram says it is common in all parts of the country.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

THE position of this Epistle in the Canon of the New Testament is every way remarkable. The writer does not mention his own name, nor give any intimation, direct or indirect, to whom the letter is addressed. On the other hand, there is hardly any epistle for the existence of which, in the apostolic age, we have more abundant testimony. Polycarp reproduces the teaching of 1 John iv. 3, "Whosoever doth not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an antichrist;" and Polycarp was, according to the early traditions of the Church, a disciple of St. John. So was Papias, and he, we learn at second-hand from Eusebius, quoted it frequently. Irenæus, who, though writing in Gaul, belonged to the succession of the Asiatic churches, uses it largely in his controversial writings. By Clement in Alexandria, by Tertullian and Cyprian in Western Africa, in the earliest extant Canon (known as the Muratorian Fragment), in the earliest version of the New Testament, the Peschito Syriac, its authority is recognised. Writers who questioned the authorship of the Apocalypse did so on the ground that its style was so different from that of the Epistle, which they looked on as unquestionably St. John's. We may fairly say that we have no ground, but the most arbitrary assumptions, for not so receiving it.

The bearing of this fact on the controversies which have been raised as to the authorship of the fourth Gospel is obvious enough. Those controversies are dealt with elsewhere. Here it will be sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the strong resemblance between that Gospel and the Epistle now before us, in thought, style, phraseology, so that the one is often but the echo of the other, is at least *primâ facie* evidence of identity of origin. Whether we adopt the theory that the writer coloured with his own thoughts and language his report of a teaching higher than his own, or that his mind was so penetrated with that teaching that he spontaneously reproduced it, the close relationship between the two documents will hardly be called in question by one who has any critical faculty capable of appreciating the elements of likeness or unlikeness which take their place among the internal evidence of the authorship of books.

With St. John as with St. Peter, we have to fill up the scanty records of the New Testament from traditions more or less uncertain. The Gospels tell us of the fiery zealot, first the disciple of the Baptist, afterwards of Christ, receiving a descriptive name, as one of the "Sons of Thunder," twice rebuked for his burning and impetuous zeal, once for his aspiring ambition, and yet, in spite of that fervour, or, it may be, because of it, emphatically "the disciple whom Jesus loved," to whom He committed the care of His mother, when she stood weeping by the cross. From the "hired servants" of his father Zebedee, from his being known to the high priest, from the indications of a special intimacy with Lazarus and his sisters, we may infer a social position somewhat higher than that of the other Galilean disciples; a culture also higher; a greater receptivity for the special aspects of the truths which were presented by our Lord when He was teaching, not the peasants and fishermen of Galilee, but those who were "masters in Israel," in Jerusalem. After the Ascension, we find him in companionship, as before, with St. Peter. He is at Jerusalem when St. Paul is received and recognised there in his character as the Apostle of the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 9). The special trust committed to him probably kept him in Palestine till the Virgin's death. The date of that event is purely conjectural, but the absence of any mention of an apostle at Jerusalem at the time of St. Paul's last visit there, makes it all but certain that he had left it before that date. A tradition so early and so widely spread that it can hardly be questioned, connects his later years with the Asiatic churches that were founded by St. Paul. There, after the departure of that Apostle, perhaps in the same persecution in which he and St. Peter suffered, he was in "the isle that is called Patmos," as a sufferer for the faith (Rev. i. 9), Thence he returned to Ephesus, and remained there till his death, guarding the Church against the rising heresies that denied the reality either of the divinity or humanity of his Lord, shrinking even from chance contact with false teachers, unwearied in his watchful care over the souls of individual disciples,[1] living on to such extreme old age that men thought that his Lord's mysterious words (John xxi. 23) meant that he should have an earthly immortality; and then, when his strength failed him, carried into the congregations of believers,

[1] I refer to the two stories, (1) that St. John rushed out of a public bath in which he found himself together with Cerinthus; and (2) that hearing that a young convert whom he had baptised had joined a band of robbers, he went after him, allowed himself to be taken prisoner, and finally re-converted him.

and uttering, as his last counsel, the words, "Little children, love one another."

With this brief outline of what is known as to the writer, we proceed to the Epistle. It contains, as has been said, no direct statement for what readers it was intended, and the only traditional statement on the subject mentioned by Augustine, that it was sent to the Parthians, is at once too late, too confused, and too improbable to be received. On the other hand, the tone of the writer, in its warm affection, the oft-recurring "little children," the classification of those to whom he writes into groups with whose stages of spiritual growth he is well acquainted (ii. 12—14), his reference to false teachers as one who knew their previous history and character (ii. 19), all point to a close personal relation, and we can hardly err in believing that the Epistle was addressed to the Asiatic churches, of which Ephesus was the centre, and with which tradition, both local and general, connected the later years of St. John. So we can account for the impression made by it on Polycarp, and Papias, and Irenæus; so we can best explain the character of the heresies which it combats, as being the after-growth of those germs of error of which St. Paul had warned the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 30), which he had more formally denounced in the Pastoral Epistles, and of which we have found traces in those of St. Peter and St. Jude. As the great truth of the Gospel, the "mystery of godliness," was that Christ, the Son of God, had been manifested in the flesh (1 Tim. iii. 16), so the note of heresy was its denial of that truth (1 John iv. 3). This was the spirit of antichrist, and those who proclaimed it were themselves apostates and forerunners of the great apostacy (1 John ii. 18). The teachers of falsehood, it would seem, came not merely as reasoners and disputants, but simulated the very forms of inspiration, which were meant to give sanction to the truth; and therefore it was necessary at Ephesus, as it had been at Thessalonica and Corinth, that men should "prove all things," should "try the spirits whether they were of God" (1 John iv. 1); and the unfailing criterion which was to distinguish the true prophet from the false, was his adherence to the confession of faith in the great fact of the Incarnation, just as St. Paul had made it the note of a true prophetic utterance, that he who spake by the Holy Ghost should declare that Jesus was the Lord (1 Cor. xii. 3).

So far, then, as the Epistle of the beloved disciple was controversial, it maintained the same truths as those of St. Paul and St. Peter, and against kindred, if not identical, forms of error. But there were also, as might be expected, features that were specially characteristic. As Faith was the watchword of St. Paul, and Hope of St. Peter, so we cannot fail to recognise that Love was that of St. John. And this, while it had its ground in the point of view from which he looked on the whole mystery of the faith, was also strengthened by all the personal memories of the early days of his discipleship. He had seen with his eyes, and handled with his hands, that Word of Life about which men were wrangling and disputing (i. 1). He had felt the reality of that tender and compassionate love; had seen the water and the blood flow from the pierced side (v. 6); and felt that that ineffable sacrificial act was indeed the propitiation for his sins and those of the whole world, cleansing from all sin (i. 7; ii. 2). He had known the power of the unction of the Holy One, which came with the Pentecostal gift, and had tasted that eternal life which was not merely the blessedness of a far distant future, but consisted in knowing God, and Jesus Christ whom He had sent (John xvii. 2). When he had leant upon His breast in the fulness of his early devotion, he had learnt the lesson which the experience of his after life did but deepen and intensify; felt that if he asked anything according to His will, He would hear him; that there was, as it were, an interchange and reciprocity of life between the Master and the disciple. The words, "God dwelleth in him, and he in Him," "We are in Him that is true," were but the expression of that consciousness of a life hid with Christ in God, which every year made more real and precious. In that consciousness, in the faith on which it rested, was the only safeguard against the sensuous and corrupt thoughts of God which had led the heathen world astray. The danger of idolatry was not yet past. It might reappear at any time, in new forms or old, whenever the central truth was forgotten or denied, and therefore the last word of warning (strange as it may seem to us that those to whom he wrote should have needed it) was, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols" (v. 21).

For a discussion of the memorable passage that speaks of the "three that bear record in heaven" (v. 7), and of the "sin unto death," I refer to the notes by Mr. Spence that have appeared in THE BIBLE EDUCATOR (Vol. II., pp. 116, 333).

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN.

The two remaining Epistles stand so nearly on the same footing, and have so much in common, that they may conveniently be dealt with together. Their chief interest lies in their being private letters, examples all but unique (St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon is the only other document of the kind in the New Testament) of the "correspondence" of the Apostolic Church, of the familiar intercourse between an apostle and his friends in Christ. It was, doubtless, because they *were* private letters, and therefore not read at the time in the gatherings of church members, that they were less known than the first Epistle—were omitted in at least one early version (the Peschito Syriac), and classed by some writers as of doubtful authority. The special designation by which the writer speaks of himself, not as an apostle, but as "the elder," may also, in part, account for some of the doubts which were felt as to its authorship, and actually gave rise to a notion that there was in the church at Ephesus a John the Presbyter, or elder, as distinct from the Apostle. It is clear, however, that, so far as internal evidence goes, the two private Epistles are stamped with the same character, reproduce the same words and phrases, as those which we have found in the more public document.

The "deceivers and antichrists" who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (2 John 7), the joy of the writer that his children walk in the truth (3 John 4), the commandment which we had from the beginning, that we should love one another—all these point to the same mind as uttering itself in the three Epistles, and to that as being the same, also, as that which pervades the fourth Gospel. Even the touch of dissatisfaction with writing as an instrument of conveying thoughts, the deep consciousness that "pen and ink" are poor substitutes for the interchange of thought and feeling between living men, is, I venture to think, a note of the identity of the man who thus expresses himself with the writer who, when he had finished his task of recording what the Spirit brought especially to his remembrance, was constrained to confess that if the things which Jesus had done and taught were to be written every one, he supposed the world would not contain the books that should be written (John xxi. 25).

It remains to say a few words as to those to whom the Epistles were addressed. The words translated "elect lady" (*Kyria Eklecta*) may be both, either, or neither of them treated as proper names. Both are found in Christian inscriptions of comparatively early date. Looking to the fact that *eklecta* is used of the sister of the person addressed in 2 John 13, and to the improbability of two sisters having the same name, I am disposed to take "the elect Kyria" as the most probable rendering. We learn from the Epistle itself that she had both the means and disposition to exercise hospitality towards Christian travellers; that this had made her name well known among the whole body of believers of the district; that there was some risk that her hospitality might be too indiscriminate; that she might receive and foster some who were at once persecutors of the faith, and, like most of the heretics of that age, conspicuous for their evil deeds, impure and profligate in their lives. The presence of one such teacher might be enough to contaminate the children who were dear to the mother's heart, and of whom the Apostle rejoiced to hear that they were walking in the truth. The Epistle brings before us, in this way, a picture of that brighter side of the life of the apostolic age, in which women like Phœbe, Dorcas, Lydia, Euodias, Syntyche, and others like them, devout and honourable, exercised a wide influence for good, meeting the special wants of the new society, presenting a purer ideal of womanhood than the heathen world had known.

We cannot with certainty identify the Gaius or Caius to whom the third Epistle was addressed. The name was one of the most common wherever the Romans had found their way, and two, one at Derbe (Acts xix. 29; xx. 4), and one at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14; Rom. xvi. 23), appear among the converts of St. Paul. The fact that the latter is named as the "host" of St. Paul himself, and of "the whole church," is sufficiently in harmony with the praise bestowed on the Gaius of the third Epistle, as showing kindness to "the brethren and to strangers," to suggest the probability that one and the same man is spoken of in both. And on this assumption we may be led to infer that the state of things which the Epistle brings before us belongs to the church of Corinth; that Gaius continued to exercise his hospitality there; and that as, during the time of St. Paul's ministry, so also afterwards, there was frequent intercourse between the church of Corinth and that of Ephesus. The tone of the Epistle is obviously that of one who is writing to another church than that with which he is himself most directly in contact. He has written; he may come; if he comes, he will do this or that.

On this view the Epistle forms an interesting link between St. Paul's Epistles to the church of Corinth and those of Clement of Rome to the same society. We recognise in all three documents the same features. Diotrephes, who "loveth to have the pre-eminence" and "prateth with malicious words," is the natural successor of those "very chief apostles," as St. Paul ironically calls them, who disturbed the church with whisperings and backbitings, with railings, and even with smitings on the face—is, perhaps, identical with the unnamed fomenter of strife and bitterness, of whom Clement speaks so strongly. The enemies of the one apostle were likely to be equally hostile to the other, whose teaching, however it might differ in form, they found to be essentially the same. It may be noted, lastly, that those who represented the faith of the two Apostles, and who had profited by the generosity of Gaius, acted, as they might well do if they were working in the self-same city, on the same rule of life as St. Paul had laid down for himself. They, too, went forth to their work out of pure love to the name of Christ, "taking nothing of the Gentiles." Admitting that all such hypotheses are more or less uncertain, that which has been thus set forth seems to me to have strong claims on our acceptance.

BIBLE WORDS.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

POLL (*subst.*), the head, used chiefly in numeration, as when we speak of "*polling* a constituency," *i.e.*, taking its numbers. A "*poll-tax*," otherwise a "capitation tax," is a tax on individuals counted by *heads*. It is so used in the A. V.: Numb. i. 2, 18, 20, 22 (the census of the Israelites), "Every male by their *polls*;" and 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 24 (David's census of the Levites), "Their number by their *polls*, man by man;" Numb. iii. 47, "Five shekels apiece by the *poll*." The Hebrew in

each case is גֻּלְגֹּלֶת (*gulgoleth*), the root of "Golgotha." *Poll* is connected with the same root as *boll* (see ante "*bolled*"), *ball*, from its roundness, and the Scotch *pow*. In Wiclif's version of "Bel and the Dragon," the angel is said to take Habacuc "by the *poll* of hym," where the A. V. has "took him by the crown." We find "all flaxen was his *poll*," in Ophelia's song, *Hamlet*, iv. 5.

Prevent (*verb act.*), to anticipate, to be beforehand with, from the Latin *prævenire*, "to come before;" never in the A. V. in the modern sense to "hinder," which arises from one who comes before another preoccupying the ground. It is very frequent in the A. V., as will be seen by the Concordances—*e.g.*, Ps. cxix. 148, "Mine eyes *prevent* the night watches;" Matt. xvii. 25, "When he was come into the house, Jesus *prevented* [anticipated] him;" 1 Thess. iv. 15, "We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not *prevent* [be before] them which are asleep;" and occurs in the Prayer Book, *e.g.*, "*Prevent* us, O Lord, in all our doings," &c.; "Let thy grace *prevent* and follow us," &c. We may illustrate its use from Shakespeare. Brutus says of Cato's suicide—

> "I do find it cowardly and vile
> For fear of what might fall, so to *prevent*
> The time of life." (*Julius Cæsar*, v. 1.)

And from Bacon, "As the fable goeth of the basilisk, that if he see you first, you die for it; but if you see him first, he dieth: so is it with deceit and evil arts; which if they be first espied they leese [lose] their life; but if they *prevent*, they endanger" (*Adv. of Learning*, xxi. 9).

Purtenance (*subst.*). Only found in the A. V. of the Paschal Lamb (Exod. xii. 9), "His head with his legs, and with the *purtenance* thereof." The word so translated, קֶרֶב (*kereb*), is that usually rendered "inward parts" or "inwards," *i.e.* the intestines (*e.g.*, Exod. xxix. 13; Lev. i. 9; Isa. xvi. 11) or "bowels" (Ps. cix. 18). The meaning of *purtenance* is simply that which *pertains* or belongs to, like the form now in use, "appurtenance," from *appartenir*. This, indeed, is its more ordinary sense in early writers; as in *Piers Plowman*, "With all the *purtenances* of purgatorie," ii. 103. Pecock, in his *Repressor*, speaks of an image "carven with *purtenancis* sett aboute him," pt. ii., c. 10. But it also occurs in the euphemistic sense of the A. V. for the pluck usually sold with the head—*e.g.*, in Middleton, quoted by Mr. Aldis Wright, "The duke is the head, and I Blurt am the *purtenance;* and Lyly, "I will only handle the head and *purtenance*," *Midas*, i. 2 (Nares). Richardson quotes from Butler:—

> "The shaft against a rib did glance,
> And gall him in his *purtenance*."
> (*Hudibras*, pt. i., canto 3.)

Quick (*adj.*), living, alive, also **Quicken** (*verb act.*), to make alive, very familiar in the A. V. and Prayer Book, as "the *quick* and the dead" of the Creed; Ps. lv. 15, "Let them go down *quick* into hell;" cxxiv. 3, "They had swallowed us up *quick*;" Heb. iv. 12, "The word of God is *quick* and powerful;" and the verb, Ps. lxxx. 18, "*Quicken* us, and we will call upon Thy name;" Rom. viii. 11, "He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also *quicken* your mortal bodies." In Wiclif, Matt. xxvi. 63, "I adjure thee by the living God," is "I conujour thee by *quycke* God;" and Luke x. 30 (the parable of the "Good Samaritan") we have, "Which robiden him, and woundis putt in, wenden away, the man lefte half-*quyk*." Chaucer gives us

> "Not fully *quyke*, ne fully deede they were."
> (*Knight's Tale*, 157.)

Shakespeare's Anne Page says—

> "I had rather be set *quick* in the earth
> And bowled to death with turnips."
> (*Merry Wives*, iii. 4.)

And Antony—

> "By the fire
> That *quickens* Nilus' slime, I go from hence
> Thy soldier, servant." (*Ant. and Cleop.* i. 3.)

The word *quick* or *quickens* comes to us from the A. S. *cwic*, or *cwuc*, "living," and *cwiccan*, "to make alive." The same root is found in many common words, the *quick* of the nail, a *quick*-set hedge (opposed to a dead hedge), *quick*silver, a *quag*mire, *i.e.*, a *quick* or living bog. Couch-grass, locally called *twitch*, is *quick* grass, from the vitality of its scions.

Reins (*subst.*), frequent in the A. V.: Job xvi. 13, "He cleaveth my *reins* asunder, and doth not spare;" Ps. vii. 9, "The righteous God trieth the very hearts and reins;" cxxxix. 13, "Thou hast possessed my *reins*." It is the English representative of the Latin *renes*, the kidneys. "In the ancient system of physiology the kidneys were believed to be the seat of desire and longing, which accounts for their often being coupled with the heart" (Smith, *Diet. of Bible*, ii. 1026). In Shakespeare we have "pills to cool the *reins*" (*Merry Wives*, iii. 5), and Bacon tells us that "bowling is good for the stone and *reines*" (*Essays*, 50).

Rereward (*subst.*), the hinderpart of an army as opposed to the van, the "rearguard." Numb. x. 25, "Dan set forward, which was the *rereward*;" Josh. vi. 9, 13, "The *rereward* came after the ark;" 1 Sam. xxix. 2; Isa. lii. 12, lviii. 8, "The glory of the Lord shall be thy *rereward*." The examples given by Richardson show that "rereward" and "reregard" were used contemporaneously, *guard* and *ward* being different forms of the same word, like *guaranty* and *warrantry*, *guise* and *wise*, *guêpe* and *wasp*. It is an English form of the French *arrière-garde*, *rere*, corresponding to the old French *rière*, Lat. *retro*, Ital. *dirietro*. It is a Shakesperian word. "Now in the *rear*ward comes the duke" (1 *Henry VI.*, iii. 3).

Ring-straked (*adj.*). Only found in Gen. xxx. 35, 39, 40; xxxi. 8, 10, 12, of the cattle which were to be Jacob's hire. It signifies parti-coloured with circular spots. *Strake* is used for the ring of a cartwheel. The Hebrew עֲקֻדִּים simply means "striped" or "banded," and contains no idea of roundness. "Straked" is the old

spelling of "streaked," as we have "strakes" for "streaks" (Gen. xxx. 37, and Lev. xiv. 37). So in Spenser—

"His burning eyen, whom bloudie *strakes* did stain."
(*F. Q.* iv. 15.)

Shylock, in the *Merchant of Venice* (Act i., sc. 3), describes Jacob's "yearlings" as "*streaked* and pied." We have found no example of the use of *ring-straked*.

Road (*subst.*). "To make a road" is used (1 Sam. xxvii. 10), "Whither have ye made a *road* to-day?" where we should now use the compound *inroad*, i.e., a hostile riding into an enemy's country, the Scotch *raid;* a *road* being, etymologically, a way through which men may ride. A *road* in nautical language is a place where ships can ride at anchor—*e.g.*, "the Yarmouth *Roads*." The phrase "to make roads" was common in our early literature—*e.g.*, "Often times they would *make rodes* in the night, and assault the castles of our camp" (Golding, *Cæsar's Commentaries*, fol. 261, Richardson); "A number of Scotishmen *made a road* into the countrie of Glendale" (Holinshed, *Hist. of Scotland*, anno 1524, *ib.*). In Shakespeare, Henry V., preparing for war with France, speaks of the necessity of defending himself "against the Scots, who will *make road* upon us" (*Henry V.* i. 2).

Runagate (*subst.*). This expressive old word, dropped out of the A. V., is only preserved to us in the Prayer-book Psalter (Ps. lxviii. 6), "But letteth the *runagates* continue in scarceness." The orthography in Cranmer's Bible, and Beck's Bible (1549), *rennagate*, found also in God's curse on Cain (Gen. iv. 12), points to its probable derivation from *renegado*, "a renegade," *i.e.*, one who has denied his faith (Lat. *renegare*, to deny), the spelling being altered, as in so many words in all languages, to put a vernacular meaning upon a foreign word, with little care whether it was the true one. The word translated "runagate" in Ps. lxviii. 6, סוֹרְרִים ("rebellious" in A. V.), signifies simply those who turn aside from the right path. The false etymology being once fixed on the word, it was commonly used for "a deserter"—*e.g.*, "Wondering at it, he demanded the cause of hys *runnagates*, of whom a great number resorted to him day by day" (Golding, *Cæsar*, fol. 206, Richardson). It is used contemptuously in Shakespeare. Richard III. upbraiding Richmond, then on the seas, cries—

"White-livered *runagate*, what doth he there?"[1]
(*Rich. III.* iv. 4.)

Sackbut (*subst.*), a musical instrument, only found in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, at the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image. Mr. Chappell (p. 35), quoted by Mr. Aldis Wright, defines a sackbut as "a bass trumpet with a slide, like the modern trombone." The French *saquebute* was a wind instrument of the same kind, with a tube that could be drawn out at will; and the Spanish *sacabuche* denotes a wind instrument, and also a kind of pump. *Sacar* in Spanish is "to draw or pull out." The Hebrew word of which *sackbut* is the representative, סַבְּכָא, *sabeca*, is identified by Bochart and others with the Greek σαμβύκη, which, however, signified a harp. It is used once by Shakespeare—

"Why, hark you!
The trumpets, *sackbuts*, psalteries, and fifes,
Make the sun dance." (*Coriolanus*, v. 4.)

Also we have in Beaumont and Fletcher—

"A dead march within of drums and *sagbutts*."
(*The Mad Lover*, iii. 1.)

[1] See Trench, *English, Past and Present*, p. 200.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

VII.—SINAI.

THE Peninsula of Sinai may be described as a triangular promontory lying between two arms of the Red Sea of unequal length; the eastern and shorter of these is the Gulf of Akabah; the western, the Gulf of Suez. The base of this triangle is a line about 150 miles long drawn from Suez to Akabah, and the two sides measured from these points respectively to the apex at Ras Muhammed are about 186 and 133 miles; and the area enclosed within these limits is about 11,500 square miles, or twice that of Yorkshire. On the northern side or base of the triangle, is a smaller one formed by a steep and lofty limestone escarpment, impassable except at a few points, which stretches southwards into the peninsula and separates it in a marked manner from the plateau of the Tih on the north. The peninsula is one of the most mountainous and intricate countries in the world; tracts of sand are rarely met with, plains are rather the exception than the rule, and the roads for the most part run through a labyrinth of narrow, rock-bound valleys. It is a desert, certainly, as Major Palmer, R.E., well describes it, "in the fullest sense of the word, but a desert of rock, gravel, and boulder, of gaunt peaks, dreary ridges, and arid valleys, and plateaux, the whole forming a scene of stern desolation which fully merits its description as 'the great and terrible wilderness.'"

In the centre of the peninsula rises a vast crystalline mass, split up into innumerable peaks that attain a considerable altitude, as Jebel Zebir, 8,551 feet; Jebel Katerin, 8,536 feet; Jebel Umm Shomer, 8,449 feet; Jebel Musa, 7,375 feet; Jebel Serbal, 6,734 feet, &c. On the east the mountains descend somewhat abruptly

to the sea, whilst on the west they are flanked by an arid plain which extends almost without interruption to the Mediterranean, and, for some distance north of Tor, is separated from the Gulf of Suez by a low range of hills of tertiary sandstone. Northward, a broken sandstone district separates the Sinaitic mountains from the limestone plateau of the Tih. The mountains forming the crystalline "core" of the peninsula are composed of granites, syenites, and varieties of gneiss and schists, traversed by dykes of diorite and dolerite. They exhibit every variety of profile: great rounded bluffs, isolated peaks and pinnacles, and serrated ridges rise up to stupendous heights, and blending in wild confusion, present views of the most grand and impressive character. The sandstone district, rich in antiquities and mineral wealth, is broken up into quaint forms which, combined with the rich colouring, give a peculiar charm to the scenery; whilst on its plains are found the only tracts of deep, heavy sand met with in the peninsula. In the cretaceous and tertiary districts, on the other hand, the features are devoid of interest, and the scenery is monotonous, except when lighted up by the rich glow of the rising or setting sun; this district stretches as far south as Tor, and includes the dreary desert of El Gaah, which for a distance of eighty miles stretches along the western foot of the mountains. In the low ridge north of Tor there is a hill, Jebel Nagus, with a sand-slope lying on its face, from which strange, mysterious noises, like the loudest note of an Æolian harp, proceed whenever the hot sand is set in motion.

The valleys or "wadies" of the peninsula are deeply cut, and descend rapidly to the sea; they frequently rise in open plains or "fershes," covered with desert vegetation, that lie at the foot of the higher peaks and form one of the most interesting topographical features of the interior. In the granite district the valleys wind in broad reaches between lofty hills amidst the grandest of mountain scenery, or break through the mountain barriers by narrow defiles, sometimes not more than twelve feet wide, in which vertical walls of rock, several hundred feet high, rise up so as almost to shut out the light of the sun. In the sandstone district the cliffs are lower, but the richness of their colouring produces bright pictures of which the eye never grows weary; whilst in the limestone district the traveller is glad to hurry through the dreary valleys and escape from the scorching rays of the sun, which are reflected with intense power from the white rocks on either hand. The two great valleys of the peninsula are the Wady Feiran with its innumerable feeders, one descending from the base of Jebel Musa, on the west; and the Wady Rahabeh draining an almost equal extent of country on the east. The former, from its open character and gradual ascent, is marked out by Nature as the great high road into the interior; and it was the route by which the Israelites probably approached Sinai. The valleys appear to have been formed by the action of water, and there are in some places lofty banks of alluvium, which, according to some writers, mark the existence at a remote period of inland lakes.

The water supply is far more plentiful than has generally been supposed; in the granite districts, and especially in the neighbourhood of Jebel Musa, there are several perennial streams and numerous springs of good water; but the sandstone and limestone districts are badly supplied, and the water in the latter, owing to the large quantities of carbonate of soda and other salts held in solution, is brackish, and has a purgative effect. There is one hot spring, at the foot of Jebel Hammam Faraun, which has a temperature of 157°. Wherever there is running water, abundant vegetation is found; the gardens in the valleys round Jebel Musa are well stocked with fruit-trees, and in the lower valleys there are fertile and beautiful oases, such as the great palm-grove in Wady Feiran, and the lesser-known oases of Dhahab, En Nuweibeh, Ain Hudherah, Hebran, Tor, &c. The general vegetation is sparse, but there are not wanting indications that it was formerly more plentiful, and even now there is, at certain seasons of the year, a considerable amount of vegetation on the upland plains. The *rimth, abeithiran, shiah, murr, sekkeran,* the rose of Jericho, and other almost sapless herbs and shrubs peculiar to desert soils, are found at different altitudes, affording sufficient pasturage for the Bedawi flocks and herds; and after the winter rains small patches of grass may be seen on the hill-sides, creeping plants of various kinds come to life, and in some places the ground is covered with a profusion of small flowers. Of larger trees, the *tarfah,* or tamarisk, from which the traditional manna exudes, occurs in several localities, often in dense thickets; the *ban* tree grows on the sides of the hills; the *retem,* or broom, the "juniper" of the Bible, under which Elijah "lay and slept," is found in most of the valleys, and puts forth in spring beautiful white and purple blossoms; whilst the plains and open valleys are dotted with the *seyal,* or acacia, the "shittah tree" used so largely in the construction of the tabernacle and ark of the tabernacle (Exod. xxxv.—xxxviii.).

The climate of the peninsula is perhaps one of the most healthy in the world, especially of that portion of it which is elevated from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea. There is generally a great difference between the night and day temperatures, from 40° to 50°, and even on the plains the thermometer falls in winter to within a few degrees of the freezing-point. No one who has travelled in the desert can forget the exhilarating effect of the fresh morning air, or the joyous feeling of life and strength that it brings with it; the mere act of breathing is a pleasure, and we can hardly be surprised at the stories which have been handed down of the great age attained by many of the hermits and anchorites, or that they believed that man needs in the desert "hardly to eat, drink, or sleep, for the act of breathing will give life enough." In summer the heat is intense, especially in the limestone districts; whilst in winter the cold in the mountains is severe, and the frost brings down huge masses of rock which, rolling down the steep mountain-sides, cause the mysterious noises often heard in the higher districts. The most remarkable features of the climate are its intense dry-

THE DESERT FROM AYUN MUSA (MOSES' WELLS).
(*From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai.*)

ness and the clearness of the atmosphere, enabling places to be seen at extraordinary distances. No less remarkable, too, is the stillness; there is often no sound that the sharpest ear can detect, and for days together the silence is unbroken even by the wind. The colouring too is so varied, so gorgeous, and at times so fantastic, that any attempt to convey an idea of it either by words or on canvas must fail. In winter the peninsula is frequently visited by heavy gales of wind unaccompanied by rain, and the effect of these in the mountains is wonderfully grand. Whirlwinds often start up like magic from the beds of the valleys, and hurry along with great force until they are broken by some obstacle; and on the plains the *khamasin* blows, parching and drying up the air, and striking the face like a blast from a furnace; the whole air is filled with fine sand, which penetrates everywhere and presents the appearance of a dense haze, whilst sometimes the heavier particles are caught up and driven across the level ground in a wild sand-storm. The average annual rainfall is small, but it varies in different years; snow falls every year on the higher mountains, though never lying long, and rarely reaching below 5,500 feet above the sea. The peninsula is subject to violent rain-storms, which fill the dry beds of the valleys with roaring torrents, and are sometimes attended with loss of life. The storms are very partial, and the first indication that one has occurred may be a stream rushing down the valley. The Rev. F. W. Holland was fortunate enough in December, 1867, to see one of these floods or "seils" in the Wady Feiran; the storm commenced at 4.30 P.M., and a few minutes after six the dry bed of the valley, over 300 yards wide, was turned into a foaming torrent, eight to ten feet deep. Next morning a gently-flowing stream, a few yards wide, was all that remained; but the whole bed of the wady was changed, nearly 1,000 palm-trees were swept away, and about thirty Bedawin were lost and buried in the *débris*. When at Tor in 1868, the writer found traces of a flood from this same storm that had come down Wady Sigilliyeh, and which after passing over sixteen or seventeen miles of dry desert, the plain of El Gaah, had a body of water four or five feet deep and about 150 yards wide. Wellsted mentions a similar flood in 1832, which left an alluvial deposit one foot thick in the vicinity of Tor. There seems no reason for believing that the climate of Sinai has undergone any material change since the date of the Exodus. We know that there was during the Egyptian occupation, and also in the fifth and sixth centuries of the present era, a far larger amount of vegetation and cultivation than there is at present, but the effect of this would probably be

WADY MUKATTEB.
(*From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai.*)

confined to a slight increase in the quantity of rain and a greater regularity in its fall. No mention is made in the Bible of cold or frost in connection with the stay of the Israelites at Sinai, though they must have suffered severely, coming as they did from the low country of Egypt; unless, indeed, the humane command in Exod. xxii. 26, 27, that a man who had taken his neighbour's raiment should return it to him at sunset, was intended to secure for the poor some certain protection against the intense coldness of the nights.

The Bedawin of Sinai number about 4,000 males; they are a quiet and inoffensive race, and their poverty is such that their whole life is one long struggle for existence. The principal tribe, Towara, are not the aboriginal inhabitants of the peninsula, but settled in it at the time of the Muhammedan conquest. Their predecessors were a branch of the Aramæan race, of whom traces may possibly remain in the Jibaliyeh tribe, as names peculiar to them are found in the Sinaitic (Aramæan) inscriptions. The Jibaliyeh are looked down upon by the other Bedawin as not being of pure descent, and are supposed to derive their origin from the prisoners sent by Justinian for the service of the Convent, who intermarried with the Aramæans. The Bedawin are not strict observers of the outward forms of Moslem devotion, but they have a deep religious feeling, as the following simple prayer, uttered by every man at sunset, will show: "O Lord, be gracious unto us. In all that we hear or see, in all that we say or do, be gracious unto us. Have mercy on our friends, who have passed away before us. I ask pardon of the Great God; I ask pardon at the sunset, when every sinner turns to Him. Now and for ever I ask pardon of God. O Lord, cover us from our sins, guard our children, and protect our weaker friends." There are few, if any, Biblical names remaining in the peninsula, even the name Sinai being unknown in the native nomenclature; and though there is what has been called "a general atmosphere of Mosaic tradition" in the country, the Bedawi traditions have been so much influenced by monkish legend, that it is not easy to separate those that are of purely native origin. Professor Palmer has, however, succeeded in bringing to light two of great interest: one placing the rock from which Moses brought water in Wady Feiran, not far from the traditional site of Rephidim; the other possibly identifying some curious remains at Erweis el-Ebeirig with the camp of Kibroth-hattaavah.

There are numerous traces of the various people who have, from time to time, lived in the peninsula, chiefly ruins which may be classed as Primitive, Egyptian, and Monastic. The first consist of the stone houses, tombs,

and stone circles that are found in almost every part of the country, and show that it must have been inhabited at a very early period by a large settled population, possibly the same as the people of "An" mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions at Magharah, or the Amalekites of the Bible. The stone houses, called by the Bedawin *nawamis*, are found in clusters of from twenty to thirty, and are almost identical with those known in Scotland as *bothan*, or bee-hive houses; they are slightly elliptical in shape, and from forty to fifty feet in circumference, with walls rising perpendicularly to a height of two feet, and then assuming the bee-hive form. The houses have doors only one foot eight inches wide, and they are built of carefully selected stones on which there is no trace of any tool having been used. The stone circles are from ten to forty-five feet in diameter, and similar to those called in England "Druids' Circles," with a cist composed of four large stones in the centre; immediately round the cist is a circle of standing stones enclosing a cairn of small stones, and beyond this there is an outer circle of larger stones. The bodies were buried in these cists, on their left sides, in that peculiar bent position which is considered one of the oldest forms of burial; and with them have been found bracelets of shell and of copper, necklaces of beads formed from shells, and lance and arrow-heads of flint.

Egyptian remains are found at Magharah and at Sarabit el-Khadim. The mineral wealth of Magharah early attracted the attention of the Egyptians, and the conquest of the peninsula was one of the first objects of the early dynasties. The first invasion was by Senefru, the immediate predecessor of Cheops, the celebrated monarch of the fourth dynasty, who built the Great Pyramid, and who is represented on a tablet at Magharah striking to the earth one of the An foreigners who inhabited the region. The Egyptians, however, seem never to have retained a firm hold of the country, as the tablets contain certain records of the re-conquest of it, and of expeditions to work and explore the mines, by Sephres, An, Tancheres, Phiops, Nephercheres, Amenemha III., and Amenemha IV. The last expedition recorded is one of Thothmes III., of the eighteenth dynasty, after which the mines were abandoned. The object for which these mines were worked was the *mafka* or copper, and the *ba*, iron or copper. The mines of Magharah are for the most part on the right bank of a deep gorge in the sandstone, called Wady Genaiych; and the greater number of the tablets are cut in the face of the rock, which rises in a series of abrupt ledges to a height of about 300 feet. On an almost isolated hill opposite the mines, and connected with them by a causeway, are the ruins of the village in which the miners lived.

At Sarabit el-Khadim there are the remains of two temples of different dates, and numerous stelæ and inscriptions recording the thanks and vows of those employed in the mines. The temple was founded in the twelfth dynasty, and dedicated to the goddess Athor, the lady or mistress of the *mafka*; and it has columns with capitals in shape of the head of the goddess Athor, with cow's ears. The mines were opened in the reign of Amenemha II., and there are tablets of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Some of the inscriptions relate to supplies; one mentions the quantity of corn, cattle, birds, vegetables, and other things supplied; another that a convoy of cattle and fowl had been successfully brought by the troops to the spot. Many fragments of Egyptian glazed ware or porcelain, and of vases used in the service of the Temple, have been found in the mines, as well as the place where the flint tools used in working the mines were manufactured.

As early as 250 A.D., according to Dionysius of Alexandria, the Egyptian Christians were accustomed to take refuge from persecution in the mountains of Sinai; but the first definite notices we have of these communities are contained in the narratives of Silvanus, Ammonius, and Nilus (350—400 A.D.). The anchorites appear to have led a rather precarious existence in the caverns and holes on the sides of Jebel Musa and the mountains at Feiran, exposed to all the variations of temperature, and to the constant attacks of the Saracens, who on several occasions massacred great numbers of them. In the sixth century Justinian built the large convent and church at the foot of Jebel Musa, and about the same time numerous other monasteries and chapels were erected in the peninsula; that of Pharan (Feiran) was visited by Antoninus Martyr, 600—628 A.D., who gives an interesting account of the manner in which he was met, on arrival, by a band of women and children bearing palm-branches and flasks of attar of roses in their hands, and singing an anthem in the Egyptian tongue. It seems probable that there was a great persecution of the monks about the eleventh or twelfth century, and that from that date the convents began to decline. In 1398 A.D., according to Burckhardt, there were six convents besides that at Jebel Musa, but they appear to have been deserted soon afterwards, and now the Convent of St. Katharine alone remains.

The Convent of St. Katharine stands on the left bank of a narrow valley between Jebel Musa and Jebel ed-Deir; its solid granite walls have been much shaken by earthquakes, and so undermined by winter torrents, that it was found necessary to rebuild them partially at the end of last century. The ancient entrance, a fine old doorway protected by a machicoulis, is now closed, and all visitors have to enter by a postern. The interior of the convent is filled with numerous buildings of different ages, and there is a perfect labyrinth of passages, turning and twisting in every direction, exposed to the full glare of the sun or passing through dark tunnels. The church is remarkable for its massive grandeur and its style, which shows how common the use of Christian symbols had become as early as the time of Justinian, 527—554 A.D. At its eastern end is a chapel enclosing the place on which the Burning Bush is said to have grown, and there is a large mosaic of the Transfiguration, with two

medallions, supposed to contain portraits of Justinian and Theodora, but more likely representations of our Saviour and the Virgin. On the walls of the convent refectory, and in other places, may be seen the names and coats-of-arms of many knightly pilgrims during the Middle Ages. In the immediate neighbourhood of Jebel Musa are the ruins of several smaller convents, probably connected with that of St. Katharine, and the sides of the mountains are covered with traces of the little terraced gardens of the old monks, and of their chapels and lodging-places. There are four roads to the summit of Jebel Musa: one, the usual pilgrims' route immediately behind the convent, where the ascent is by an immense number of steps; a second from Wady Leja; a third by the Sikket Shoeib; and a fourth, perhaps the easiest, up Wady Shreich, which was shown to pilgrims in the early part of last century as the route followed by Moses when he ascended Sinai. In the bed of the latter valley there is a small stream that might well be called a "brook that descended out of the mount," and near its mouth is an excavation said to be the mould in which the golden calf was cast, whilst a slight elevation on the hill above was formerly pointed out as the place where it was set up. On the summit of Jebel Musa are a chapel, near the "clift of the rock," in which Moses was placed when the glory of the Lord passed by (Exod. xxxiii. 22); and a mosque built over the cave in which he is said to have lived during his sojourn of forty days and nights on the mount. At a lower level are the chapels of Elijah and Elisha, with the grot in which the former is reported to have lived, and chapels dedicated to the Holy Girdle of the Virgin, St. Gregorius, St. John the Baptist, St. Anne, &c.

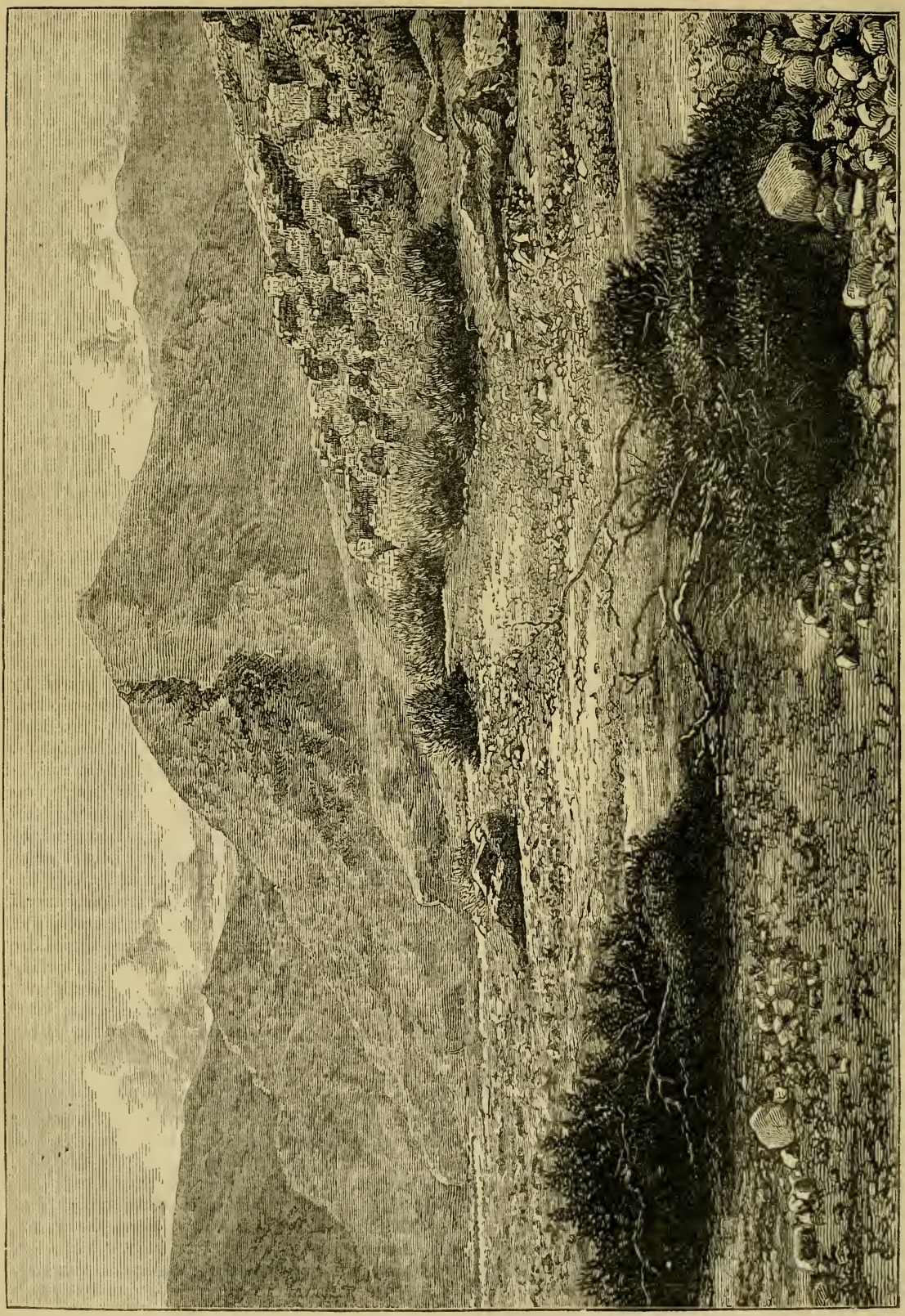
At Feiran there are the ruins of a convent and church, at the mouth of Wady Aleyat, a convent higher up the valley, and a series of tombs, cells, and chapels on Jebel et Tahuneh, a mountain overlooking the valley which may be the "Gibeah" of Rephidim, on which Moses took his stand during the battle. This mountain appears to have had some special sanctity attached to it, for it is literally covered with tombs and chapels, and a flight of steps led to the summit, which was crowned by a church; the pathway passed numerous small chapels, apparently built over the cells of hermits, which form as it were so many stations on this "Via Sacra." A remarkable feature at Feiran is the number of tombs, rectangular buildings of loose stones each containing two or more interments, on the slopes of the hill, and it is curious to notice the different system of burial in two monastic establishments so near each other as Feiran and Jebel Musa; at the former place the bodies were wrapped in a winding-sheet of palm-fibre, and laid in stone tombs above ground; whilst at the latter they were buried in the ground, and the bones afterwards collected and placed in a crypt.

At the back of Serbal, in the romantic valley of Sigilliyeh, which in its grand scenery and perfect seclusion rivals the "Happy Valley" of Rasselas, there are the remains of several monasteries, and the road by which they were reached, one feature of which is a broad staircase 1,500 feet high, is a most remarkable specimen of engineering and of the untiring energy of the monks. There are some other monastic remains at Wady Gharbeh, Wady Rahabeh, Wady Zeraigiyeh, Dhahab, near Jebel eth Thebt, and at Tor, where there would appear to have been a large convent with smaller communities gathered round it, and many cells and chapels cut in the rock. There are besides many later remains in the country, a castle at Tor, several mosques, and numerous tombs of Bedawi worthies.

The peninsula is rich in mineral wealth; at Magharah and Sarabit el-Khadim are the turquoise mines previously mentioned as having been worked by the Egyptians, and there are traces of the smelting of copper ore at the former; whilst in Wady Nasb, near the latter, there are extensive slag heaps. In the plain of El Markha, at Wady Gharandel, and in Wady Sened, slag heaps and broken tuyers have also been found. South of Jebel Musa, at Jebel Hadid, the "iron mountain," there is a considerable bed of specular iron ore, but there are no traces of its having been worked.

The celebrated Sinaitic inscriptions are very generally distributed over the peninsula, but the largest collections are perhaps those near Ain Hudhera and in Wady Mukatteb; they were at one time supposed to be of great antiquity, but recent investigation has shown that they were written during the first three or four centuries after Christ. This has been proved by the discovery of nearly twenty bi-lingual inscriptions in Greek and Sinaitic, of a Sinaitic inscription written over an older Greek one, and of Sinaitic inscriptions evidently written after the construction of the road to the convents in Wady Sigilliyeh. The inscriptions are probably the work of a trading community settled in the peninsula, and they are often accompanied by rude drawings of men and animals, sometimes of an obscene character. The writers possessed a very imperfect knowledge of Greek, for letters are found turned the wrong way, and the names are sometimes written backwards as in Sinaitic; amongst these names are some of Egyptian origin, as *Horus*, but names ending in "Baal" and "Omru" are most frequently met with. It may be added that the inscriptions are brief sentences containing the name of the writer with a "*pro salute*."

We must now briefly examine the present resources of the peninsula for sustaining life. The vegetation has already been alluded to as affording a certain amount of pasturage for sheep and goats; and as regards food for man, there is a fair supply of game, including the ibex, the hare, and four or five species of partridge; there are also date-palms, and gardens in the higher country, where olive, plum, cherry, and other fruit-trees grow in great luxuriance. The *tarfah*, from which the so-called "manna" exudes, is widely spread; but this manna, which is caused by insects



WADY FEIRAN (REPHIDIM) AND JEBEL ET TAHUNEH. (*From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai.*)

during a few summer months, and is really a mild aperient, has no connection with that mentioned in the Bible. These resources are, of course, quite inadequate to the supply of a large multitude, but they would be of some assistance; and we must not forget that, like the modern Bedawin, the Israelites rarely ate animal food.

Having thus given a general sketch of the physical character of the peninsula and its present condition, we may now proceed to an examination of the route of the Israelites after they crossed the Red Sea. It may be asked what grounds there are for believing that the Mount of the Law was in what we now call the Peninsula of Sinai. There is no direct evidence of this, but we are told that after leaving Rameses the Israelites camped at Succoth, at Etham, and "before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea" (Exod. xiv. 2); or, as in verse 9, "by the sea beside Pi-hahiroth." This gives three days' march from Rameses to the sea; for though the actual passage of the Red Sea did not take place till the sixth or seventh day after leaving Rameses, the events connected with those terrible days before the great deliverance came, must have created a far greater impression on the minds of the Israelites than the somewhat monotonous routine of their daily life afterwards; and the author of the Book of Exodus, in noticing this important period, would hardly have omitted an encampment at which they had rested. Now Rameses must have been to the west of the line of hills which, more or less well defined, extends from Wady Gharandel to the Mediterranean; for to the eastward there is the barren desert of Et Tih, almost destitute of water, which could never have supported a much larger population than it does now, and on which no traces of permanent occupation by the Egyptians have yet been found; we also have the expressed opinion of nearly every Egyptologist that Goshen was to the west of the line of the Suez Canal. From this position of Rameses it follows that the Red Sea of the Bible must have been the Gulf of Suez; and after crossing this, the mention of an encampment by the sea (Numb. xxxiii. 10), and the general agreement of the natural features of the coast with those indicated in the Bible narrative, show that the Israelites travelled south and not east. We have also a tradition, at least as old as Josephus, placing Sinai in the peninsula; and when we remember that after the Captivity there was a colony of Jews in Egypt, and that the peninsula was no unknown country, but a rich mining district, on either side of which ran at different periods the highway to the East, and through which there was a road connecting Egypt with Elath, we can hardly believe that a place so intimately connected with the birth of the Jewish religion could have been forgotten. This view has been opposed by Dr. Beke, who maintains that the Red Sea crossed by the Israelites was the Gulf of Akabah, and that Sinai was a mountain within a day's march of the head of that gulf. To support his theory, Dr. Beke is obliged to locate Goshen in the middle of the Tih desert, and to make the Israelites, after crossing the sea, travel over bad roads through the mountains for several days, to reach a mountain which was in sight and within an easy day's march of the point at which they crossed.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

THE Epistle to the Romans was the last great effort of St. Paul's missionary career. Henceforth we know him chiefly as "the prisoner of the Lord." From Corinth he proceeded, in a journey full of the deepest interest,[1] to Jerusalem. Here he was apprehended and sent to Cæsarea, where he remained in custody for two weary years. Having appealed from the partial and corrupt provincial tribunal to the supreme court at Rome, he was at last sent to the imperial city; thus attaining—but in how unforeseen a way!—a cherished desire of his life. His faithful companion, Luke, was with him throughout; and it is at this point that the history in the Acts of the Apostles ends.

2. It was at one stage or another of the Apostle's imprisonment that he wrote his Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, with that (so called) to the Ephesians. That these three letters were sent into Asia together is abundantly clear. Of that to the Colossians, the bearers were Tychicus and Onesimus; while Tychicus was also charged with that to the Ephesians, and Onesimus with that to the Colossian Philemon.[2] The companions of Paul are the same in the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon;[3] the absence of individual greetings in the Epistle to the Ephesians will be noted in its place. Between the Colossian and Ephesian letters, also, there is such a similarity in thought, purpose, and arrangement, as to lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the two were written nearly at the same time. In all three Epistles

[1] Note especially his visit to Troas (Acts xx. 6—12); his farewell to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (xx. 17—38); his sojourn at Tyre (xxi. 3—5) and at Cæsarea (xxi. 8—14).

[2] See Col. iv. 7—9; Eph. vi. 21; Philem. 10—12.

[3] To the Colossians, "Aristarchus, Marcus, Justus, Epaphras, Luke, Demas" (iv. 10—14); to Philemon, "Epaphras, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas" (vv. 23, 24). Note also the greeting in both Epistles to Archippus (Col. iv. 17; Philem. 2). He was probably a member of Philemon's family. Aristarchus, mentioned in both Epistles, had accompanied Paul in his voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2), where we also learn that Luke was of the party.

the writer refers to his imprisonment, and in a similar tone. To the Colossians he declares that he rejoices in his sufferings for the Church; and appends to the letter, with his own hand, the touching appeal, "Remember my bonds." It is as "a prisoner of Jesus Christ" that he addresses Philemon; and to the Ephesians he twice describes himself in the same way, "the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles;" "the prisoner of the Lord."[1]

3. The question has, however, been raised, whether these three letters belong to the Apostle's imprisonment in Cæsarea, or in Rome; and though the latter is the view adopted by the great majority of interpreters, many of no mean name have advocated the former.[2] The question cannot be decisively settled by internal evidences; and apart from the almost universal tradition of the Church, which points to Rome, there is little or no external testimony bearing on the matter. From the Epistles themselves, however, we learn three things which turn the balance in favour of Rome. First, Paul when he wrote was a prisoner in chains (Col. iv. 3; Philem. 10; Eph. vi. 20), which we know was the case in Rome (Acts xxviii. 16, 20), but apparently not in Cæsarea.[3] Secondly, he was, nevertheless, at liberty to preach the Gospel (Col. iv. 3, 4; Eph. vi. 19, 20), which again corresponds better with his Roman imprisonment. And, thirdly, he was hoping when he wrote to be speedily liberated, and to journey to Colossæ (Philem. 22), whereas, just before his Cæsarean imprisonment, his thoughts seem to have still turned to Rome (comp. Acts xix. 21); while his purpose to "appeal unto Cæsar" (Acts xxv. 11), though not expressed until his appearance before Festus, was probably formed long previously. These considerations, it is confessed, are none of them demonstrative; but in the absence of any counter probabilities equal in weight, they may fairly justify our adherence to the ordinary view.

4. Another question relates to the order of the Roman Epistles. That to the Philippians stands alone: those to the Colossians, Philemon, and the Ephesians were sent together: did these three precede or follow the other? Here, again, internal evidence must be our sole guide; and the usual view, that the letter to the Philippians exhibits a more rigorous and therefore a later imprisonment, appears fully warranted by a comparison of the Epistles. The Apostle, in writing to the Colossians, is hopeful of speedy release: he is a prisoner, indeed; but amid circumstances which permit to him comparative leisure of thought: when he writes to the Philippians, the clouds have darkened, the crisis is near. Still he speaks of the possibility of release, but his position is graver; it is possible that the end is at hand. This he has learned steadily to contemplate: "to depart and to be with Christ is very far better"—an utterance to which there is nothing to correspond in the other three Epistles. From the history of the period, we know that "the captain of the guard," Burrhus, a humane man (Acts xxviii. 16), died a year or little more after St. Paul's arrival in the city; and was succeeded by Tigellinus, a man of cruel and vindictive spirit. This new favourite of Nero had taken a principal share in bringing about the emperor's marriage with Poppæa, a proselyte to Judaism. Henceforward the character of Nero rapidly deteriorated; and the effects would not be long in reaching a prisoner like Paul. The Jewish fanaticism of Poppæa would combine with the haughty cruelty of Tigellinus to aggravate the Apostle's peril; and in the prospect of a speedy doom, he writes to the Philippians. The same conclusion, as to the comparative lateness of this Epistle, is sustained by its references to Epaphroditus. First, the Philippians had heard of St. Paul's imprisonment; they had then raised a contribution for his wants, and sent it by Epaphroditus; the intelligence had subsequently reached them that Epaphroditus was ill in Rome. Epaphroditus had heard of their distress, and now, finally, having recovered, was about to return with the Apostle's letter. Four journeys between Rome and Philippi, with intervening periods, had thus occurred during St. Paul's imprisonment before he wrote the Epistle. True, this does not absolutely forbid the earlier date, but it better suits the later.

The argument on which Dr. Lightfoot mainly relies in placing the Epistle to the Philippians first among the Roman letters, is its nearer correspondence with the earlier Epistles than with those to the Colossians and Ephesians. This is shown both in *style*—a comparison being instituted especially between the Epistles to the Philippians and to the Romans[4]—and in *substance*, the topics of the Philippian letter being kindred with those of the foregoing. We have "the spent wave of the controversy" between law and grace; while "a new type of error is springing up," to which the Colossian and subsequent Epistles are largely devoted. The argument is plausible, on the supposition that the Pauline Epistles unfold a strictly progressive order of religious thought. But a series of letters written to churches in widely

[1] See Col. i. 24; iv. 18; Philem. 1; Eph. iii. 1; iv. 1.

[2] Especially Meyer. De Wette appears to hesitate between the two. The arguments in favour of Cæsarea have thus been summarised by Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, who, however, pronounces for Rome:—(1.) It is improbable that Paul would pass two whole years without writing an Epistle. (2.) Communications would be easier between Cæsarea and the churches of Asia Minor than between these churches and Rome. (3.) It is difficult to suppose the somewhat considerable group (see note 1 above) of Paul's companions to have gathered so soon in Rome. (4.) It is likelier that Onesimus would have been found *very soon* (Philem. 15) at Cæsarea than in Rome. (5.) Paul requests Philemon to prepare him a lodging (ver. 22); hardly likely during the Roman imprisonment. It is plain that all these considerations, even if admitted, would amount only to the faintest probability; while, as shown above, there are reasons of greater weight in support of the ordinary view.

[3] There were two kinds of what we may term *private* or *home-imprisonment*. One was the *custodia militaris*, when the prisoner had a soldier always with him, chained arm to arm; the other the *custodia libera*, where the confinement was without further personal restraint. See Acts xxiv. 23.

[4] See *Lightfoot on the Philippians*, pp. 42, 43. The passages compared are Phil. i. 3, 4, 7, 8, with Rom. i. 8—11; Phil. i. 10, with Rom. ii. 18; Phil. ii. 8—11, with Rom. xiv. 9, 11; Phil. ii. 2—4, with Rom. xii. 16—19, and 10; Phil. iii. 3, with Rom. ii. 28, i. 9, and v. 11; Phil. iii. 4, 5, with Rom. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 9—11, 21, with Rom. x. 3, ix. 31, 32, and vi. 5; Phil. iii. 19, with Rom. vi. 21, xvi. 18; Phil. iv. 8, with Rom. xii. 1.

different circumstances would scarcely be likely to present one systematic course of development; and the diversity of tone between the Philippian and Colossian letters is sufficiently explained by the different character of the two communities. On any supposition, a considerable time must have elapsed between the Epistle to the Romans and that to the Philippians; so that the coincidences between the two in thought and expression cannot prove any very intimate connection. The position and circumstances of the European churches, rather than the time of writing, account for the occasional similarity of tone in the letters addressed to them—a similarity perfectly compatible with the intervention of letters in a different strain to the churches of Asia Minor.

5. The further question has been raised, whether the Epistle to the Colossians, with the accompanying private letter to Philemon, was written before or after that to the Ephesians. As, however, the three were dispatched at the same time, and by the same messengers, it would be useless, even if possible, to decide their comparative priority. As a matter of convenience we may take the Colossian letters first. Colossæ or Colassæ,[1] in Phrygia, on the river Lycus, a branch of the Mæander, had formerly been a large city, but in the Apostle's time was comparatively inconsiderable, having been eclipsed by the neighbouring manufacturing towns of Hierapolis and Laodicea.[2] It appears, from the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul twice visited Phrygia, once in his second missionary journey (Acts xvi. 6), and again at the beginning of his third (xviii. 23). Neither of these journeys, however, as the Epistle seems plainly to show, included Colossæ.[3] "I would," says the Apostle, at the beginning of the 3rd chapter, "that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for *as many as have not seen my face in the flesh.*" It is indeed possible to read these words as including two classes—those who had and those who had not seen the Apostle; but it is far easier and more natural to interpret them as referring solely to those who were personally strangers to St. Paul, of whose "faith and love" he had only "heard" (chap. i. 4). It may seem strange that he should have twice traversed Phrygia without visiting Colossæ or even Laodicea. But it would be plainly impossible for him to visit every one of the sixty-two[4] Phrygian cities (the word *all* in Acts xviii. 23—"he went into all the country of Phrygia"—is an interpolation of the English translators). We know not what circumstances may have determined his route; and besides the road along the valley of the Mæander, there is one which he may have taken, further to the north, which, after passing near Thyatira, entered the valley of the Hermus at Sardis.[5] And yet, though unvisited by the Apostle, Colossæ owed its evangelisation indirectly to his labours. Epaphras, one of its citizens, a friend and companion, and most probably a convert of St. Paul, had zealously undertaken the task of proclaiming the Gospel, not only in Colossæ, but in Laodicea and Hierapolis. From him the Colossians had first "learned" the truth that is in Jesus; and he had remained among them "a faithful minister of Christ."[6] He was now in Rome with the Apostle, voluntarily sharing his imprisonment, affectionately ministering to his needs—"our dear fellow-servant" (chap. i. 7); "my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus" (Philem. 23)—and it was, no doubt, by the tidings he had brought of the state of things at Colossæ, that the Apostle is led to write this letter. The earnestness and affection which breathe through every paragraph may well be accounted for by the Apostle's intimate relation with Epaphras, if, indeed, any explanation were necessary of the Apostle's intense concern for the truth of God and the souls of men.

6. The genuineness of this Epistle may fairly be regarded as established beyond any need of controversy here. The most destructive critics, for the most part, regard it as belonging, with the letter to Philemon, to the Pauline series, although these two (except the letter to the Philippians) are the latest that pass unchallenged. It is true that some German critics,[7] and notably Baur, have questioned the Epistle, chiefly on internal grounds, as referring to a state of opinion which, it is alleged, did not exist in the Church until the second century. The allegation, however, is a mere assumption, connected with the assaults that have been made by the same critical school upon the genuineness of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, which deal with forms of heresy similar to those here denounced by St. Paul. The writings themselves, if their genuineness can be established on external independent grounds, are the best testimony to the early prevalence of such errors; and to the Colossian Epistle the chain of testimony is complete and irrefragable.[8] Internal evidence is equally satisfactory. "Non est cujusvis hominis," says Erasmus, "Paulinum pectus effingere." "It is not given to every one to express the heart of Paul;" and his "heart" nowhere more truly reveals itself than in many of the utterances of this Epistle.

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[1] The chief MSS. of the N. T. read Colassæ (Κολασσαί). The classical name was certainly Colossæ (Herodotus vii. 30; Xenophon, *Anab.*, i. 2, 6). So Strabo, xii. 576 (who calls it πόλισμα, "a little town"), and Pliny, v. 41. Colassæ was, no doubt, a corruption current in the Apostles' time. All the coins have the classical form.

[2] The remains of the ancient city have been discovered about three miles north of the modern *Khonos* (Chonæ).

[3] Lardner, however, labours to prove that the Colossian church was planted by St. Paul (*Works*, vol. vi., p. 151 sq.).

[4] Hierocles, in the sixth century. The number may have been smaller in the Apostle's time (Davidson).

[5] Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii., p. 5.

[6] See Col. iv. 12, "Epaphras, one of you" (ἐξ ὑμῶν), also verse 13. In chap. i. 7 we read, "As ye also learned of Epaphras our dear fellow-servant," where the word *also* appears to point to other labours than his (according to Lardner, al., to the labours of *St. Paul* himself). But the best modern critics are agreed in expunging the word *also* (καί) as absent from the principal MSS., and the verse without it becomes an explicit declaration that Epaphras was, as maintained above, the first evangelist of Colossæ. He is to be distinguished from the Philippian Epaphroditus, although the names are the same—one being the contracted form of the other.

[7] Schrader, Mayerhoff (1838), Schwegler, besides Baur. The arguments are to be found in Baur's *Paulus*, 417 sq.

[8] See authorities and quotations in Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, pp. 207—210; Dr. Davidson's *Introduction*, vol. i., p. 174.

7. For the church at Colossæ was threatened, and in some measure perverted, by new forms of error. The Judaism which had so fatally marred the Apostle's work in the neighbouring regions of Galatia, had found footing among these Phrygians also, but in another shape, and with admixtures of Gentile philosophy, partially Greek, but chiefly Oriental. The germ of those speculations afterwards known as Gnosticism—a name which covers great varieties of theory and belief—was already at work. The Apostle was called not only, as heretofore, to present the contrast between law and grace, but to meet the allegations of a vain philosophy with the teachings of a profounder wisdom, and to set forth Christ, not only as "the End of the Law," but as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

The false teaching[1] by which Colossæ had been visited, appears to have been threefold in form.

(1) Its basis was *Judaic*. Circumcision was enforced, rendering it necessary for the Apostle to insist upon spiritual circumcision. Jewish fasts and feasts were also held to be obligatory—the "new moon" and "sabbaths." The old "handwriting of ordinances" was exalted into a universal law, and the "rudiments," or "elements," of the world—*i.e.*, the typical observances of Mosaism (Gal. iv. 3)—were made a yoke of bondage.

(2) With this was blended a *mystical philosophy* characterised by inquiries and speculations respecting the unseen world; the "worshipping of angels;" theories as to the nature and rank of spiritual and invisible powers, which led to the virtual dethronement of Christ as Lord of all, and made it needful to exalt Him as "the Head," the "Fulness" being "well pleased to dwell in Him."[2] It is here that we see the beginning of those vain philosophies which, in the next generation, were connected with the names of Cerinthus, Basilides, and the promulgators of Gnostic heresies.

(3) Together with these phases of belief, there appears to have been the inculcation of *ascetic practices*—"voluntary humility," "neglecting of the body," an enforced ritual abstinence, "Touch not, taste not, handle not;" a professed trampling upon carnal appetites and desires, which St. Paul boldly stigmatises as a more "fleshly" thing than these desires themselves. Thus early in the history of the Church does he declare the truth which it would be well if all after times had remembered—that an unnatural ascetism is a sure minister to selfishness and sensuality.

In protesting against these various yet connected forms of error, the Apostle takes occasion to dwell, in animated language, on the supreme greatness of Christ, and the glory of His redemption; as also to enforce those practical obligations which it was especially needful to press home upon recent converts from heathenism.

8. The Epistle, it should be observed, is addressed not to "the church" in Colossæ, but to "the saints and faithful brethren." The Apostle seems to use the former style of address only to communities where he had himself laboured (Thessalonica, Corinth, Philippi); the latter, to believers personally unknown to him, and perhaps destitute of some "gift" of organisation which apostolic presence was needed to impart. In this respect the Colossian, Roman, and *Ephesian* Epistles are alike (see the paper on the Epistle to the Ephesians). The present Epistle, though unstudied and informal in its arrangement, may be briefly analysed as follows:—

(1.) Introductory (i. 1—12).

(2.) Redemption by the Father and the Son (i. 13—29).

(3.) Warning against false doctrine (ii. 1—iii. 4).[3]

Here the Apostle repeats a leading thought of the Galatian and Roman Epistles (see Rom. vi. 4; viii. 10; Gal. ii. 19, 20, &c.). The coincidence is at least as close as any that have been adduced between the Epistles to the *Philippians* and to the Romans. (See above, and note 4, p. 158.)

(4.) Practical exhortations based upon this (iii. 5—iv. 6).[4]

(5.) Conclusion. Personal (iv. 7—18).

9. The remaining history of the church in Colossæ is unknown. The warning words addressed not many years after to the neighbouring churches of Laodicea, Thyatira, and Sardis, from the lips of Christ himself, too sadly betoken a wide-spread declension from the faith and love which, notwithstanding all tendencies to error, had once characterised the Phrygian churches. "Thou art neither cold nor hot;" "Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel to teach;" "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead."[5] May we hope that Colossæ escaped the prevailing corruption? We cannot tell; we have only in this Epistle the imperishable memorial of a name that might otherwise have been lost in the darkness of the past; a testimony to all time that the true corrective to superstition, the best antidote to vain philosophy, and the only secret of a holy life, are to be found in the apprehension of Christ the Saviour in His glory as "the Image of the Invisible God," and in His redeeming work, as "making peace through the blood of His cross," that He might reconcile all things unto God.

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[1] Who were the *teachers* does not appear. The allusions in chap. ii. 4, 8, are thought by some to point to an *individual* teacher. But this is very uncertain. No doubt the disseminators of error, whether one or many, came as professed converts to Christianity.

[2] Chap. i. 19 should read, "In Him (Christ) the Fulness was pleased to dwell" (comp. chap. ii. 9).

[3] In chap. ii. 18, the "worshipping of angels" is certainly illustrated by the fact that, as Theodoret (*Eccl. Hist.*) attests, the archangel Michael was worshipped at Colossæ and a temple built in his honour. In chap. ii. 21, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," are the enslaving ordinances of men. It is surprising that the words are often quoted as though they were *apostolic commands!*

[4] Punctuate chap. iii. 16 thus, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly; in all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another; in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."

[5] Rev. iii. 1, 15; ii. 20.

CONTRASTS OF SCRIPTURE.

ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE.

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IN a former paper[1] I examined certain contrasts in the phraseology of the Gospel narratives, which were to be attributed to the different classes of readers for whom each Gospel was originally intended. I propose in this paper to call attention to certain contrasts between the Gospel narratives of the various Evangelists, which are to be accounted for by the individual characteristics of the writers; and I commence with some peculiarities of the Gospel of St. Mark. There are certain points in which the same events are narrated by St. Mark differently—both as regards language and detail—from the record of them by other Evangelists. Now if we assume, as there is much reason for doing, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel, if not at the dictation, at least under the guidance, of St. Peter,[2] we shall find that fact a sufficient explanation of such differences; and thus those very differences regarding detail become, from this point of view, a strong testimony in favour of the general truth of the narrative. There are certain passages in St. Mark which must have been, at all events, suggested by an eye-witness, and, I will venture to add, by an eye-witness with an eye for natural scenery and detail. For example, in Mark iv. 38 the description given of the storm and the Saviour asleep differs from that given by St. Matthew (chap. viii. 24) and that given by St. Luke (chap. viii. 23) by the introduction of such a little detail, as only an eye-witness, and an eye-witness who was apt to regard such details, could have suggested. St. Mark says (in contrast to the other Evangelists, who merely mention that He was sleeping), "And He was *in the hinder part* of the ship, asleep *on a pillow*."

In the description of the feeding of the five thousand St. Matthew says (xiv. 19), "And He commanded the multitude to sit down on the grass," &c. St. Luke (ix. 15) remarks, "And they made them all sit down." St. Mark's words are (vi. 39), "And He commanded them to make all sit down *by companies* upon the *green* grass." Surely that is the description of one on whom the actual sight of those groups clad in white and variegated garments, dotted over the bright green grass, had made an impression from the picturesqueness of the scene.

St. Matthew and St. Luke both narrate at length the details of our Lord's temptation; but St. Mark alone (with the appreciation of one who regarded intensely the natural aspects of a scene) adds (i. 13), "And He was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan; *and was with the wild beasts*." This is the more remarkable, as St. Mark does not give—beyond the mere mention of it—any record of the temptation; and yet he gives that one suggestion which an appreciator of Nature would be struck with, of the complete loneliness and awfulness of those forty days.

St. Mark, in describing the finding of the colt on which Christ was to make his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, gives a little detail unnoticed by the other Evangelists—that the animal was found "without, in a place where two ways met." These are all remarkable examples of the writing of one (or the writing from the accounts given by one) who was an eye-witness of the scenes described, and who also had a vivid perception of the natural characteristics of any scene or place. As illustrative of a regard to detail from personal and intimate knowledge of the incidents, though not involving any illustration of an "eye for Nature," I may quote St. Mark (xiv. 59): "But neither so did their witness agree together;" (xv. 44), "And Pilate marvelled if He were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether He had been any while dead;" (xvi. 3, 4), "And they said among themselves, Who shall roll away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? And when they looked, they saw the stone was rolled away, *for it was very great*."

In many narratives the Gospel of St. Mark mentions the expression of our Lord, which is not noticed by the other Evangelists, thus showing that the writer was informed by one who had not only been a close companion of Him during His ministry, but was naturally a keen and accurate observer. That Christ "groaned in spirit" is mentioned (vi. 34; viii. 12); that He "looked round" (iii. 5); that the rich young man was "loved" by Him (x. 21). I may add the minute and graphic account of the possessed with the legion of devils in St. Mark v. 1—5.

It is not, I think, out of place to notice some contrasts between the phraseology of St. Mark's and the other Gospels, which seem to indicate that the former was derived from one who was a Galilean. St. Luke writes (v. 1), "He stood by the lake of Gennesaret;" St. Mark, in the parallel passage (i. 16), "Now as He walked by the *Sea* of Galilee." St. Luke writes (viii. 22), "And He said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side *of the lake*;" St. Mark (iv. 35) merely says, "Let us pass over unto the other side," which were, perhaps, the words used by our Lord, himself a Galilean, whereas St. Luke added "of the lake" to make it clearer to his readers, as it no doubt also made it clearer to himself. I cannot but think that the contrast between the style of allusion to St. Peter in the Gospel of St. Mark, and in the other Gospels, is really

[1] Vol. II., p. 257.

[2] Tertullian (*Cont. Marcionem*, 4, 5) refers to St. Peter's connection with this Gospel thus—"*cujus interpres Marcus.*" St. Mark is spoken of by Irenæus as "interpres et sectator Petri." Jerome goes so far as to state explicitly that the origin of this Gospel was "*Petro narrante, et illo scribente.*"

to be attributed to that modesty which, as a rule, characterises an impetuous and passionate nature in its calmer moments. St. Matthew, for example, writes (viii. 14), "And when Jesus was come into Peter's house;" St. Luke says (iv. 38), "He entered into Simon's house." In St. Mark's narrative the prominence of Peter's name disappears: thus (i. 29), "They entered into the house of Simon and Andrew with James and John."

St. Matthew (xv. 15) mentions that Peter was the spokesman of the disciples in asking the meaning of the parable—"Then answered Peter, and said unto him, Declare unto us this parable." St. Mark (vii. 17) says, "His disciples asked Him concerning the parable."

The message of the angels to the disciples is thus recorded by St. Mark (xvi. 7), "Go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see Him." The words "and Peter" are peculiar to St. Mark's Gospel. To others there might have been little in the fact of the mention of Peter's name; to him, with the memory of his fall so fresh, how very dear that mention must have been. The mention of that name, therefore, in a narrative written at his suggestion, is natural. Nor can we regard it as wanting in modesty if we agree with the remark of St. Gregory, "If the angel had not named Peter, he had not dared to come amongst *the disciples*."[1]

St. John (xviii. 10) in narrating the incident about the cutting off of the servant's ear, mentions that this act of zeal for the Master was done by Peter. In St. Mark's Gospel the narrative is given, but no name is mentioned; the act is merely referred to as that of a certain person who stood by.

From the Gospel of St. Mark, with its interesting traces of St. Peter's influence, I turn to the Gospel of St. Luke. Some of the characteristics of St. Luke's Gospel I have already alluded to as indicating the particular class of persons for whom his Gospel was primarily intended—namely, Gentile readers. But the opening verses suggest that a particular Gentile convert, named Theophilus, was addressed. It has, no doubt, been suggested that the word Theophilus was not necessarily the name of an individual, but merely a generic name[2] for any lover of God (θεόφιλος). The whole tone of the passage, as well as ancient testimony,[3] is, however, opposed to this idea. The very word κράτιστε ("most excellent") seems to designate an individual of a particular rank,[4] and would be strangely out of place if the word were used as simply meaning "amans Dei," and not as the actual name of an individual.

But further, the statement in chap. i. 4 could scarcely be addressed to an abstract idea, and not to a person. St. Luke states that he writes in the hope that "you may clearly perceive[5] the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed (κατηχήθης)"—language which bears upon its face the impress of historic individuality. Assuming then that this Theophilus was a Gentile and resident in Italy, there are various peculiarities which are traceable to the fact of this Gospel having been addressed to him. Archbishop Thomson has pointed out that various passages owe their minuteness of detailed description to the fact that Theophilus was not an inhabitant of Palestine, to whom the relative position of certain places would have been well known. For example, Capernaum is described as "a city of Galilee" (iv. 31); Nazareth also "a city of Galilee" (i. 26); Arimathea as a "city of the Jews" (xxiii. 51). The country of the Gadarenes is indicated as being "over against Galilee" (viii. 26). There are, however, some passages bearing upon this point, the phraseology of which is a striking contrast to that of the other Evangelists. Of these I would note two instances. St. Luke (xxii. 1), speaking of the great Jewish feast, says, "Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover;" St. Matthew writes (xxvi. 2), "Ye know that after two days is the Passover." St. Luke (xxi. 37) mentions that Christ went out and abode "in the mount which is called the Mount of Olives," which is language most unlikely to have been used except by one writing at a distance.[6]

There are some passages in St. Luke in which he substitutes for the word used by the other Evangelists, when it happens to be a foreign word, or of foreign significance, language which would be more intelligible and more acceptable to an educated Greek. This contrast between St. Luke's and the other Gospels would seem to indicate not merely his superior style as an educated man (for he would be acquainted with the words current in Palestine), but one writing amongst those who would understand best the most accurate Greek. Thus we read in St. Matthew (xxii. 17), "Is it lawful to give tribute (κῆνσον) unto Cæsar, or not?" The same word for "tribute" is used again by St. Mark in the parallel passage (xii. 14). Now this is not a Greek word; it is not to be found in Greek literature, although it no doubt was the real name of the tax, for it was a Roman impost, and the word employed by the two Evangelists is the Latin *census* (a tax). In St. Luke's Gospel (xx. 22) we read, "Is it lawful to give tribute (φόρον δοῦναι) to Cæsar, or not?" The word for "tribute" thus used by St. Luke—though probably not the real word used on the occasion, for the Roman title for it would doubtless have been that used in the conversation with our Lord—is the word which a Greek would have employed. It was the word used for a tax paid by foreigners to a ruling state.[7]

In the accounts given by St. Matthew and St. Mark of the Crucifixion, we read, "When they were come to

[1] "Si angelus Petrum non nominasset, venire inter discipulos non auderet; vocatur ergo ex nomine, ne desperet ex negatione."

[2] Epiphan., *Hær.*, li., p. 429; Origen, *Hom.* i. *in Luc.*

[3] He was supposed by some to belong to Alexandria. Theophylact (*Argument. in Luc.*) suggests that he was perhaps of the senatorial order, and perhaps a prince.

[4] See Acts xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 25, where the same designation is used.

[5] ἐπιγνῶς, the ἐπι intensifying the verb; "planè et accuratè cognoscere," as Wake interprets it.

[6] Josephus uses the same (*Jewish War*, book v., c. 2, § 3).

[7] Thucydides (i. 96) uses φορά, as designating the tax paid by the islanders, &c., to Athens.

a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull" (Matt. xxvii. 33); and, "They bring Him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull" (Mark xv. 22). But St. Luke (xxiii. 33) omits the word Golgotha altogether, and changes the meaning of it into a proper name—"When they were come to the place which is called Calvary" (Κρανίον).

In conclusion, I may call attention to some minor contrasts in the language of St. Luke's Gospel to that of the other Evangelists, and which it is, I think, not fanciful to trace to the fact of which St. Paul informs us, that St. Luke was a physician. Both St. Matthew (viii. 14) and St. Mark (i. 29, 30) mention the sickness and healing of Simon's wife's mother. They both state that she was sick of "a fever;" but St. Luke mentions that (iv. 38) she was taken "with a *great* fever." The former two Evangelists mention, after the fever, at Christ's command, leaves her, that "she arose and ministered unto them." St. Luke writes, "And *immediately* she arose and ministered unto them." The physician appreciated the intensity of the fever from which she was suffering, and was naturally more struck than others with the fact that not only did the fever depart, but, without any interval for the natural recovery of health, she was restored by the same miraculous power at once to her former strength. St. Luke also is the writer who compares the sweat of agony in the Garden to (xxii. 44) "as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground;" and he alone of the Evangelists records the healing of Malchus' ear, while the others only state the incident of its having been smitten off.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.

BY THE REV. EUSTACE R. CONDER, M.A., LEEDS.

As the Bible among all books, so among the books of the Bible, the Psalms in the Old Testament, the Gospel of John in the New Testament, have taken deepest hold on the heart of mankind. In sorrow, in sickness, in old age, in his happiest and holiest hours, the Christian turns, as if instinctively, to the pages of this Evangelist. When the Gospels are sold separately, the sale of the fourth Gospel far exceeds that of the other three. No part of the Bible, apart from the special evidence of fulfilled prophecy, presents more strongly the internal evidence both of historic truth and of Divine inspiration. If the question be asked, where, in the whole range of literature, is found the most wonderful combination of sublime ideas and simple language, the reply must be—in the Gospel and Epistles of St. John. Calvin was wont to call this Gospel the key to open the door to the right understanding of the other three. It not only completes the picture of our Saviour's outward life and ministry, which had else lacked some of its most important features, but gives such an inward view of His character and teaching, that we seem almost brought into personal contact with Him, side by side with the disciple who said, "Lord, to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life;" or with him who exclaimed, as his doubts vanished at sight of his risen Master, "My Lord and my God!"

We know more of the Apostle John than of most of the apostles. There is no reasonable doubt that it is to himself he refers as the unnamed one of the two disciples of John the Baptist, who, on John's testimony, believed in Jesus as the Messiah, and were accepted by Him as His first disciples (chap. i. 35—40). Andrew, there named as his companion, and Simon, the third of this little band of earnest and faithful adherents, next appear as partners (Luke v. 10) with John and his brother James, together with Zebedee their father, in their rough but honest and useful calling as fishermen on the Lake of Galilee. In the lists of apostles these four are always first named, and as James is placed first, we infer that John was the younger brother. The impetuous fervour, energy, and loftiness of spirit, which earned for the two brothers from their Master the name of *Boanerges* ("Sons of Thunder"), are clearly discernible in two incidents preserved by St. Luke (chap. ix. 49, 54), and in their ambitious request recorded in the first two Gospels (Matt. xx. 20; Mark x. 35). Although he shared the panic of that terrible moment when Jesus was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and "all the disciples forsook Him and fled," John proved his courage and devotion by accompanying Jesus into the high priest's palace, and standing close by His cross, where he received the sacred trust of filling a son's place to the mother of his dying Lord; "and from that hour that disciple took her to his own home." We may take for granted what is universally allowed, that it is to himself he refers as "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (chap. xiii. 23; xix. 26; xxi. 7, 20). Thus, while avoiding the express mention of his own name, he at once indicates the authorship of his work, and claims to be an eye-witness of what he narrates. This claim is also made with great emphasis in chap. i. 14; xix. 35 (see also xxi. 24), and is dwelt on with intense earnestness in his First Epistle (chap. i. 1—3).

If, as seems tolerably clear, the sister of our Lord's mother, mentioned by St. John (xix. 25), was Salome, wife of Zebedee (comp. Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40), the Evangelist was a first cousin of the Lord. This, however, would not account for the peculiarly intimate relations between them, had there not been in John's character, combined with his fiery fervour, a singular tenderness, loveliness, and receptivity; a large admix-

ture, in a word, with masculine force, of that feminine element which keen observers of human nature have pronounced essential to the highest greatness and finish of character. Some of the most terribly severe things in the Bible are found in his Gospel and Epistles, couched in the quietest words; but the prevailing impression they leave on our minds is of gentleness and love. No wonder, then, that when trial, experience, and the softening touch of age, had mellowed his whole nature, and a hundred winters, or near, had gone over his head in a world whose only sunshine for him came from the world beyond,—no wonder that the image of the aged Apostle left in the memory of the Church, almost to the exclusion of every other, should have been that of saintly simplicity and most loving tenderness.

Diverse indeed was the lot severally appointed to the two "sons of thunder"—for the one, to be the first martyr of the glorious company of apostles; for the other, to be, for long years, its last survivor; a living link of communion and testimony between the first and second centuries. Tradition, fuller and more trustworthy than in the case of any other apostle, assures us that St. John lived until the reign of Trajan (who began to reign A.D. 98), and that he laboured, died, and was buried at Ephesus.[1] As we cannot suppose him to have been many years (if at all) younger than our Lord (the true date of whose birth, it will be remembered, is B.C. 4), this would make him to have reached and perhaps overpassed one hundred years of age,

The question of AUTHORSHIP is of immensely greater importance in the case of the fourth Gospel than of the other three. Their value would be the same if they had come down to us under other names. The writers of the second and third contribute nothing of their own to the reports of eye-witnesses, which they faithfully transmit. The writer of the first, though an eye-witness, never speaks as such; and we know nothing of him but the few incidents connected with his call as a disciple and ordination as an apostle. With the fourth Gospel the case is widely different. The writer, as we have seen, lays the greatest stress on his being an eye-witness; more than this, he claims to be the Apostle John himself. If he was not—if this Gospel was written by any one else, with how pious soever intention, it is neither more nor less than a forgery, and consequently utterly worthless. The intelligent reader, therefore, cannot be contented to leave this question as a mere scholar's controversy, in which he is not practically interested. He must desire to know at least the nature of the grounds on which, in reading the fourth Gospel, he may confidently believe that he has before him the words of the beloved disciple and venerable apostle; bringing him within one remove of listening to the very voice of JESUS.

[1] The testimonies are given by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 23; v. 24; iii. 1. A German writer, named Lützelberger, between thirty and forty years ago, laboured hard to destroy the credit of this universally received tradition. His criticisms, resting on the fallacious argument from silence, are clearly stated, and ably and satisfactorily answered, together with a large number of other objections, by Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to N. T.*, vol. i., pp. 244 ff.).

Some brief general maxims may be here of great help and value:—

(1.) Positive evidence, if sufficient and decisive, overrides any amount of negative evidence in the form of objections and difficulties. Objections, often of great apparent weight, and difficult if not impossible to clear away, may be brought against the strongest case in a court of justice, or the best established fact in history. Yet the evidence may be so clear and ample as to forbid doubt. It is not therefore needful, in order to an intelligent and devout faith in apostolic teaching, that the reader should be aware of all the minute and intricate objections—sometimes formidable, sometimes trifling—which the keen ingenuity of modern scholars (especially in Germany) has constructed against the genuineness of the books of the New Testament; or should be acquainted with the answers. The positive evidence is what mainly concerns him. If that is decisive, there must be a reply to the objections, though he may not at present be furnished with it.

(2.) On the other hand, the refutation of objections, when the skill of able and learned opponents has been taxed to the utmost to adduce them, adds considerably to the strength of the positive evidence.

(3.) It is not necessary, in order to an intelligent and sound judgment, either to possess or to affect an unnatural impartiality. Suppose a man finds the title-deeds to his estate, or the honour of his friend, or the validity of his parents' marriage, called in question, it would be monstrous to expect him to be coolly impartial. But the very depth of his interest in the matter will make him scrutinise the evidence the more keenly. He will not rest content till all doubt is shown to be unreasonable.

(4.) In matters of historical evidence and reality, a clear head, common sense, and a firm grasp of the main points, are far more important than microscopic mastery of minute details, and will enable the reader so endowed to see his way to a calm well-grounded certainty, where men immensely his superiors in learning lose themselves in a wilderness of doubt.

(5.) The highest evidence of all—that self-evidence of Divine truth by which it commends itself to every man's conscience, heart, and understanding—cannot be measured by literary criticism, or communicated from mind to mind by argument. Where this evidence of truth and Divine inspiration is recognised, the question of authorship may sometimes remain debateable, and of very inferior importance; as in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But in the case of this Gospel, the two things are inseparable. If it be inspired, it must be St. John's, because a deliberate forgery could not be Divinely inspired.

It is needful to distinguish between (I.) the *external*, and (II.) the *internal* evidence of authorship; or, as it is often termed, genuineness.

I. The EXTERNAL EVIDENCE is the testimony of the Church. In plainer words, the fact that among the numerous and widely-scattered Christian communities, from Gaul to Syria, this Gospel was received

as from the pen of the Apostle John, at so early a date as to preclude the possibility of its being spurious. Let us set down, in brief outline, the proof of this fact.

1. The existence of the general Epistle of St. John is a powerful testimony to the genuineness of the Gospel. Even hostile critics admit that both must be from one pen. The opening verses appear distinctly to point to the Gospel, and to its unique and wonderful beginning; for although they would have been a true description of the Apostle's preaching, it would not be natural for a preacher in writing to his hearers thus to describe his own preaching. A forger would have incalculably increased the danger of detection and failure by attempting to float TWO such extraordinary compositions as the work of the last surviving Apostle. And who, forsooth, was this wonderful forger, or in what nook of obscurity did he hide his head, who achieved that rarest feat of genius (if it was *only* genius), the expression of the sublimest truth in phrases of such terse simplicity that they have become key-words of all Christian teaching, and can never die? "God is light;" "God is love;" "Sin is lawlessness;" "Every man that hath this hope in Him, purifieth himself, even as He is pure;" "Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer;" "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin." Who was the man able to sustain this style of thought and diction through the Epistle and to write the Gospel besides; yet mean and wicked enough to send forth his works with a lie? Truly "these are not the words of him that hath a devil."

2. The testimony in 2 Pet. i. 14 to John xxi. 18 must not be overlooked.

3. Ignatius, bishop of the church of Antioch during the last thirty years of the first century and the early years of the second, and martyred under the Emperor Trajan, employs phrases which plainly appear taken from this Gospel.[1]

4. Papias of Hierapolis, according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39), quoted St. John's Epistle. Papias was a contemporary and friend of Polycarp of Smyrna, who already held the pastoral office when Ignatius passed through that city on his way to martyrdom. Papias is supposed to have been martyred about the same time with Polycarp.

5. Tatian, the hearer and friend of Justin Martyr, compiled a work entitled *Diatessaron* ("Through the Four"), that is, a harmony or continuous narrative compiled from the four Gospels. The year of Tatian's death is not known; but this work, which obtained a wide circulation, cannot be dated later than about A.D. 170. There is no room for question as to what "four" Gospels it combined, even if we had not express testimony that the *Diatessaron* commenced with the words "In the beginning was the Word."[2] The compilation of such a harmony implies the previous wide and unquestioned reception of all the four Gospels; and thus affords testimony much earlier than the date of its own composition.

6. Theophilus, bishop of the church of Antioch about A.D. 170—183,[3] is the first writer who *expressly names* St. John as the writer of the fourth Gospel. He wrote a commentary on the four Gospels. How could either he (born within thirty or forty years of St. John's death) or the churches amongst which his commentary circulated, have been imposed on by a recent forgery, and accepted it side by side with the venerable writings of Matthew, Mark, and Luke?

7. Irenæus, also born within some thirty years (or less) of St. John's death, bishop of the church at Lyons from A.D. 177, but a native of Asia Minor, and in his youth a hearer of Polycarp, himself a hearer of St. John, among some four hundred quotations from the Gospels, quotes St. John more than eighty times, expressly naming him as the author of the fourth Gospel. He has some curious arguments to prove that there could not be more or fewer than four Gospels; strained and fanciful, it is true, in themselves, but indubitably proving that four, and only four, authentic and genuine narratives of the Gospel history were universally received as inspired Scripture.

8. In like manner, Tertullian, born soon after A.D. 150, by some 200 quotations from this Gospel, bears witness to its unquestioned reception by the African churches.[4]

9. The venerable Syriac Bible, called *Peshito* (simple or faithful), ascribed to the latter part of the second century, contains this Gospel. It is also enumerated among the books of the New Testament Canon in the remarkable MS. known as "The Canon" or "Fragment" (from its being mutilated at each end) "of Muratori," so called from its discoverer; the original of which critics ascribe to about A.D. 170.[5]

Let the reader clearly understand that the value of this accumulated evidence is not the mere sum of individual testimonies (weighty though that is); but lies in the demonstration thus furnished, that in the third quarter of the second century this Gospel was received without question or suspicion, together with the three others (and no more), by the churches of Asia, Europe, and Africa. This wide dissemination implies a considerable lapse of years since its publication; so that the combined light of these testimonies shines far back through the first half of the century—that is, within the lifetime of hundreds, if not thousands, who had seen and heard the Apostle himself. That within that half century, both the Gospel and the Epistle should have been forged, and obtained this world-wide reception as genuine, is an utterly (one might say monstrously) incredible supposition.

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[1] Davidson's *Introd. to N. T.*, i. 234. See for quotations from, or allusions to this Gospel, by Justin Martyr, by Polycrates of Ephesus, and in the Epistle to Diognetus, pp. 235, 236. Allusions like these, in which the Gospel is not expressly named, do not supply strong *direct* evidence, but are valuable as shutting out the objection which might be drawn from their absence.

[2] See Davidson, p. 237.

[3] *Ib.*, vol. iii., p. 1084.

[4] See Dr. Tischendorf's *When were our Gospels Written?* p. 49. (Religious Tract Society.)

[5] *Ib.*, p. 49. Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, pp. 112—116.

II. The INTERNAL EVIDENCE is twofold; consisting partly in the indications, thickly imbedded in the narrative, that it is the work of a truthful witness, himself a living actor and spectator in the events he describes; partly in the utter impossibility of giving any reasonable explanation of the production of the work, if it were a forgery. Be it remembered that this is not a question of doubt or possible mistake in the ascription of an anonymous work to a certain author. The book claims to be from St. John's pen—in a manner the most simple, natural, and modest, if he was its author; most subtilly and deliberately deceitful if he were not. And this is a book which proclaims Truth to be the mainstay of life, liberty, and holiness. The rank impossibility of imagining who or what the forger could be, if the Gospel and Epistle are forgeries, has been already hinted at in reference to the latter. To any one who realises the literary and religious character of the half century after St. John's death, as regards both Christians and heretics, it will not seem an exaggeration to say that the production of this Gospel, if it was the work of an impostor, was a miracle greater (because more unaccountable) than the resurrection of Lazarus; and the success of the imposture was miraculous also.

No one is so foolish or hardy as to deny that if written during St. John's lifetime—if written by a Jew of Palestine, a personal follower of our Lord, the Gospel could have been written by no one else but the Apostle himself. Now the indications of such authorship abound; not coarsely thrust in or patched on, as by the hand of a foreign forger, more than a century after the facts narrated, but inwoven naturally and unobtrusively, as by one who was himself part of the scenes he depicts. A forger attempting this would have betrayed himself over and over again. Appreciation of this sort of evidence must vary, partly according to the reader's learning, but chiefly according to his tact, acuteness, sensibility, and good sense—candour, of course, being supposed. As examples, let the reader turn to chap. i. 14, 29, 35—39; ii. 6, 7, 12, 20, 22; iv. 6, 27, 28, 54; vi. 5; xi. 54; xii. 1—6; xiii. 4; and the whole of the exquisitely graphic, simple, and beautiful narratives of the healing of the blind man (chap. ix.), and the raising of Lazarus (chap. xi.). These examples may suggest others for private study.

It is true that many ingenious attempts have been made to fasten on this Gospel mistakes in regard to localities, Jewish customs, &c., inconsistent with its being the work of a Jew of our Saviour's time. But these have so broken down, that one of the latest hostile critics surrenders them wholesale.[1]

[1] Dr. Keim, quoted by Mr. Sanday, in his *Critical Essay on the Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 284. (Macmillan & Co., 1872.) In this extremely able work, the internal evidence for the genuineness of this Gospel is wrought out with signal acumen, clearness, and force; and the theory of a Gnostic authorship shown to be nothing short of an absurdity. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Sanday should have gone so far to damage the value of his own argument by the astonishing and self-complacent coolness with which he corrects the mistakes of St. John and the other Evangelists, pulls discourses to pieces, melts different events and times into one, and (by what he calls "a method of analysis and comparison") substitutes his own subjectivity for that of the Evangelist. Probably, however, the low point of view from which his book is written, as regards apostolic infallibility, may render it more useful to not a few readers, whom a higher (and juster) view would repel.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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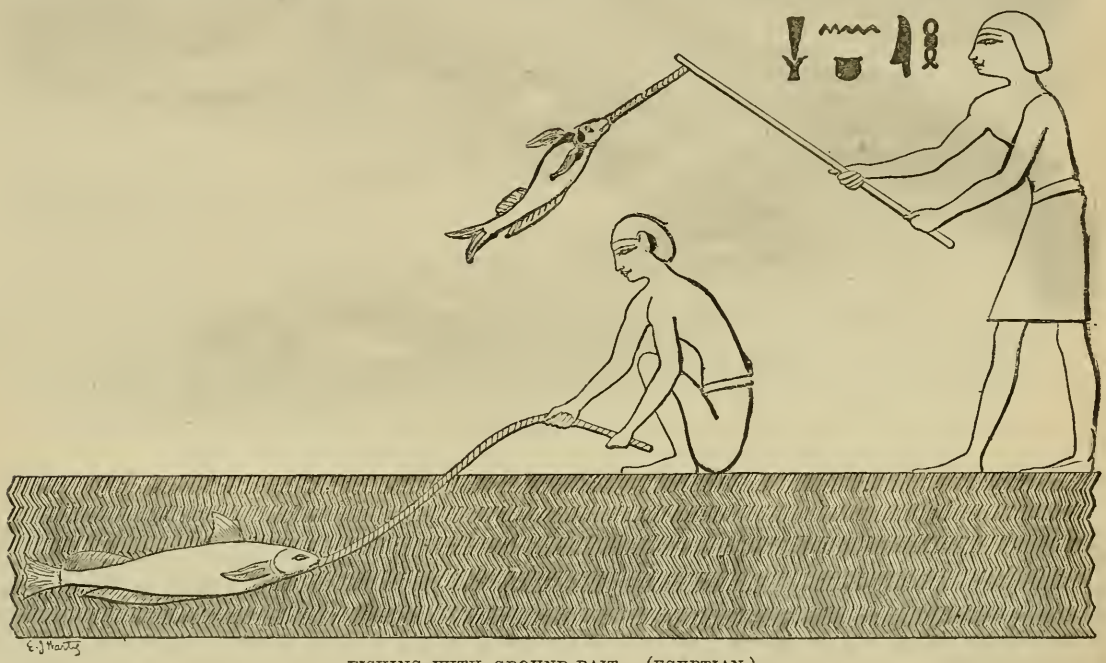
FISH.

ACCORDING to the ancient Hebrews, the whole animal creation was divided into three large groups—viz. (1), habitants of the land, (2) habitants of the air, and (3) habitants of the water. The habitants of the water included (*a*) fishes and the whale tribe, or the *Cetacea;* and (*b*) "creeping things of the water," which would probably embrace *molluscous animals, Crustacea,* as lobsters, crabs, &c., the marine and fresh-water *Annelida,* the *Echinodermata,* as star-fish, sea-cucumbers (*Holothuridæ*), &c. Perhaps also in the first division (*a*) certain aquatic mammalia, as the otter and the seal, would be included. The *Cœlenterata,* such as zoophytes, corals, &c., would probably, from their plant-like forms, be considered to belong to the vegetable kingdom. The creeping things were regarded also from another point of view, viz., their locomotion, and were divided into these four groups—(1) "Those that go upon four feet," such as some of the reptiles, as lizards; and the amphibia, as frogs, toads, &c.; (2) "those that have many feet" (Lev. xi. 42; see margin, Heb., "doth multiply feet"), such as crabs, shrimps, lobsters, &c., among the *Crustacea,* millepedes amongst the *Myriopoda,* spiders and scorpions amongst the *Arachnida;* (3) winged creeping things, as insects; and (4) "those that go upon the belly," as serpents, annelids, gasteropodous mollusks. Creatures of the water are divided into two classes, viz. (1), "those that have fins and scales," and (2) "those that have not." So of fishes, "whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers" were allowed as food, while those fishes destitute of these parts were to be considered as an abomination to the Hebrews (Lev. xi. 9—12). Hence the *Siluridæ,* or sheat-fish family, the *Petromyzidæ,* or lampreys, and the *Raiidæ,* skates, all of which have scaleless skins, would be disallowed as food. Eels, from their serpent-like form, would probably also be excluded. Whether the ancient Jews considered them destitute of scales, we cannot tell; but that the Jews have for a long time been aware of the existence of scales in the integument of the eel, is clear from a certain passage in the Talmud (*Abada Sara,* fol. 39 *a*), which relates that when Rabbi Ashi came to Tamdoria,

some one placed before him an eel-like fish (צלופחא, *tselopcchâ*, which Rashi explains by אנגילא, "anguille"), and that on his holding it to the light he noticed some very fine scales, and thereupon did not scruple to partake of its flesh.

The Bible allusions to fish, fisheries, and modes of fishing are numerous. According to the account in the first chapter of Genesis, fishes were created on the fifth day, together with great sea-monsters (*tannîm*, A. V. "whales") (Gen. i. 21). The fishes of Egypt are more than once alluded to; they are especially mentioned in connection with the first plague: "The fish that is in the river shall die" (Exod. vii. 18, 21; fully understand the force of Isaiah's denunciation in "the burden of Egypt." "The river shall be wasted and dried up; . . . the reeds and flags shall wither; . . . the paper-reeds by the brooks; . . . the fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish" (xix. 5—8). Fishes are specially mentioned as creatures over which man was to hold dominion (Gen. i. 26, 28; ix. 2); their prolific nature is alluded to in Gen. xlviii. 16. Of Ephraim and Manasseh the patriarch Jacob says, "Let them grow, as fishes increase, in the midst of the earth" (see margin); indeed, both the Hebrew word for a fish—viz., *dâg*—



FISHING WITH GROUND-BAIT. (EGYPTIAN.)

Ps. cv. 29). The Israelites complain bitterly of their want of flesh in the wilderness, and call to mind the days when they ate freely of fish in the land of Egypt (Numb. xi. 5). The ancient Egyptians consumed large quantities of fish both fresh and salted. "The great abundance of fish produced in the Nile," says Sir G. Wilkinson, "was an invaluable provision of Nature, in a country which had neither extensive pasture lands, nor large herds of cattle, and where corn was the principal production. When the Nile inundated the country, and filled the lakes and canals with its overflowing waters, these precious gifts were extended to the most remote villages in the interior of the valley; and the plentiful supply of fish they then obtained was an additional benefit conferred upon them at this season of the year. The quantity is said to have been immense, and the shoals of small fish which then appear in the canals and ponds call to mind and confirm a remark of Herodotus respecting their numbers at the rising Nile" (*Anc. Egypt.* iii., p. 63). We can then and the Chaldee *nûn*, are derived from roots each one meaning "to be prolific." The immense number of fishes that in apostolic times swam in the Lake of Galilee are often alluded to in the New Testament. "They enclosed a great multitude of fishes, and their net began to break" (Luke v. 6; see also John xxi. 6, 11). The Galilean lake still swarms with fish. "The density of the shoals of fish in the Sea of Galilee," says Dr. Tristram, "can scarcely be conceived by those who have not witnessed them. Frequently these shoals cover an acre or more of the surface, and the fish, as they slowly move along in masses, are so crowded, with their back fins just appearing on the level of the water, that the appearance at a little distance is that of a violent shower of rain pattering on the surface."

There is no distinct mention of any particular kind of fish in the Bible. Several kinds are found in the Sea of Galilee. Dr. Tristram's party secured fourteen species, and he thinks that probably the number inhabiting the lake is at least three times as great. Two

SHEAT-FISH (*Clarias macracanthus*).

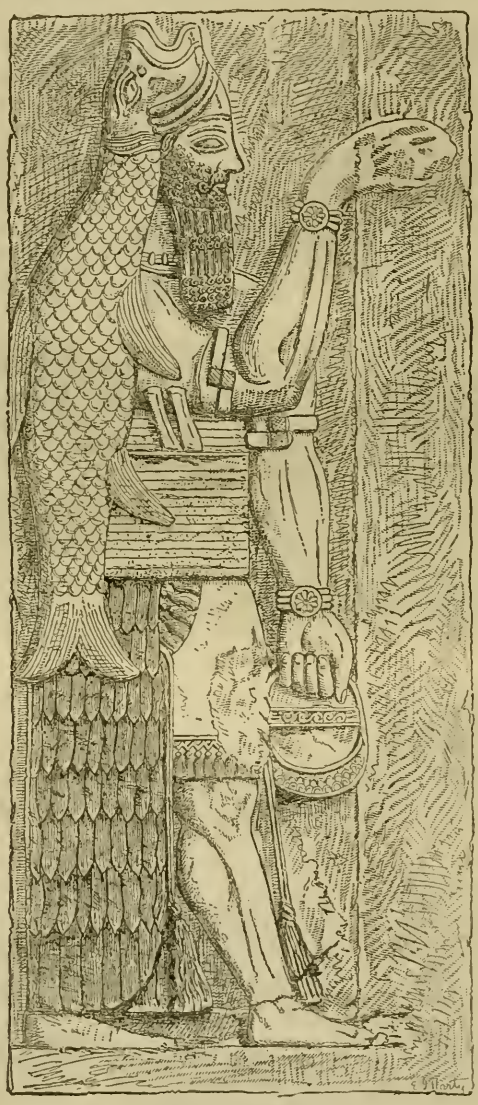
species, one a bream (*Chromis Nilotica*, Hasselquist), the other a silurus (*Clarias macracanthus*, Günther), are very common, and are identical with the common species of the Nile. The similarity between the fishes of the Lake of Galilee, the Jordan and its affluents, and those of the Nile, is a curious fact. Besides the two species just named, four other species, hitherto unknown to science, were collected by Tristram; three of these were very abundant, but "all essentially African in their characteristics;" they belong to the genus *Hemichromis*, and their nearest relatives are found either in the Nile or some of the lakes of south-eastern Africa discovered by the late much lamented Dr. Livingstone. It may be remembered that the reader's attention was called in a preceding article (BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 246) to the number of African types of plants and birds found in the Jordan valley and the sub-tropical plains of the Dead Sea. The similarity of the ichthyological fauna of Palestine with that of Africa, taken in conjunction with this other fact, helps, geologically, "to join Palestine very closely to that continent." Josephus, speaking of the country near the Lake of Gennesareth, and the fertile fountain by which the district was watered, says that this fountain, called by the people of the country Capharnaum, was supposed by some to be a vein of the Nile because it produces the coracine (*Siluroid*) fish, which is also found in the lake near Alexandria (*Bell. Jud.*, iii. 10, § 8). The sheat-fish, of which various species are known, have the character of being poor and unpalatable food. Russell (*Hist. of Aleppo*, ii., p. 217) says of a species of silurus that is found in the Orontes and stagnant waters near that river, "that it has a rank taste, resembles coarse beef in colour, and by the doctors is considered unwholesome," though it is much eaten by the Christians; and recently Tristram testifies from experience that these siluroids are most unsavoury eating." This seems to us to throw some interesting light on one of our Lord's parables. In Matt. xiii. 47, 48, we read, "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind; which, when it was full, they drew to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away." Jesus, when he delivered the string of parables contained in this chapter, was sitting "by the sea-side," meaning, of course, the Sea or Lake of Galilee, and no doubt was drawing this illustration of the kingdom of heaven from a well-known custom amongst the fishermen of that lake. The net (σαγήνη) was a large kind of drag-net which was used with boats, and would often, and perhaps always, enclose together with the fish which had scales numbers of the very common scaleless sheat-fish. The epithet which is rightly translated "bad" in our version, is in the Greek

CHROMIS NILOTICA.

LABEOBARBUS CANIS.

σαπρά, and more definitely denotes "that which is *putrid*." But putrid fish would seldom, if ever, be drawn to land by the draw-nets, nor would the separation of such fish have required so much care as seems implied in the expression "sat down and gathered," &c. Whether the Jews in the time of Christ were in the matter of fish-diet as punctilious as they were earlier in their history, one cannot say; but it is curious to note the occurrence of such expressions as the σαπρὸς σίλουρος of Athenæus and Greek parodists cited by him, and the "dimidio putrique siluro" (with half a stinking silurus) of Juvenal (*Sat.* xiv. 130). Although the Jews of our Lord's time probably would not eat these siluri, their Roman conquerors most certainly would. Salted siluri were exported from Egypt in large quantities, and hawked about the streets of Rome; consequently, the Romans in Palestine would no doubt be familiar with these fish both in their salted and fresh condition. The fish, often hastily and carelessly prepared, and then hawked about the streets of Rome and other towns in the hot months, would merit the epithet applied to them; and as these fish were considered cheap and vile food, and were only bought by the lower orders, the epithet of σαπρὸς originally bestowed on semi-putrid salted fish was perhaps applied to any silurus, whether prepared or fresh.

The fishes of the Jordan and its affluents, which do not differ from those of the Lake of Gennesaret, being chiefly bream or barbel, are exceedingly numerous. The Jordan is "alive with fish to its very exit, and carries by the rapidity of its current into the poisonous waters of the Dead Sea millions of fry, chiefly of bream, which are soon stupefied, and become the easy prey of the birds which await them, while myriads of their carcases strew the shore near the mouth." But perhaps in none of the streams of Palestine are fish more abundant than in the river Jabbok. In a small stream among the ruins of Rabbath-ammon, Tristram noticed "one continuous line of fish coming and going," and mentions that with the simplest appliances, as by a shirt extemporised into a bag, his party were able to catch any number. The fish chiefly found here is the *Barbus longiceps*.

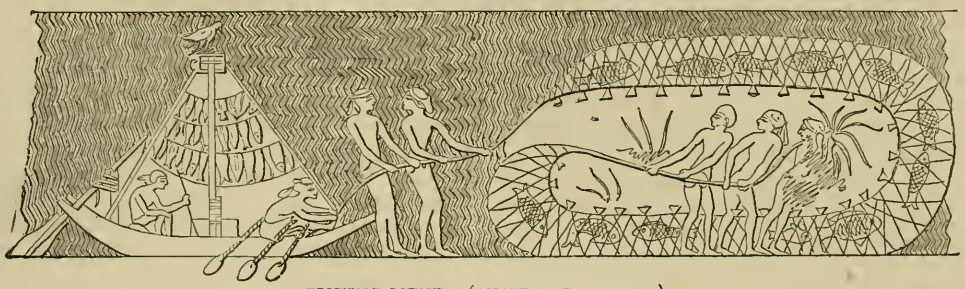


FISH-GOD. (NIMROUD.)

The saline waters of the Dead Sea contain no animal life, but in the salt hot and sulphurous springs near the Dead Sea shoals of minute gudgeons and minnows, and still smaller fish of the genus *Cyprinodon Hammonis*, Cuv. et Val., are found. Those that enter the lake are soon stupefied and die. The fishes of the western streams which flow into the Mediterranean are not so numerous as those east of its watershed, but the same kinds are found in them, as the blenny (*Blennius lupulus*) in the Kishon. The fish of the Mediterranean coast do not differ from those that occur in the sea generally; the principal kinds caught off the shores of the Mediterranean belong to the families *Sparidæ*, *Percidæ*, *Scomberidæ*, *Raiadæ*, and *Pleuronectidæ*, but some species, as the mullets, are more abundant in the Syrian waters. The Nile and the fresh waters of Egypt have from remote time been celebrated for their fish. Besides the siluroids, fishes of the families *Labridæ*, *Sparidæ*, *Chromidæ*, and *Cyprinidæ* are common.

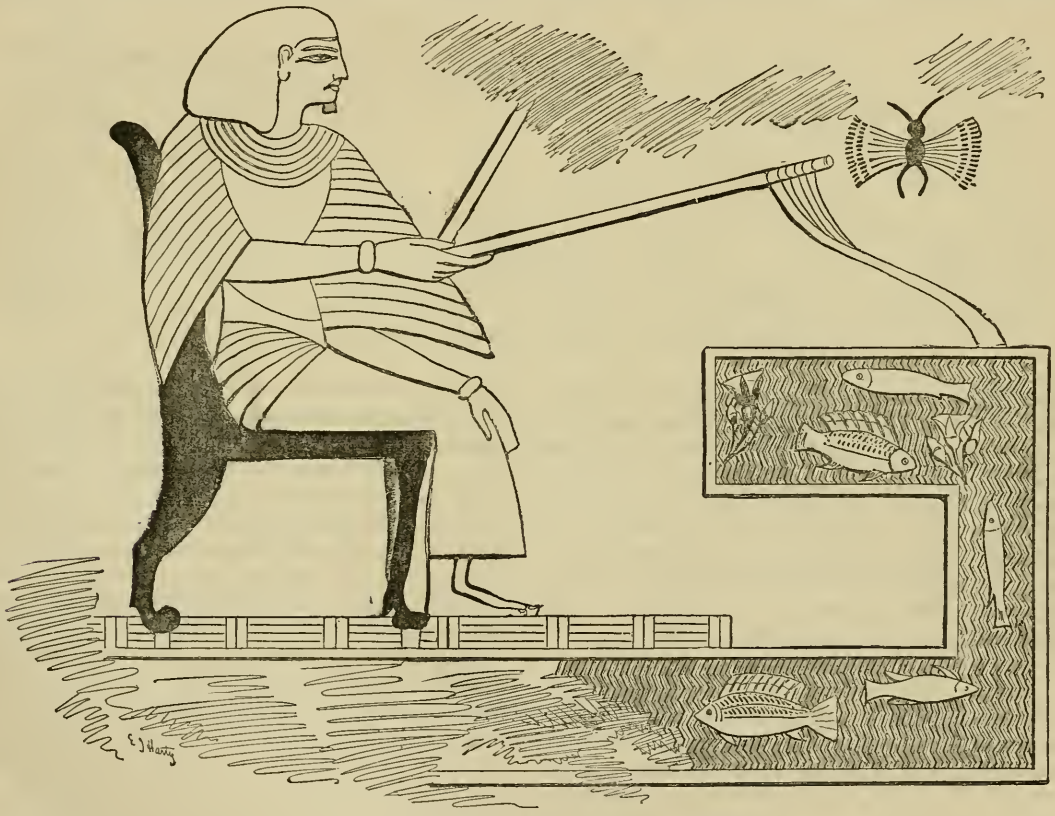
The ancient Jews do not appear to have paid much attention to fisheries, and there are few Biblical allusions to them. The coast of Palestine had few localities suitable for carrying on extensive fisheries, and these fishing stations were chiefly in the hands of the Phœnicians, as at Tyre and Sidon. Cæsarea was not built before the time of Herod the Great, who named the town in honour of the Emperor Augustus. Joppa, on the south-west coast of Palestine, was a seaport town in Solomon's time, and in the hands of the Jews, but they do not appear to have carried on any fishing trade; it is probable, however, that the Phœnicians had a fishing station at Joppa, for we read in Nehemiah (xiii. 16) that at Jerusalem "there dwelt men of Tyre which brought fish and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto the children of Judah." It is probable

that from Joppa—the port of Jerusalem in ancient times as at present—that city was supplied with fish, as is the case now. But Tyre and Sidon were the chief and most important places where the Phœnicians carried on a fishing trade; the very name of Sidon, according to Gesenius, signifies "a fishing-place," and Tyre is mentioned by Ezekiel in connection with fishing-nets. "It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea" (xxvi. 5; comp. also verse 14). At this day the people of Tyre, now a poor village, subsist chiefly by fishing; "their boats are the only craft in the harbour of her whose merchants were princes; and the old wharves and the column-strewn promontory, whence all the palaces have been long since swept away, are covered with their nets, spread out to dry over the ruins."



FISHING-SCENE. (ANCIENT EGYPTIAN.)

The fishery of the Lake of Galilee in the time of our Lord was extensive and of considerable commercial importance, and the allusions in the New Testament are numerous. Did the ancient Jews carry on a fishing trade here? There is no reference in the Old Testament Scriptures to any fishery of the Galilean lake, but it is not probable that none should have existed. The existence of a regular fish-market at Jerusalem is implied from the notice of one of the north-western gates of the city, the Fish-gate—the gate, that is, which opened on the fish market (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3). The supply, probably, came chiefly from



AN EGYPTIAN GENTLEMAN FISHING. (THEBES.)

the Mediterranean coasts, and was brought—previously salted—to the market at Jerusalem by Phœnician dealers. There was a traditional belief amongst the Jews that Joshua enacted ten laws, one of which was "that it was permitted to any one to throw his net into the sea of Tiberias, but it was not allowed to any one to construct a weir, as the stakes might injure the fishing-boats. "Ut indifferenter quivis retia pandet ad piscationem in mare Tiberiadis; attamen sub hac cautione, ne maceriem aliquam struat, quæ remora sit navibus" (Lightfoot's *Horæ Heb.* in Matt. iv. 18). Whether the Jews made use of their reservoirs and pools as *aquaria* for keeping fresh-water fish alive, one cannot say; there is no direct allusion in the Bible to anything of the kind, for the two passages, "Thine eyes are like the fish-pools in Heshbon" (Cant. vii. 4); "They shall be broken in their foundations [see margin], and all that make sluices and ponds for fish" (Isa. xix. 10), do not convey the meaning of our version in the original. The word in the first passage rendered "fish-pool" merely means "a pool," "fish" being an interpolation; while the passage in Isaiah should be thus translated "The pillars of the land are broken; all they that work for wages are sad at heart." The prophet, speaking of the misfortune that should come upon Egypt, includes all classes of the people in the general doom; "the pillars of the land" are the upper classes. Compare Ezek. xxx. 4; Ps. xi. 3 ("foundations," A. V.) with Gal. ii. 9, "James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars." "They that work for wages" are the lower orders.

EGYPTIANS BRINGING IN FISH, AND SPLITTING THEM FOR SALTING.

MODES OF CATCHING FISH.

Fish were caught by various methods, the most usual one being by nets, which may have been similar to our seine or drag-net. There are several Hebrew words for nets, the most common being the *kherem* (from a root meaning "to enclose") and *mikmôreth* (from *kâmar*, "to plait"). This latter was probably a kind of drag-net or "seine," like the σαγήνη of Matt. xiii. 47, with lead or other weights at the bottom, and corks or pieces of wood at the top. Such a net Ovid had in view when he wrote—

> "Adspicis ut summa cortex levis innatet unda
> Cum grave nexa simul retia mergat onus."
> (*Trist.* iii., iv. 11.)

The σαγήνη was a large net, and required the use of fishing-boats, numbers of which were employed on the Galilean lake. The ἀμφίβληστρον, mentioned in Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16, was probably not unlike our "casting-net." Jesus, walking by the Sea of Galilee, saw Simon Peter and Andrew "casting a net into the sea." As to the precise mode in which the *amphiblêstron* was gathered up and thrown, there is no clear evidence to show. A fisherman with net in hand just about to make his cast, was one of the figures on the shield of Hercules. His attitude is thus described: "And on the land there stood a fisherman on the look-out, and he held in his hands a casting-net for fish, being like to a man about to hurl it from him" (Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.*). The term to denote "a cast" was βόλος from βάλλω, "I throw." The Romans used their casting-net in a manner not dissimilar to the one in use amongst the Greeks, and they had the same term to signify "a cast," viz., *bolus*. The net itself was *jaculum rete*, or *jaculum*; it was also called *funda*. The following quotation from Plautus will explain the use of the *jaculum*:—"Like a man who throws his casting-net into a fish-pond, when the net sinks to the bottom, he contracts its folds, and when he has made his throw he takes care that the fish do not escape whilst the net entangles them in all directions within its folds" (*Truc.*, act. i., sc. 1). From this it is pretty clear that the *jaculum* or *amphiblêstron* must have been nearly identical in form and manner of use with our own casting-net. The Romans, being great fishermen, would doubtless often use their casting-nets in the Lake of Galilee. The time for fishing is the night, the fishermen in their boats returning to Tiberias at daybreak. The night was the usual time for net-fishing in Apostolic times (see Luke v. 5): "Master, we have toiled all the night." The casting-net "was used either by a naked fisherman wading from the shore, and by a rapid motion throwing his net, and then drawing it in a circle, or from boats." Dr. Tristram, when at Ain Tabighah, considered to be the ancient Bethsaida, witnessed a Galilean fisherman using his casting-net. He lived in a hut which looked like a little stack of rushes; his net was spread on the shore to dry; out of the rush-hut emerged a man stark naked, and began to prepare the net for a cast; "having folded it neatly, he swam out with it a little way, cast

it, and returned by a semi-circular course to the shore, when he gently drew it in with a few fishes enclosed."

Fishing with hook and line was also practised; it is alluded to by Isaiah (xix. 8), "They that cast angle into the brooks;" see also Hab. i. 15; Job xli. 1, "Canst thou draw out the crocodile with a hook?" Our Lord tells Peter "to go to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up" (Matt. xvii. 27). The hook was called in Hebrew *khakkâh*, *i.e.*, the *palate* or *mouth*-fixer; the word *tsinnah*, "a thorn," was also used poetically of "a hook" (Amos iv. 2), as was also *sîr*; the line was called *khebel*. The ancient Egyptians sometimes used a rod, which was short and of one piece; but they often used the line alone with ground-bait; they did not use a float; there is no mention in the Bible of any fishing-rod. Artificial fly-fishing was not practised, nor does it appear that fly-fishing with the natural fly was ever adopted.

Fish-spearing was occasionally practised; this is alluded to in Job xli. 7, "Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fish-spears?" The fish-spear is still much used in the smaller streams and the northern rivers of the Lebanon. Weirs and stake-nets formed of a sort of cane-wattle are used in the Kishon and some other streams, and from the passage quoted above from Lightfoot such a mode of fishing was known to the Jews, though there is no direct allusion to it in the Bible. At the present day poison is also employed. "Men sit on a rock overhanging the water, on which they scatter crumbs poisoned with vitriol, which are seized by the fish. As soon as they are seen to float on their backs, the men rush into the sea and collect them." In Ezek. xxix. 4, where the prophet declares a punishment upon Pharaoh and his people for their treachery to Israel, we read, "I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales." Some have supposed that allusion is here made to some sucking-fish (*Echeneis remora*) or some large cephalopodous mollusk (cuttle-fish). The echeneis possesses great powers of adhesion, and is sometimes employed for catching turtles. The fish is secured by a ring and cord, and meeting with a turtle, it fixes itself thereon by means of its powerful sucker, when both fish and turtle are hauled in together. We do not think, however, that the prophet alludes to anything of this kind. Pharaoh is symbolically represented by the great crocodile (A. V. "dragon") that lieth in the midst of his rivers; the people are denoted by the smaller inhabitants of the rivers, viz., by the fish. Pharaoh and his people were to be ejected from their country; the allusion, probably, is to the unsuccessful expedition of Apries against the Cyrenians, and to the heavy loss sustained by the Egyptian army amongst the deserts of Libya. Compare verse 5, "I will have thee thrown into the wilderness." Bishop Hall well explains this passage: "I will drag thee out of those watery pools of thine to the dry land; and for thy princes and people, which are as the lesser sort of fishes, they also, as sticking to thy scales, shall be plucked out with thee." The ancient Egyptians were expert fishermen, and used to construct artificial ponds into which they placed various kinds of fish when they fed them for the table; hence the people were compared to the fish metaphorically. The favourite mode of fishing amongst those who took a pleasure in it, was with the spear or bident. "They sometimes stood on the bank of a canal, but generally used a punt or boat made of papyrus, in which they glided smoothly over the lakes and canals within their grounds without disturbing the fish as they lay beneath the broad leaves of the lotus plant. The custom of angling for amusement and spearing with the bident may be considered peculiar to the higher orders, and while the poorer classes employed the net and hook, the use of the spear was confined to the sportsman. The bident was a spear with two barbed points, which was either thrust at the fish with one or both hands as they passed by, or was darted to a short distance, a long line fastened to it preventing its being lost, and serving to secure the fish when struck. On these occasions they were usually accompanied by a friend or some of their children, and by one or two attendants, who assisted in securing the fish, and who, taking them off the barbed point of the spear, passed the stalk of a rush through their gills, and thus attached them together in order more conveniently to carry them home" (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 60).

Fish-worship was prevalent among some ancient nations; hence in the Levitical law the worship of fish is expressly forbidden (Deut. iv. 18). Dagon, a diminutive of *dag*, "fish," in the sense of endearment, was the national god of the Philistines; his temples were at Gaza and Ashdod. Dagon is represented with the face and hands of a man and the body of a fish. The Babylonians and Assyrians had their fish-gods; the wood-cut (page 170) represents a fish-god from Nimroud.

DISEASES OF THE BIBLE.

LEPROSY (*continued*).

BY W. A. GREENHILL, M.D. OXON.

IT would be out of place here to enter minutely into the purely medical questions relating to the leprosy of the Bible, but it will be useful and interesting to examine some of the cases that are mentioned in Holy Scripture, and see what light they throw upon the nature of the disease. In the New Testament *twelve* persons are mentioned as being affected with leprosy, but they may be noticed under *three* heads—(1) the man whose miraculous cleansing is mentioned by St. Matthew (viii. 2—4), St. Mark (i. 40—45), and St. Luke (v. 12—16); (2) the *ten* lepers mentioned by St. Luke only (xvii. 12—19); and (3) "Simon, *the leper*," mentioned by St. Matthew (xxvi. 6) and St. Mark (xiv. 3). (1.) In the case of the single leper it is to be noticed that he did not (like the ten) "stand afar off," but mixed with the crowd, and came close to our Lord. Why he was allowed to do this does not clearly appear; at first sight it seems possible that he was affected with the kind of leprosy that was considered "clean;" and this conjecture derives some slight support from St. Luke's description of the man as being πλήρης λέπρας, "*full* of leprosy," which might be supposed to mean "*covered with* leprosy," as mentioned in Lev. xiii. 12, 13. But, upon the whole, it is probable that St. Luke's expression refers to the gravity of the disease rather than to its superficial extent; and again, if the man had been already "clean," our Lord would not have told him to "show himself to the priest, and offer *for his cleansing* those things which Moses commanded." We may suppose, therefore, that the man had been listening from a distance to our Lord's sermon on the mount, and that, when it was ended, his eagerness to profit by His divine power induced him to disregard the regulations respecting ceremonial pollution. Our Lord's putting forth His hand, and touching an unclean leper, which was noticed with wonder in very early times, may be explained on the same ground as His transgressing the strict regulations of the Sabbath, and He who was Himself perfect in purity might touch even an unclean leper without incurring defilement. (2.) The case of the ten lepers mentioned only by St. Luke (xvii. 12—19) probably did not differ from that of the single leper just noticed, and presents no special difficulty; but (3) the mention of the feast "in the house of Simon the leper" (St. Matt. xxvi. 6; St. Mark xiv. 3) has given rise to much speculation, and several conjectures have been hazarded in order to get over the difficulty. It has been supposed that the house belonged to Simon, but that he himself was not present at the feast; or that Λεπρός was the cognomen of his family; or (which is the most common explanation, and which alone deserves to be seriously noticed) that he had formerly been a leper, but was now healed, perhaps miraculously by our Lord Himself. It is impossible to prove that this last conjecture is erroneous; but surely no one would ever think of translating Σίμων ὁ λεπρός, "Simon *who had once been* a leper" (any more than Βαρτίμαιος ὁ τυφλός, "Bartimæus *who had once been* blind"), unless no other mode of escaping the difficulty could be found. In the present case it is believed that there is no necessity for any such far-fetched explanation. It is quite true that no one could associate with an "*unclean*" leper without pollution; but it is expressly said that some lepers were "*clean*," even though their skin was covered with the disease from head to foot (Lev. xiii. 12, 13). Such were perhaps the persons referred to by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* iii. 11, § 4), who in foreign nations held high civil and military offices, and were allowed to enter into holy places and temples; and of whom Naaman may be taken as a specimen (2 Kings v. 1). Such was probably Gehazi, who (according to the common chronology) was admitted to an audience with the king of Israel, after he had been divinely smitten with leprosy (2 Kings viii. 4). And such we may suppose was Simon, as this is the simplest and most natural way of explaining what would otherwise be a very real difficulty.

In the Old Testament *six* cases of leprosy are mentioned, in the persons of Moses (Exod. iv. 6), Miriam (Numb. xii. 10), Naaman (2 Kings v. 1), Gehazi (2 Kings v. 27), Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 19), and the four lepers at the gate of Samaria (2 Kings vii. 3). These last appear to have been affected with an ordinary kind of "unclean" leprosy in the natural way, and accordingly they were kept outside the city gate, in accordance with the regulation in Leviticus (xiii. 46), that the "unclean" leper "shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be."

The case of Naaman, also, appears to have been a natural and ordinary one, and was not so severe as to hinder his carrying on his public duties, nor so loathsome as to prevent the king his master from "leaning on his hand," when he went with him into the house of his god Rimmon to worship there. The case was, however, protracted, and was at last cured miraculously. It has been argued from the words of the king of Israel, "Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy?" that leprosy was commonly considered by the Jews to be incurable by human means. But it is not necessary to take these words in their strict, logical sense; and surely no one could have believed that the lepers whose recovery was contemplated in Lev. xiii. and xiv. were to be healed by a constant succession of miracles. Of

course a case of Jewish leprosy, especially if complicated with other diseases, might become practically incurable; but when St. Cyril of Alexandria says of λέπρα, that the complaint was incurable (τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἰάσιμον, in Cramer's *Catena Græc. Patr. in Nov. Test.*, vol. ii., p. 43), he probably only means that it was often very troublesome and obstinate.

In each of the other four cases mentioned in the Old Testament the disease was miraculously inflicted as a sign (Exod. iv. 6), or a punishment; three were of the white variety, two lasted a very short time, two were permanent. In the case of Gehazi, the disease appears (as was intimated above) to have been of the "clean" kind, so that there was no ceremonial objection to his conversing with the king (2 Kings viii. 4), like any other person. The case of Gehazi has been quoted in proof that the disease was hereditary; but as in this instance it was altogether miraculous and exceptional, no inference can be safely drawn from it with respect to the general character of leprosy. If indeed the words of Elisha have any bearing at all on the question of the hereditary or non-hereditary character of the disease, they would rather seem to imply that it was *not* commonly considered to be transmitted from father to son; for why should the prophet have thought it necessary to tell Gehazi that the "leprosy of Naaman should cleave unto him and his seed for ever," if this was generally believed to be one of the usual consequences of the disease?

As Gehazi was probably afflicted with a permanent leprosy of the "clean" type, so, on the other hand, the leprosy of King Uzziah[1] certainly rendered him permanently "unclean;" and accordingly "he dwelt in a several house unto the day of his death" (2 Chron. xxvi. 21). We know nothing more of the character or course of the disease, except that it appeared first on his forehead.

Both Moses and Miriam were affected with the *white* species of leprosy, and in the case of Miriam it is implied (if not expressly stated) that the disease rendered her unclean; but we learn nothing more of its precise character in either case. With respect to Miriam, however, the words used by Aaron in his expostulation with Moses deserve to be specially noticed, "Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb" (Numb. xii. 12). Whether these words are meant to describe (with more or less exaggeration) what Aaron saw before his eyes in the case of Miriam, or what he had seen in the case of other people, they are remarkable as expressing something quite different from what we have hitherto found connected with leprosy, and certainly implying a far more formidable disease than any of the varieties so minutely described in Lev. xiii., xiv. It is not easy to say exactly what disease is meant; perhaps Aaron had not a very distinct idea himself; but if it ever can be proved that *elephantiasis*, or *true* leprosy, existed among the Israelites, this passage may fairly be interpreted in that sense.

We have now examined each case of leprosy mentioned in the Bible, and it must be confessed that the result appears to indicate that the word צָרַעַת (*tsara'ath*) was used in ancient times with some degree of latitude. And this idea is confirmed by an examination of the minute description of symptoms given in Leviticus (xiii., xiv.), which (it should be borne in mind) relate entirely to the disease in its earliest stages, not in its fully developed form. Instead of entering into the minute medical details requisite for a complete examination of these difficult and interesting chapters, it will perhaps be better here to give only the general results at which the writer thinks he has arrived on the whole question, and to notice in detail a few special points of interest.

First, it is quite clear that two distinct and well-marked diseases, or groups of diseases, are mentioned, which rendered the patients respectively "clean" or "unclean." Now it is of the utmost importance to decide what this "uncleanness" meant: did it mean ceremonial pollution? or did it mean the power of propagating disease? or did it comprehend both these ideas? In other words, was it entirely symbolical of spiritual impurity, like the touch of a dead body, and the other defilements mentioned in Leviticus? or was it simply a matter relating to the sanitary regulations of the theocratic police? The answer to this question depends in some degree on the belief that the disease was, or was not, contagious; for those who contend that it was incommunicable by ordinary contact from one person to another generally consider the "uncleanness" to have been ceremonial, while those who take the opposite view with respect to contagion are generally content with this simple reason for the restrictions imposed by the Mosaic law, and do not look out for any deeper significance. But the two views are not at all irreconcileable, and so far from being mutually antagonistic, they will (it is believed) be found to explain and confirm each other. Any one who reads the laws of purification contained in Lev. xii. to xv., supplemented by those relating to the defilement proceeding from a human corpse in Numb. xix., must be convinced that these regulations, like so many others in the Mosaic law, had a deep spiritual meaning, and were intended to impress upon the minds of the Israelites a profound sense of the loathsomeness of every kind of impurity and sin. (See Keil and Delitzsch, *Comment. on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 372, &c.) On the other hand, it will be difficult to persuade any physician that these regulations were not intended (partly at least) to prevent the spread of disease among the people, and they will in his eyes derive an additional value from this belief. It is perhaps impossible to prove absolutely the truth of either of these opinions, but it is at any rate highly probable that both are well founded; and while the physician will not consider that the sanitary precepts of Moses

[1] As the case of *Azariah* is sometimes mentioned (2 Kings xv. 5), it may be useful to remind the reader that this is the second name of the king who is more commonly called Uzziah.

lose any of their value because they admit of an allegorical interpretation, the divine will be glad to be able to render the parallel of sin with leprosy more complete by the assurance that the disease, at least in some of its forms, was contagious. It has not been sufficiently borne in mind that several varieties of disease, more or less intimately connected with each other, were certainly included under the generic term צָרַעַת (*tsara'ath*), and that some of these were contagious and some were not; and this fact seems to furnish the simplest explanation of most of the difficulties that beset the subject. For instance, the apparently paradoxical regulation that a man entirely covered with leprosy is to be pronounced "clean" (Lev. xiii. 12, 13), will scarcely be considered to be satisfactorily explained by the allegorical interpretation of Philo[1] and the ancient Fathers; nor, if the "uncleanness" is to be considered merely symbolical, does this view admit of an easy explanation, as long as the disease which has spread all over the body is believed to be an extension of the same kind of unclean leprosy which has appeared in different parts. But the explanation is easy and satisfactory if we suppose that the "unclean" leprosy was simply one or more of the contagious species, and that the man who was pronounced "clean," even when covered with a white eruption from head to foot, was one who might safely mix with his neighbours without any fear of communicating to them his disease. It would be out of place here to attempt to prove this suggestion at length, but we may mention an illustration relating both to the "clean" and the "unclean" species. The curious and very ancient tradition that the Jews were driven out of Egypt on account of their diseased condition will serve to illustrate the variety of complaints comprehended under the generic term צָרַעַת (*tsara'ath*). One of the oldest Greek writers,[2] who mentions the tradition, says that they were affected with ψώρα καὶ λέπρα, which words are rendered by a later Latin historian,[3] "scabies et vitiligo." There does not seem to be any reason why these two diseases should not have been reckoned as species of צָרַעַת (*tsara'ath*), especially as they are not unfrequently mentioned together by the Greek medical writers; and if this conjecture be accepted as probable, we have at once one example of a "clean," or *non-contagious*, species of the disease (λέπρα), and one of an "unclean," or *contagious* species (ψώρα).[4] It would probably be the white scales of λέπρα that gave to the sufferers the snow-white appearance that is mentioned in the cases of Moses, Miriam (?), and Gehazi.

Upon the whole, the writer is inclined to offer (though with great diffidence) the following conclusions, as the result of his investigation of the subject up to the present time:—That the disease was (in the words of Philo, already quoted) "multiform and changeful," modified by various complications, and comprising several species more or less distinct; that some of these varieties were contagious, and others non-contagious, and that all the contagious species rendered the patients ceremonially unclean; that it was not a special or miraculous disease, existing only in those times and countries, but an ordinary malady, used occasionally by God for miraculous purposes; that it was not incurable by human means, though troublesome and obstinate; that it was not hereditary, though a disease of common occurrence among the Jews; that it was not the same as elephantiasis, though it is possible that this disease may occasionally have been complicated with it; that there is no evidence that any case of elephantiasis is mentioned under the name of leprosy in any part of Holy Scripture; and that if the disease known as elephantiasis occurs at all in the Bible, it is probably in the case of Job.

With respect to the (so-called) leprosy of garments and houses (Lev. xiii. 47, &c.; xiv. 34, &c.), there is no reason for thinking that the expression was used otherwise than analogically,[5] to designate certain spots, discolorations, and efflorescences that appeared occasionally on walls and articles of clothing, and which were probably caused in many cases by damp, and might therefore be unwholesome to the persons who were brought in contact with them.

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[1] *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*, § 27; *De Plantat. Noë*, § 26, vol. i., pp. 292, 346, ed. Mangey.

[2] Lysimachus in Josephus, *Cont. Apion.*, i. 34, 35; pp. 466, 467. Ed. Havercamp.

[3] Justin, *Hist.* xxxvi. 2.

[4] Λέπρα is expressly reckoned among the non-contagious diseases by Alexander Aphrodisiensis (*Problem. Med.* ii. 42), and ψώρα among the contagious, comprehending the modern *itch*.

[5] Thus in Berne they speak of the "cancer" of buildings, but that is not the disease so called in the human body. In Egypt two sorts of diseases of certain trees, proceeding from insects, are called "leprosy;" and Hasselquist speaks of a "leprosy" in the fig-tree. (See Michaelis, *Comment. on the Laws of Moses*, vol. iii., p. 288. Lond., 1814.) Thus also λεπρόω was applied to a *wine-jar*, and ψωριάω to *trees*. (See Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.)

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PROPHETS:—JONAH.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE prophecy of Jonah is confessedly one of the most remarkable and interesting in the Old Testament. Deserting the ordinary cycle of Jewish thought, it carries us to a great heathen city, Israel's bitter enemy; but the prophet's errand thither is to show that God's mercies are not limited to his covenant people, but embrace the whole heathen world. And the prophet carries his message unwillingly. Trained in the narrow belief that salvation was for the Jews only, he endeavours to escape altogether from being made the mouthpiece of the Divine love to men so barbarous and cruel as the people of Nineveh; and when, against his will, he has summoned them to repentance, and they obey his call, and the sentence of destruction is changed to one of acceptance, his stubborn prejudices break out into open murmurs, from which he is cured by a lesson so apt and forcible, and yet involving so playful an exhibition of the Divine power, that many scholars have been led by it to treat the whole narrative as a pleasing fiction, or at best as an allegory full of symbolic teaching.

But "wisdom is justified of her children," and there is a fulness of instruction in this prophecy which justifies the miraculous element contained in it, however different the form of the miracles may be from that found in the rest of Holy Scripture. For, in the first place, it is a great and cardinal truth that there is mercy for those not in covenant with God. Even now we Christians are only slowly learning the lesson that God's love is broader than human prejudice, and that He will judge men, not by the privileges which they possess, but by the use which they make of them. Just as in old time apostate Samaria, which had utterly deserted the worship of Jehovah, was declared more just than Judah, because the latter, while priding herself upon her covenant relations to God, was false to their principles (Jer. iii. 11), so may it be now. Men who have not the law may, as St. Paul declares, attain to such a state as to be even judges of those who, while they have the letter of inspiration, and the outward seal of the covenant, yet transgress the law (Rom. ii. 14, 27).

Now, however much we may neglect it in practice, yet all this is, at least, acknowledged by us in words. But it was very different in the days of Jonah. Though directly contained in the whole teaching of the Book of Genesis, and implicitly in much of such scriptures besides as the Jews then possessed, yet the effect of the Mosaic law, especially of the necessary care taken therein to guard the chosen people from contact with the heathen, had made them look upon the whole Gentile world as out of the pale of the Divine mercies. After Jonah, the whole body of prophets took up his parable, and taught in the very plainest way that Jehovah was the God of the Gentiles also. To us this truth seems taught everywhere in the Old Testament, but Jonah was the first to teach it plainly and directly to the Jews; and he taught it unwillingly. And yet he acknowledges that it was no new truth; for the reason which he gives for his refusal to bear God's message was that he understood in its fulness that proclamation of the Divine attributes made in Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, and knew, therefore, that there was pardon even for Nineveh, if it repented (Jon. iv. 2).

The teaching, then, of the Book of Jonah is very marvellous. Even more so is its typical nature. In the midst of a storm so terrible that the ship was in danger of being dashed to pieces by the violence of the waves, Jonah lies fast asleep. They awake him, and he is made the propitiation by which the storm is appeased and the ship saved. But, after a three days' death in the belly of that which seemed to him a living grave (chap. ii. 2), he is restored to life; and upon his resurrection follows the conversion of the Gentiles. We have thus a sealed-up prophecy, not opened until our Lord came, and claimed to be himself the reality of that which Jonah had been only in type (Matt. xii. 39, 40).

Now it is exceedingly probable that the Book of Jonah is the oldest written prophecy. Its place in the Canon testifies generally to the belief of the Jews that it belongs to the earliest or Assyrian period, but its position after Obadiah is probably owing to its seeming to the arranger that Jonah was that "ambassador to the heathen" of whom Obadiah speaks.[1] But we find that Jonah prophesied at a time anterior to the military successes of Jeroboam II. (2 Kings xiv. 25), though probably during that monarch's reign. We have then firm ground beneath us, so far only as the facts reach, that Jonah was a prophet of established repute early in the reign of Israel's warrior king, and that Nineveh was at the height of its power when he went thither. But whether Jonah's mission took place early or late in his life is altogether uncertain. Nothing in Assyrian history helps us to fix the date, nor do we even know whether Jonah was young or old when he foretold the conquest by Israel of the whole country from Hamath to the Dead Sea.

It has been answered, however, that the book contains several Aramaisms—words, that is, akin to Syriac and Chaldee, but not belonging to pure Hebrew. But this argument proves nothing; for scholars are not by any means agreed whether these Aramaisms belong or not to the declining age of Jewish literature, or whether

[1] See Vol. III., page 275.

they may not have been the patois, or vernacular dialect of the country people. There is very much to make it probable that pure Hebrew was the language only of people of the highest caste, the kings and princes, the priests and the prophets of Jerusalem, or at most of Judah; and that the mass of the people spoke Aramaic, or a debased Hebrew full of Aramaic words. Even with us, many phrases which strike us as Americanisms are thoroughly good English forms, which, however, have not been used in literature, but belong to certain country districts, where, if some poet had arisen, or writer of repute, they would, from his pages, have won their way into the language of scholars. Now, Jonah was of Gath-hepher, a village far away to the north in the tribe of Zabulon. If he had used no words except such as were employed by Isaiah, critics might with good reason have disputed the authenticity of the book. They might fairly have said, "This book was not written by a man brought up in the provinces, but by one of the *litterati* of Jerusalem; some practised hand there has employed the legend of Jonah as a vehicle for much pleasing instruction, and has constructed out of it a very admirable allegory." These Aramaisms, however, show that it was not written by one of the prophets of Judah, but are just what was to be expected of a villager brought up in Galilee.

But if Jonah himself wrote this prophecy, as we believe upon the authority of the Jewish Synagogue, it follows that it is the oldest, or one of the oldest, of the prophetic writings. And admirably it serves as an introduction to all the rest. It taught that the providence of God was not confined to the Jews, but reached the heathen also. It taught that His providence was one of mercy to them and not of anger, and that consequently the time must come when all the privileges of the covenant would be as freely opened to them as to the chosen seed. Finally, it told of God's mercies in Christ. But they were so sealed up and veiled over, that its teaching was appropriate only to the starting point, and not to the fuller and more definite period reached by prophecy afterwards. Upon the surface there is nothing to tell of a Messiah at all; even when our Lord spoke of the sign of the prophet Jonah, the Scribes and Pharisees could understand nothing of His meaning; but the meaning became plain and open when Christ rose from the dead.

The wonderful teaching of the book, its fitness to be at the head of the collected volume of the prophets, its marvellous typical fulness, would lose none of their force even if it were a symbolic writing, nor would the appeal of our Lord to its sign be less appropriate. In some respects the book would be even more marvellous, because such a view of it would imply that the writer was conscious of the nature of the work he was writing, and intended it thus to be an epitome at once of prophecy and of the mediatorial work of Christ. But the Jews did not regard it in this light. Daniel they did exclude from the prophetic roll, because his prophecies seemed to belong to the world, and not to the Jewish Church. Though Jonah's teaching almost as directly contradicted their prejudices, yet they classed him among the prophets, and undoubtedly regarded the book as historically true, and as written by Jonah himself.

In modern times the tendency has been to look upon it as mythical; and the objections to its historical truth have arisen, not merely from the existence in it of miracles, but from the nature of the miracles themselves. In an age when the advance of science has made us careful not to accept any facts but such as are carefully verified, the preservation of Jonah alive in the belly of a fish beneath the waters for more than twenty-four hours, and the sudden growth and decay of the gourd, are sufficiently startling. The real point, however, for those who believe that God has deigned to authenticate his revelation by miracles, is, whether there is such a reason for these miracles as justifies us in receiving them as matters of faith. Now, if Jonah was a type of our Lord's death and resurrection, then the first miracle belongs to the most fundamental articles of our creed; and if the object of the second miracle was the vindication of God's mercy to the whole heathen world, and was intended to stamp that great truth upon the very forefront of the prophetic roll, we cannot justly speak of either of them as playful displays of the Divine omnipotence. It is, in fact, the intensity of meaning and the fulness of the teaching of this book, and the unique place which it holds, which make these miracles, if I may so speak, a necessary part of the Divine revelation. The one is the great sign of God's marvellous work for man, the other the centre and germ of the truth which is embodied now in the catholicity of the Church—a truth no less than that Christ "died for all" (2 Cor. v. 14).

A few words must be said, however, as to each of these miracles. The fish which swallowed Jonah is described by the prophet in very general terms; but, owing to our translators having rendered our Lord's word in Matt. xii. 40, "a whale," much has been written about the impossibility of a creature with so small a throat swallowing a man. But the word which our Lord adopted from the Septuagint version, *cetos*, though now it gives its name to the whole class of *Cetacea*, whales, dolphins, &c., was used by the ancients in a much wider sense, and Photius expressly classes under it the white shark, *Canis carcharias*, common in the Mediterranean. There is not the slightest doubt that this creature can swallow a man with ease. The miracle remains the same, that Jonah was preserved alive beneath the waters for the same length of time that our Lord lay in the grave—namely, one whole day and a small part of two others; but it does not involve the necessity of the creation of a fish specially for this purpose.

The other miracle is the extraordinary growth of the gourd. But the plant called in Hebrew *kikaion* is really the "Palma Christi," the *Ricinus communis* of botanists. St. Jerome describes this plant as having a firm trunk, broad leaves shaped like those of the vine, and as giving a most dense shade. "It grows," he adds, "with great rapidity, so that the seed rises mar-

vellously into a shrub; and where a few days before you saw only a small plant, you behold quite a little tree." Elsewhere we learn that it has a hollow stem, and rises often to a height of fifteen or sixteen feet. Dr. Pusey, who has collected much valuable information both about the white shark and the palma Christi, quotes also an interesting account of the manner in which it is sometimes as suddenly destroyed. "On warm days, when a small rain falls, black caterpillars are generated in great numbers on this plant, which in one night so often and so suddenly cut off its leaves that only their bare ribs remain" (*Introd. to Jonah*, p. 261). He further notices that there is nothing in the text to imply that it was the stem that was gnawed asunder, and that the word "worm" might be used collectively for a multitude of caterpillars. As regards the minor point, that if Jonah had built him a booth (chap. iv. 5), he would not have needed a palma Christi to shade him, he further shows that the booth which Jonah put up was such as the Jews erected at the Feast of Tabernacles; and that these, composed of slight branches, did not exclude the sun. But we can very well imagine that, in so hot a climate, no erection of dead boughs, or even of planks, would give a shade so refreshing as green living foliage.

It is so uncertain at what period of his life Jonah went to Nineveh, that it is useless to inquire who was the king at that time. If Jonah went on his mission in middle age, and published his prophecy about Jeroboam's conquests in his old age, but soon after that monarch's accession (in B.C. 825), the date of his journey might have been as early as the time of Jehoahaz, Jeroboam's grandfather. If he foretold those conquests in his youth, and went to Nineveh at an advanced age, his mission might have taken place as late as B.C. 771, when Pul, king of Assyria, made Menahem, one of the adventurers who succeeded Jeroboam, pay him a thousand talents of silver to establish him in the kingdom. It is more important to notice that the command to put sackcloth on their beasts and flocks, and make them fast, is a strong argument for the authenticity of the book. No such custom existed among the Jews; but it was a heathen practice. When Alexander had become barbarised, he commanded the horses and mules to be shorn as mourning for the death of Hephæstion; and Herodotus tells us that the Persians bewailed the death of Masistius in a similar way.

Another, though less striking, confirmation is the statement of the size of Nineveh. Jonah calls it "a city of three days' journey," *i.e.*, it had a circumference of sixty miles. Now, by the general testimony of the ancients, Nineveh was a larger city than Babylon, which had a circumference of forty-five miles; and Diodorus tells us that its walls formed a parallelogram of unequal length, being 150 furlongs on each of the longer, and 90 furlongs on each of the shorter sides, so that in all there were 480 furlongs, *i.e.*, just sixty miles. In this great city, then, Jonah went one day's journey, a distance of twenty miles, repeating his single text, that after a respite of forty days, Nineveh would be destroyed. He may have uttered his cry for many days consecutively, till his voice had reached all parts; or rumour may have carried his words whither he had not penetrated himself. The narrative does not dwell upon this, but tells us that within the stipulated time Nineveh had repented, and that its heathen people found grace and mercy.

It would be unpardonable to conclude without a word upon Jonah's prayer, or rather thanksgiving (compare Hannah's prayer in 1 Sam. ii. 1). It is founded upon the older psalms, especially those of David; and, as one critic observes, it is an excellent instance of the way in which the Psalter should be used. For, while almost every phrase is taken from the Psalms, yet Jonah so adapts them to his own condition as to invest them with fresh liveliness and force. Where David speaks of God hearing his voice from the Temple (Ps. xviii. 6), Jonah intensifies it: "Out of the belly of *sheol* [the grave] I cried, and thou heardest my voice" (Jon. ii. 2). Where David describes himself as cut off from before God's eyes (Ps. xxxi. 22), Jonah said that he is "cast out" (Jon. ii. 4). While David speaks of himself as compassed by the sorrows of death (Ps. xviii. 4), it is the waters which compass Jonah about; the depth that closes round him; the weeds that are tangled about his head (Jon. ii. 5). And so throughout till we reach the most touching point of all. David, conscious of his integrity, had declared that he hated those who regarded lying vanities, *i.e.*, idols (Ps. xxxi. 6); Jonah, humbled by the thought of his own disobedience, meekly says that those who regard lying vanities forsake their own mercy, forsake the God in whom alone mercy is to be found (Jon. ii. 8). It is, in short, the thanksgiving of one who knew those early psalms by heart, and had constantly employed them in God's worship; but he uses them with a vigour and power of adaptation to his own circumstances, and with the blending of so much that is original, as to make them all new. It is no re-moulding of old materials, but a new creation, fresh with living force, and the creation of a mind long used to find utterance for its emotions in the language of inspiration. Even then, at this early date, the sweet singer of Israel supplied the sacred words by which the deepest feelings of the soul in communion with God are alone able to find their proper utterance.

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINS OF THE BIBLE.

LARGER MEASURES OF TIME.

BY F. R. CONDER, C.E.

THE LUNAR RECKONING OF THE BIBLE.

IN our account of the divisions of the year, employed in the Bible, we described the mode in which the commencement of each new moon was determined by actual observation. It is necessary, in order to understand the many references to the Hebrew names of the months that occur in various passages, to explain in what order they were arranged, and what relation they bore to our present seasons and division of time.

Nineteen ordinary years contain, within a few minutes of time, 235 lunations, or lunar months. This allows twelve months a-piece to twelve years, and thirteen months to each of the remaining seven years. Thus, the first day of the lunar year only coincides with a given day of the calendar, or solar year, once in nineteen years. On every other occasion it will fall either earlier or later, according to the introduction of the thirteenth, or embolismic month; so that the commencement of each lunar year will fall either eleven days earlier, or twenty-two days later than that of the preceding one. To show this course with exactitude, we require a table, similar to that given in our Prayer-books, giving the epact, or age of the moon, on a fixed day in the solar year, on each of the nineteen years of the cycle. And, in dealing with long periods of history, a correction has to be made in this table, by antedating the commencement of the lunar year, at the rate of one day in every twelve Metonic cycles—that is to say, in every 228 years.

For the purpose of ordinary reference of events to the season of the year, however, it is enough to regard the lunar month as approximately coincident with the proper calendar months; as, for example, to say that Nisan, or Abib, falls in March and April; Zif in April and May; and the rest in order. The earliest possible commencement of the lunar year, as we have before stated, was on the fifth day of our present month of March.

We have thrown into the form of a table the sequence of the Jewish months, with their respective fasts and festivals, giving references to those passages in the Bible, as well as the *Wars* and *Antiquities* of Josephus, which quote precise dates; and adding the chronological facts recorded in the Mishna, and those commemorated in the present Jewish calendar. By the aid of this table all the references made, by the writers cited, to the Jewish months can be at once readily understood.

Three great festivals, as stated in the Pentateuch,[1] were appointed by Moses, on each of which it was incumbent on every male Jew, who was not a minor or a slave, to be present at Jerusalem. These were, the Feast of the Passover, First-fruits, and Unleavened Bread, occupying the seven days from the fourteenth to the twenty-first day of Nisan; the Feast of Pentecost, on the sixth and seventh of Sivan; and the Feast of Tabernacles, occupying the eight days from the fourteenth to the twenty-second of Ethanim, or Tisri. These feasts approximately coincided with the commencement of barley harvest, with the close of wheat harvest (our harvest home), and with the vintage. The chief additions that were made to these original festivals in later years were, first, the Feast of Lights, or of the re-dedication of the Temple, which was instituted, in the time of the Maccabees, to celebrate the re-consecration of the Temple after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes. This was held on the twenty-fifth of Cisleu, being the anniversary of the erection, by David, of an altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, the subsequent site of the great brazen altar of Solomon. Second, the Feast of Purim, which was held on the fourteenth day of Adar, when the roll of the Book of Esther, referring to the events commemorated on that festival, is read in the synagogue.

The principal fasts are referred to by the prophet Zechariah (chap. viii. 19). They were—(1.) That of the tenth day of the seventh month, the great Day of Expiation, which was the central solemnity of the entire Jewish ritual. This fast alone was absolute; food, drink, washing, anointing, putting on shoes, and every personal enjoyment, being forbidden on pain of death, if the prohibition were wilfully infringed, and of a sin-offering, if inadvertently broken. (2.) On the seventeenth day of Tamuz, a solemn fast commemorated the five signal calamities—of the breaking of the Tables of the Law by Moses, on his descent from the Mount; of the burning the roll of the Law; of the breaking down of the wall of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; of the erection of an idol in the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes; and of the cessation of the daily sacrifice during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. (3.) On the ninth day of Ab, a solemn fast commemorated five other great calamities—namely, the announcement that the Jews who left Egypt should not enter Canaan; the destruction of the Temple of Solomon; the destruction of the Temple of Herod; the fall of Bether; and the ploughing-up of the site of Jerusalem. (4.) In the tenth month, Tebeth, the eighth, ninth, and tenth days were fasts, being the anniversary of the three days of darkness in Egypt. The tenth of Tebeth is still observed as a fast, as being the date of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

Special festivals took place on the fifteenth of Ab, and on the morrow of the Day of Atonement. All the maidens of Jerusalem then attired themselves in gay clothing, which they lent to one another, and went out,

[1] Exod. xxiii. 14.

with dances and songs, into the country; the young men being invited to follow, and select their brides. Garlands were worn by the maidens; and the festival is said to be referred to in the Song of Songs,[2] in the words, "Go forth, O ye daughters of Sion," and in the mention of the crown, of the day of espousals, and of gladness of heart. For the feasts and fasts of less importance, and for the general relations of the calendar to the history of the Jews, we refer to the following almanack:—

THE BIBLE ALMANACK,

Showing the Jewish Months, with the Festivals, Fasts, and principal events which fell on fixed days of the lunar month.

The incidence of the Sabbath varied from year to year. The first Sabbath of the month ADAR was called the first Sabbath. The date in Luke vi. 1 is the first Sabbath of NISAN.

FIRST MONTH, ABIB (*Hebrew*), OR NISAN (*Aramaic*): MARCH AND APRIL.

1 New Moon. Messengers allowed to travel on the Sabbath. Wood-offering; palms borne. Ezra vii. 9; x. 17. Ezek. xxvi. 1; xxix, 17. Exod. xl. 2—17.
2 Death of Nadab and Abihu.
3 Dan. x. 1.
4
5
6
7 Josh. iii. 2; Ezek. xxx. 20.
8 Prodigy (*Bell.* vi. 5, § 3).
9
10 Lamb taken for Passover. Death of Miriam (Numb. xx. 1). Jordan crossed (Josh. iv. 19). Ezek. xl. 1.
11
12 Ezra viii. 31.
13 Search for leaven at even. Esth. iii. 12.
14 Passover (Exod. xxiii. 14). Prayer for rain. Roman camp pitched (*Bell.* v. 11, § 4). Fight in Temple (*Bell.* v. 3, § 1).
15 Masada taken (*Bell.* vii. 10, § 1). First day of unleavened bread.
16 First-fruits.
17 Third day of unleavened bread.
18 Fourth day of unleavened bread.
19 Fifth day of unleavened bread.
20 Sixth day of unleavened bread.
21 Seventh day of unleavened bread. Prodigy (*Bell.* vi. 5, § 3).
22 Siege of Jerusalem commenced (*Bell.* v. 7, § 2).
23
24 Dan. x. 4.
25
26
27
28
29
30

SECOND MONTH, ZIF (*Hebrew*), OR IJAR (*Aramaic*): APRIL AND MAY.

1 New moon. Numb. i. 1, 18. *Ant.* xi. 4, § 2. Foundation of Second Temple.
2 1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Chron. iii. 2.
3
4
5
6
7 Foundation of Temple by Solomon. Outer wall of city taken by Titus, on fifteenth day of siege (*Bell.* v. 7, § 2).
8
9
10
11 Death of Eli.
12 Second wall taken (*Bell.* v. 8, § 1).
13 Siege of Jotapata commenced (*Bell.* iii. 7, §§ 2, 33, 36).
14 Second Passover.
15 Wilderness entered (Exod. xvi. 1). Titus recovers second wall (*Bell.* v. 9, § 2).
16 Jewish War began (*Bell.* ii. 15, § 2; iii. 7, § 2).
17 *Bell.* ii. 15, § 2; iii. 7, § 3.
18 Feast of the School.
19
20
21 Relief of Jotapata (*Bell.* iii. 7, § 3).
22
23
24
25
26
27 Death of Samuel.
28
29 Roman banks completed (*Bell.* v. 11, § 4).

THIRD MONTH, SIVAN: MAY AND JUNE.

1 New moon. Beginning of year for tithe of beasts. Exod. xix. 1; Ezek. xxxi. 1.
2
3
4
5
6
7 Day of Pentecost (*Bell.* vi. 5, § 3; Acts ii. 1; xviii. 21; xx. 16.).
8 Second day of Pentecost.
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20 Repulse of Vespasian (*Bell.* iii. 7, § 29).
21
22
23 Esth. viii. 9.
24
25 Japha taken by Titus (*Bell.* iii. 7, § 31). Death of R. Simeon.
26
27 Fast for Jeroboam. Jerusalem taken by Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 3); taken by Herod (*Ant.* xiv. 16, § 4). Gerizim taken by Romans (*Bell.* iii. 7, § 32).
28
29
30

FOURTH MONTH, TAMUZ: JUNE AND JULY.

1 New moon. Jotapata taken (*Bell.* iii. 7, § 36).
2
3 Death of Sabinus (*Bell.* vi. 1, § 6).
4 Vespasian returned to Ptolemais (*Bell.* iii. 9, § 1).
5 Ezek. i. 1. Tower of Antonia taken (*Bell.* vi. 1, § 7).
6
7
8
9 Famine prevails in Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 3).
10
11
12 Ezek. iii. 16.
13
14
15
16
17 Solemn fast. Five great calamities befell (Zech. viii. 19).
18
19
20 Wood-offering.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27 Cloisters of Temple burnt, on eightieth day of siege (*Bell.* vi. 3, § 1).
28 Nehemiah goes round the city (Neh. ii. 12).
29

[2] Cant. iii. 11.

Fifth Month, AB: July and August.

1 New moon. Messengers sent. Death of Aaron. Ezra vii. 8. Temple burnt (*Ant.* x. 8, § 5).
2
3 Neh. iii. 1; cf. vi. 15.
4
5 Wood-offering.
6
7 Wood-offering. Spies sent. Palace burnt (2 Kings xxv. 8).
8 Two banks completed for siege (*Bell.* vi. 4, § 1).
9 Solemn Fast (Zech. vii. 5). Five great calamities befell (Zech. viii. 19).
10 Wood-offering. Ezek. xx. 1. *Bell.* vi. 4, § 5.
11
12
13
14 Paul at Lystra (Acts xiv. 13).
15 Wood-offering. Dance of virgins. Cant. iii. 11. *Bell.* ii. 17, § 7.
16
17
18
19
20 Wood-offering. 102nd day of siege. *Bell.* vi. 8, § 1.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29 Tithe of beasts.

Sixth Month, ELUL: August and September.

1 New moon Commencement of year for tithing cattle. Hagg. i. 1.
2
3
4
5 Ezek. viii. 1.
6 *Bell.* ii. 17, § 8.
7 Dedication of wall of Jerusalem. Murder of High-priest Jonathan (*Bell.* ii. 17, § 9). Capture of Jerusalem by Titus (*Bell.* vi. 8, § 4).
8 Sea-fight on Lake of Galilee (*Bell.* iii. 10, § 9). 120th day of siege. *Bell.* vi. 8, § 5.
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17 Feast for expulsion of Greeks. Death of spies.
18
19
20 Wood-offering. Paul at Athens (Acts xvii. 23).
21
22
23
24 Hagg. i. 15.
25 Wall finished (Neh. vi. 15).
26
27
28
29
(30) An additional day in what were called full years—not in ordinary or "hollow" years.

Seventh Month, ETHANIM (*Hebrew*), or TISRI (*Aramaic*): September and October.

1 New moon. Messengers sent—allowed to travel on the Sabbath. Commencement of year for intermissions and jubilees. Neh. vii. 73.
2 Neh. viii. 13.
3 Fast for murder of Gedaliah. High Priest set apart for the Day of Atonement.
4
5
6
7 Fast on account of golden calf.
8
9
10 Total Fast. Great Day of Expiation. Acts xxvii. 9.
11 Dance of Virgins.
12
13
14 First day of Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 18; Ezra iii. 4).
15 Second.
16 Third.
17 Fourth.
18 Fifth.
19 Sixth.
20 Seventh.
21 Eighth. Palms borne. Neh. viii. 18. Hagg. ii. 1.
22 Prayers for rain.
23 Feast for the Law being finished. Gamala taken (*Bell.* iv. 1, § 9).
24 Neh. ix. 1.
25
26
27 Cestius encamps on Scopus (*Bell.* ii. 19, § 4).
28
29
30 Cestius enters Jerusalem (*Bell.* ii. 19, § 4).

Eighth Month, BUL (*Hebrew*), or MARCHESVAN (*Aramaic*): October and November.

1 New moon.
2
3 Prayer for rain.
4
6
7 Death of sons of Zedekiah. *Taanith*, i. 3. Ruin of Jerusalem. *Bell.* vi. 8, § 4.
8 Retreat of Cestius (*Bell.* ii. 19, § 9).
9
10
11
12
13
14
15 Altar in Bethel (1 Kings xii. 32).
16
17 Fast for rain for three days, if none falls. *Taanith*, i. 4.
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
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Ninth Month, CISLEU: November and December.

1 New moon. Messengers sent.
2 Three days more severe fast, if no rain falls. *Taanith*, i. 5.
3
4 Zech. vii. 1.
5 Baths closed, if no rain falls.
6 Fast for burning of city.
7 Death of Herod the Great, B.C. 4.
8
9
10
11
12
13
14 If no rain, an absolute fast ordered.
15 Idol erected in Sanctuary (1 Macc. i. 54).
16
17
18
19
20 2 Sam. xxiv. 8. Ezra x. 9. *Ant.* xi. 5, § 4.
21 Wood-offering.
22
23
24 Hagg. ii. 10.

25 1 Macc. iv. 59.
26 Feast of Lights, or of the Dedication of the Temple. Palms borne.
27
28
29
30

TENTH MONTH, TEBETH: DECEMBER AND JANUARY.

1 New moon. Ezra x. 16; *Ant.* xi. 5, § 4.
2
3
4
5 Ezek. xxxiii. 21. News of fall of city.
6
7
8 Fast. Three days of darkness in Egypt. LXX. translation of Law.
9 Fast.
10 Fast. Ezek. xxiv. 18. *Ant.* x. 7, § 4. Siege of Jerusalem commenced by Nebuchadnezzar.
11
12 Ezek. xxix. 1.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28 Feast. Expulsion of Sadducees.
29

ELEVENTH MONTH, SEBAT: JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

1 New moon. Beginning of the year for trees. Deut. i. 3.
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 Vow against tribes of Benjamin.
24 Zech. i. 7.
25
26
27
28
29
30

TWELFTH MONTH, ADAR: FEBRUARY AND MARCH.

1 New moon. Messengers sent. Death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 7). Beginning of ecclesiastical year. Ezek. xxxii. 1.
2
3 Temple finished (Ezra vi. 15).
4
5
6
7
8 Feast for rain.
9
10
11 Roll of Book of Esther read.
12 Ditto.
13 Fast for Esther.
14 Feast of Purim. Palms borne.
15 Ezek. xxxii. 17. Tables set in provinces for Temple tax.
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 Feast for dedication of Temple by Zerubbabel.
24
25 Tables set in Jerusalem for Temple tax.
26
27 Death of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 27).
28
29 Tithes of beasts.

THIRTEENTH MONTH, VEADAR,

Intercalated seven times in each cycle of nineteen years.

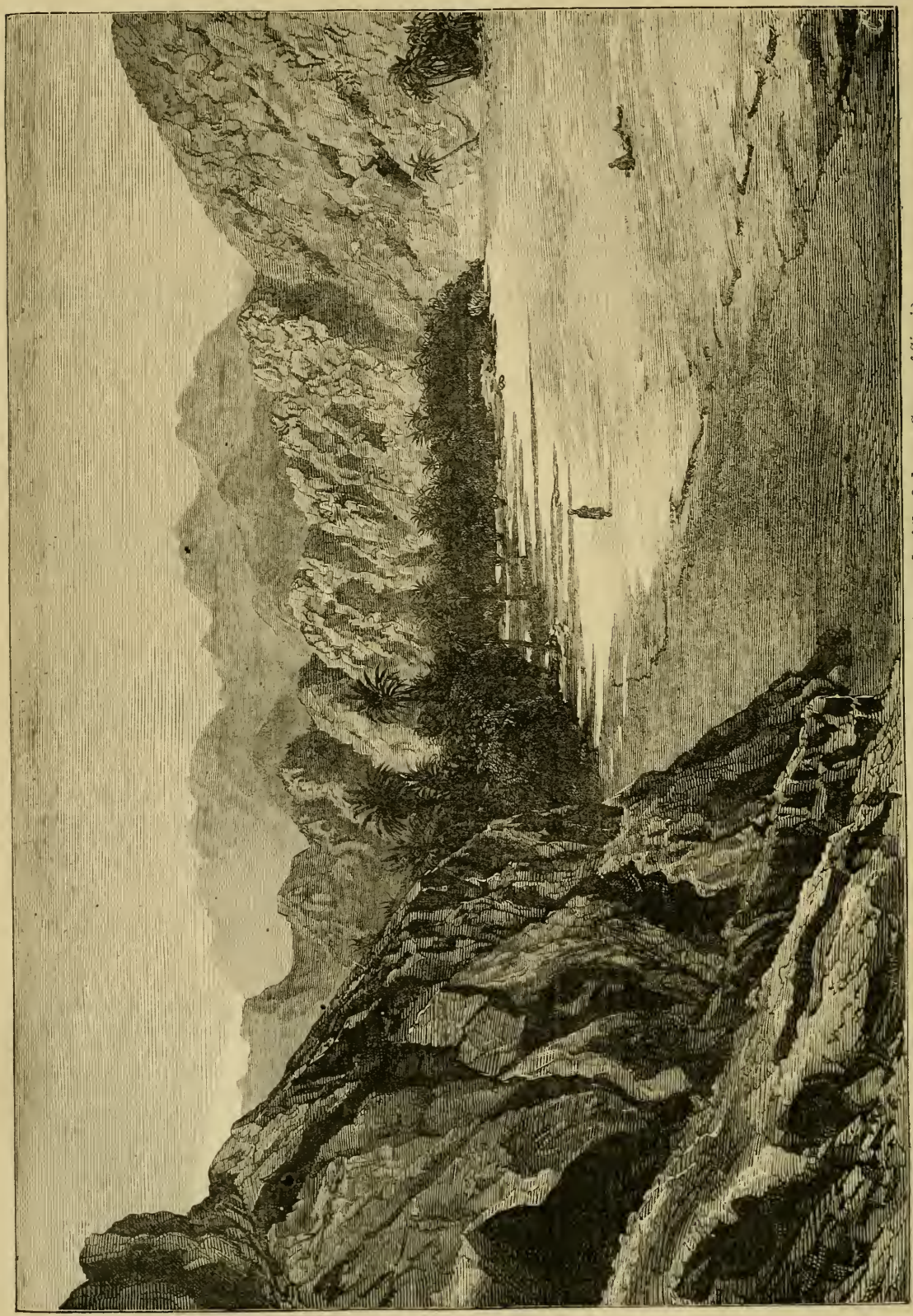
GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

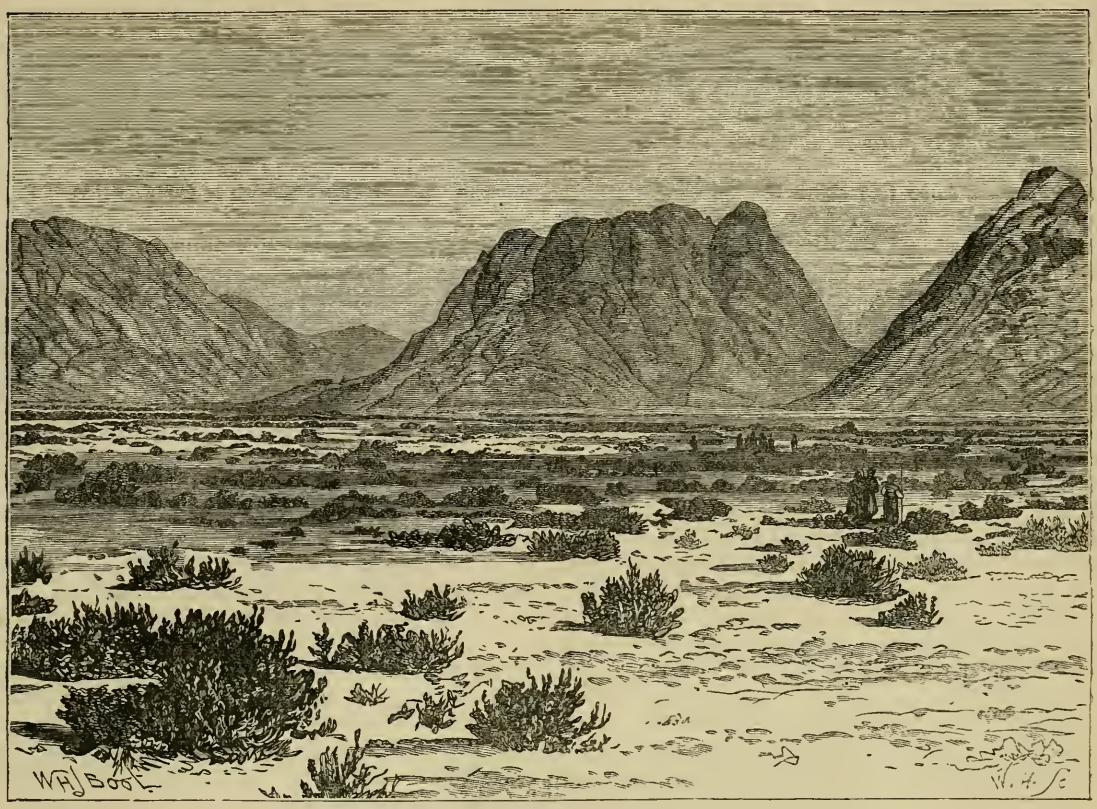
BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

VII.—SINAI (*concluded*).

FIVE mountains in the peninsula have at different times been identified with the Mount of the Law — Jebel el-Ejmeh, Jebel Umm Alawi, Jebel Katharina, Jebel Serbal, and Jebel Musa; and if we can determine with any degree of accuracy which of these was Mount Sinai, it will not be very difficult to ascertain the route followed by the 600,000 fighting men who went up out of the land of Egypt, the morning after the first Passover, accompanied as they were by their wives and families, their flocks and herds, and possibly by wagons. The topographical features which the Bible requires in connection with Mount Sinai are—(1.) A mountain summit overlooking a place on which the children of Israel could be assembled. It does not seem necessary to suppose that there must have been space in front of the mount sufficient for their permanent encampment; indeed, it would rather appear that the tents were pitched in the neighbouring valleys, whence the people could be easily summoned to take part in any solemn act, such as the delivery of the Ten Commandments. (2.) The place on which the Israelites assembled must have had such a relation to the mountain as would enable the people to stand "at the nether part of the mount," and yet "remove and stand afar off," and at the same time hear the voice of the Lord when He spake "out of the midst of the fire" and



JEBEL SERBAL, FROM WADY FEIRAN. (*From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai.*)



THE RAS SUFSAFEH AND PLAIN OF ER RAHAH. (*From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai.*)

answered Moses "by a voice." (3.) The summit of the mount must have been a well-defined peak, visible from the nether part of the mount as well as from afar off, and easily distinguished as the "top of the mount" on which the Lord came down. (4.) The mountain must have risen precipitously from the place of assembly; in Deut. iv. 11, the people are said to have stood "under it," and they were apparently able at the same time to see the summit; the mountain was also one that could be touched. (5.) The position of the mount with respect to the surrounding mountains was such that it could be isolated or set apart, by placing or prescribing bounds round it which no man or animal was to cross. (6.) It is evident from several passages that the supply of water at Sinai must have been ample, and in Deut. ix. 21 the brook into which the dust of the golden calf was cast is said to have "descended out of the mount." (7.) As the Israelites remained at or near Sinai for a year, there must have been sufficient pasturage in the neighbourhood for the sustenance of their flocks and herds during that period.

Let us now see how far each of the proposed mountains fulfils these conditions.

Jebel el-Ejmeh is not a distinct mountain or even a defined peak, but a long ridge or rather cliff forming the edge of the Tih plateau; the ground in front of it is very broken, and not suitable for the assembly of a large multitude. There is no running water, and only one well, the supply from which is scant and of bad quality; and, except after the rains, there is no vegetation.

Jebel Umm Alawi is not an isolated peak, but the culminating point of the granite ridge which, rising abruptly from the great plain of Sened, forms its western boundary. The plain is of considerable extent, but falls away from the base of the mountain, affording to spectators standing in front a very unfavourable position for seeing and hearing. There is no running water, and only one spring at the northern end of the plain. There is but slight vegetation, and a total absence of any tradition either Christian or native, though the conjunction of mountain and plain is very remarkable.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the belief that *Jebel Katharina* was Mount Sinai was not uncommon, and it appears to have arisen from a statement of Josephus that Mount Sinai was the highest mountain in the district. Though Katharina and its twin peak Zebir are the highest summits in the peninsula, the mountains that surround them, and of which they form the nucleus, are so lofty and rise so precipitously from their bases that it is impossible to see either summit from the plain of Er Rahah, or from any place in the neighbourhood on which a large number of people

could be assembled. There is plenty of water and several perennial streams, and on the slopes of the mountain itself a fair amount of pasturage; but as all contact with the mount was forbidden, this would not have been available for the flocks and herds.

Jebel Serbal is perhaps the most striking mountain in the peninsula. It rises abruptly to a height of more than 4,000 feet above the valley at its base, and its summit, a sharp ridge about three miles in length, is broken into a series of peaks, varying little in altitude, but rivalling each other in the beauty and grandeur of their outline. The ridge of Serbal lies nearly east and west; on the south there is an almost precipitous descent to the bed of Wady Sigilliyeh, whilst on the north a rough mountain tract, bounded by Wady Ajeleh on the west and by Wady Aleyat on the east, extends to Wady Feiran, a distance of three miles. The country round is extremely wild and rugged, and in consequence of the rapid fall of the valleys, there is a total absence of those small open plains which are so frequently met with in the higher districts. There is no plain in the vicinity of Serbal, and those writers who have identified this mountain with Sinai have supposed that the Israelites were assembled for the delivery of the Law in Wadies Aleyat and Er Rimm; they would, however, in this case have been divided into two sections by a high granite ridge, and those in the latter valley could not well be described as standing "at the nether part of the mount." The beds of these valleys are so covered by enormous boulders, which successive winter floods have heaped together in wild confusion, that there is no standing-ground for a number of men; and it does not seem probable that the valleys presented a different appearance in the time of Moses, for they must always have been subject to floods of more or less violence. The ridge of Serbal is broken into some ten or twelve peaks, which vary so little in altitude that when seen from lower ground, or from a distance, the eye fails to distinguish the highest; and it may be remarked that the loftiest peak is not seen from Wady Ajeleh, and only from one or two points in Wady Feiran. It would be difficult to set bounds round Serbal, unless the limits followed the course of Wadies Aleyat and Ajeleh, which with Feiran would enclose a tract of three or four square miles. There is a good supply of water near Serbal, but no brook descending out of the mount, for neither of the running streams in Wadies Sigilliyeh and Feiran take their rise in Serbal. There is also a certain amount of pasturage, but not so much as in the higher districts; the steep mountain-sides are not favourable to the growth of grass and other herbs, and the oasis of Feiran consists only of palms and tarfah. Serbal is supposed to have been the seat of an ancient worship; but there is no trace of this, the ruins on its summit being comparatively modern, and the name Serbal referring to the appearance of the mountain after heavy rain, and not to any connection with Baal. The ruins, too, at Feiran are in close proximity to the episcopal city of Pharan, and lie chiefly on Jebel et-Tahuneh, tending to show that that mountain and not Serbal was held in most esteem by the early Christians.

The mountain mass, of *Jebel Musa*, or, as it would be better named, Musa-Sufsafeh, is about two miles long, running from south-east to north-west, and one broad. Its general elevation is 6,500 feet, but at its southern extremity Jebel Musa rises to 7,363 feet, and at its northern end the peak of Ras Sufsafeh to 6,937 feet, whilst the intervening space is cut up by a series of deep clefts into numerous peaks of lower altitude. On the west the mountain is bounded by Wady el-Leja, and on the east by Wady ed-Deir; both valleys run northwards, and the former sweeping round the foot of Sufsafeh, which rises almost precipitously to a height of 2,000 feet, joins the latter at Aaron's Mound (Harun). To the north of the Ras Sufsafeh, and sloping uniformly down to its very base, lies the plain of Er Rahah, containing 400 acres of available standing-ground directly in front of the mountain. The southern boundary is formed by Wady Sebaiyeh, the bed of which is separated by nearly a mile and a quarter of rugged broken ground from the peak of Jebel Musa. It will thus be seen that the block Musa-Sufsafeh is almost isolated, and we must mention another feature, Wady Shreich, which runs nearly parallel to Wady Leja, and cuts off, as it were, a thin slice from the western face of the mountain.

Though the peak Jebel Musa has been identified with Sinai from the fourth or fifth century, it cannot be seen from the plain of Er Rahah, and there is not sufficient space near the mountain to accommodate the Israelites in Wady Sebaiyeh. The Ras Sufsafeh, on the other hand, stands directly over the plain of Er Rahah, and as we find in it every topographical feature required by the Bible even to the minutest detail, we would identify it with the Mount of the Law in preference to the rival peak Jebel Musa. We have here a mountain summit overlooking a plain which, with its branches Seil Leja and Wady ed-Deir, contains 4,293,000 square yards in full view of the mount, ample standing-ground for the Israelites without including the mountain slopes on which large numbers of people could have stood. There is also in the valleys within a radius of six miles of Ras Sufsafeh sufficient space for the whole multitude to have encamped, and from this distance they could easily have been assembled before the mount on any special occasion. On Er Rahah the people would be able to stand at "the nether part of the mount," on sloping ground where they would be well placed for hearing the voice of the Lord when He spake "out of the midst of the fire," and they would be able to "remove and stand afar off" on the ground to the north near the mouth of the Nagb Hawa. The peak of the Ras Sufsafeh is the first object which strikes the eye of the traveller as he leaves the Nagb, and from that moment he never loses sight of the "top of the mount" till he reaches the foot of the great mass which rises so abruptly that it may well be described as a mountain that can be "touched." The block of Musa-Sufsafeh is so completely isolated from the surrounding mountains that

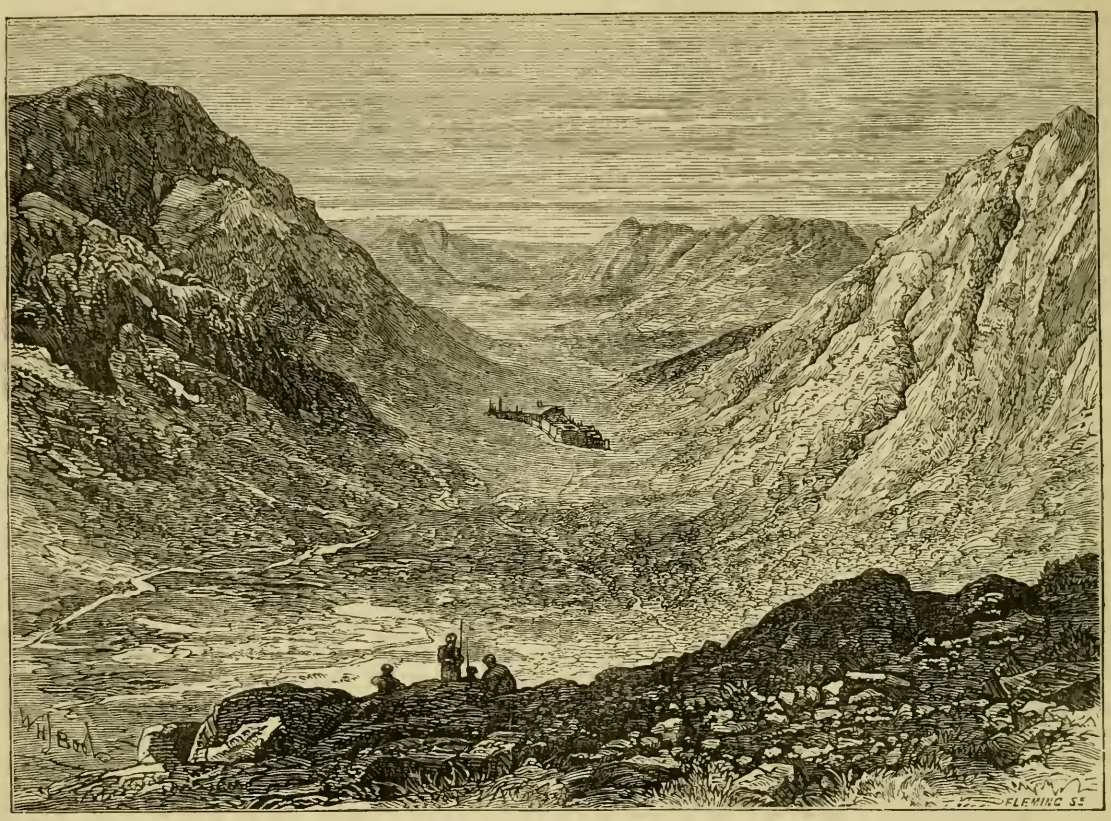
there would be no difficulty in placing bounds round it, and there is in its vicinity a better supply of water and pasturage than in any other part of the peninsula; besides six perennial streams, there are several large and good springs; the numerous gardens show what can be produced by a little cultivation, and everywhere amongst the mountains there are small basins in which grass and other desert vegetation grow in great profusion. Without attempting to localise the minor incidents of the narrative, we may point out how well the features of Wady Shreich, with its tiny stream, its easy ascent to the mountain, and the bend near its mouth, lend themselves to the incident of the Golden Calf; and the peculiar features of Jebel Moneijah (the Mount of Conference) well adapt it to have been the original site of the Tabernacle of Witness.

We may now turn to an examination of the route followed by the Israelites from Egypt to Sinai. We have already seen that their three days' march from Rameses would bring them to the western arm of the Red Sea, but the point at which they crossed is a matter of some dispute; the opinion generally adopted is that it was at or near Suez, and this view has in its favour a tradition as old as the sixth century. Wherever the passage was effected, the first camp in the desert would naturally be pitched round the oasis of Ayun Musa (the "springs of Moses"), where there was in the sixth century a small commemorative chapel. From these springs or wells the first stage in the march of the Israelites is marked out by nature, for to reach Jebel Musa-Sufsafeh they must have travelled southwards over the barren district between the range of Er Rahah and the sea. To this tract the Bible gives two names, "the wilderness of Shur" (Exod. xv. 22) and the "Wilderness of Etham" (Numb. xxxiii. 8). The first name, Shur ("wall"), is perhaps derived from the remarkable wall-like escarpment which forms the western boundary of the Tih plateau; and the second, Etham, is possibly the same as Pithom, a frontier town of Egypt towards the desert; and we may suggest that the desert was known to the Egyptians as that of Etham, and to the desert tribes as that of Shur, whilst Moses would be equally acquainted with both names.

As the Israelites, leaving Ayun Musa, turned their faces southwards away from the land of their bondage and the scene of their great deliverance, they must have gazed on the same features that now strike the eye of the traveller on his way from Suez to Jebel Musa, for the general aspect of the desert can have altered little. On their left would be the long level range of Er Rahah; in front, the terraced plain several miles broad, sloping gently down to the bright blue sea, and beyond the sea to their right the picturesque line of cliffs, on one point of which the name of Ras Atakah (Mount of Deliverance) still lingers. Nor would the minor features of that barren desolate wilderness be wanting, though they have probably been modified by the action of weather during the course of ages; the quaint, table-topped hills and ridges; the ever ceaseless sand-drift moving over the surface of the ground; the stones furrowed, and seamed, and scored by its action; the blackened pebbles, the bright sun, the scanty shrubs, and the arid soil, brightened, it may be, by the few blades of grass that spring up like magic after heavy rain. In this dreary wilderness they went three days "and found no water," and when they at last reached Marah, it was to find the water unfit for drinking, salt and bitter, as all the springs in this district remain to the present day. The water was miraculously sweetened for them by casting a tree or shrub into it; but as the Bible does not mention its name, it is useless to inquire what particular shrub was used, especially as the Bedawi know of no means of sweetening the water. Marah has been identified with Ain Hawarah or Wady Amarah, and either locality would be suitable.

The next stage in the journey was Elim, where there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees, and this we may locate either at Wady Gharandel, where there is a comparatively fertile valley with tamarisks, palms, and other vegetation, and a stream of water with large pools surrounded by bulrushes; or with Wady Useit, where there is a broad open plain with springs of brackish water and a few clumps of palm-trees. From Wady Useit, two roads lead to Jebel Musa: one, the north route, runs up Wady Hamr, and thence past Sarabit el-Khadim to Wady es-Sheikh; the other, the coast route, turns down Wady Taiyibeh to the sea, and thence follows the course of Wady Feiran. Both routes are practicable for such wagons as were employed to carry the Tabernacle after the Israelites left Sinai, and which perhaps accompanied them from Egypt, and both have a sufficiency of water. The coast route is far the most easy, and we have an indication that this was followed by the Israelites in Numb. xxxiii. 10, which places the encampment on the sea-coast, probably on the broad level plain at the mouth of Wady Taiyibeh. The next station is the Wilderness of Sin, which we would identify with El Markha, an extensive plain on the coast, open, level, covered in parts with slight vegetation, and well suited for a large encampment. From this point, three roads, which afterwards join each other, branch off; one passes over the Nagb Buderah to Wady Mukatteb, another turns up Seih Sidreh to the same place, and thence both pass to Wady Feiran, whilst the third follows the course of Wady Feiran throughout. The first is impracticable for the passage of a large host, but the two latter routes are perfectly easy, and the Israelites may have followed either or both. The two next encampments, Dophkah and Alush, are mere names in the itinerary without any special description; they were intermediate stations between the Wilderness of Sin and Rephidim, and consequently, if our view of the route is correct, must have been in Wady Feiran.

The most important station between the Red Sea and Sinai is Rephidim, the scene of the victory over the Amalekites, and this, following Lepsius and Stanley, we would locate at Feiran, the site assigned to Rephidim



WADY ED-DEIR AND PLAIN OF ER RAHAH, FROM JEBEL MONEIJAH.
(From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Sinai.)

by early Christian tradition. The position of Feiran answers in every respect to the requirements of the Bible narrative. The Amalekites in position above the ruins would be well supplied with water, whilst the Israelites would have found no water during their three days' march from El Markha, and we can well imagine that when they arrived, weary and thirsty, at the place where they had been led to expect water, and found it occupied by the Amalekites, they would give vent to those murmurings which led to the miraculous supply when Moses struck the rock. Not far from this place a rock, Hesy el-Khattatin, was shown by the Bedawin to Professor Palmer as that from which the water flowed. In endeavouring to fix the site of the battle of Rephidim, there is no occasion to search for a large battle-field according to modern ideas: we should rather consider what the Amalekites thought of the Israelites at this stage of their journey, and where they would probably make an effort to stop their advance. They could not have known that the Israelites were proceeding to Jebel Musa under Divine guidance, and probably looked upon them as a people who, having escaped from their bondage in Egypt, were trying to force their way eastwards along the great highway that runs through the peninsula, or to conquer the country with a view to its future settlement. In either case they would naturally assemble their forces in some strong position, and try to fight a decisive action before the Israelites reached the heart of the country. Such a position there is at Feiran, protecting the rich palm-grove and the stream of water, objects which must always have been of the greatest importance in the eyes of the desert tribes. Here, secure from any danger of a flank attack, with good roads leading to the rear in case of defeat, they would offer battle to the Israelites, who might be expected to arrive faint and weary after three days' journey without water, with every chance of success. The topographical features of Feiran lend themselves readily to the minor incidents of the battle; detachments coming down Wadies Nisrin and Rummanch would be able to harass the rear of the Israelite host (Deut. xxv. 18); and on the hill of Jebel et-Tahuneh Moses may have stood, secure from hostile darts, whilst the battle was raging beneath him. Jerome, Cosmas, Antoninus, and other old writers place Rephidim at Feiran, and tell us that an oratory was erected there with its altar over the stones, which it was believed were those on which Moses rested during the battle. The Rev. F. W. Holland, who has paid three visits to the Peninsula, and those writers who believe that the Israelites followed the north route from Wady Useit,

identify Rephidim with El Watiyeh, a remarkable pass through the granite wall that shuts in Jebel Musa; but we do not think that this place answers the required conditions so well as Feiran.

There are two practicable routes from Feiran to Jebel Musa-Sufsafeh: one following the course of the Wady es-Sheikh throughout; the other passing up Wady Solaf and across the low hills to El Watiyeh, or turning through the Nagb Hawa to the plain of Er Rahah. Either or both of these routes may have been followed by the Israelites; the main body, with the flocks and herds, may have gone round by the Wady es-Sheikh, whilst Moses and the elders travelled by the shorter route of Wady Solaf.

We have thus followed the Israelites from their encampment after crossing the Red Sea to the camp before the mount, in which they remained for a year, and may now turn our attention to the route by which they left the peninsula. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the country to the north-east of Jebel Musa is confined to the route usually followed by travellers on their way northwards to Petra and Palestine, and the Bible narrative merely gives the names of certain encampments on the line of march. We may, however, infer that the pass by which they ascended to the Tih plateau was practicable for light wagons, and perhaps also, from the absence of the name in the first part of the journey, that they did not pass by Akabah (Ezion-geber or Elath). A very natural and probable route would be down the Wady Saal, and thence by Erweis el-Ebeirig to Ain Hudherah, usually identified with Hazeroth. From this point, however, the line of route is doubtful. We can hardly suppose that the Israelites turned down to the Gulf of Akabah, as there is no mention of Elath or of the sea in the Bible at this stage, and we know of no good road to the Tih plateau with the exception of one followed by a German traveller in the early part of the present century. We gather from his account, which is very meagre, that he passed up a valley near Jebel Aradeh, and found a good open road all the way; unfortunately, no one has followed the same route since, but it is such a likely one for the Israelites to have taken that, until the country is explored, we would propose to adopt it. At Erweis el-Ebeirig the ground for more than a mile, in every direction, is covered with curiously arranged stones, evidently the remains of a large encampment, and the Bedawin have a strange story connecting the place with a lost caravan. This has induced Professor Palmer to identify it with Kibroth-hattaavah, the scene of the "very great plague" described in Numb. xi. 31—34; and if the route followed by the Israelites was by Wady Saal and Ain Hudherah, the position of Erweis el-Ebeirig would correspond with that of Kibroth-hattaavah in the Bible narrative. It was not far from this place that Dean Stanley, in 1852–3, met with large flights of cranes which darkened the sky, and Schubert appears to have seen a similar flight near the same spot. The valley in which Ain Hudherah is situated is one of the most beautiful in the whole peninsula; the high sandstone cliffs on either side are broken into the most fantastic forms, and glow with a variety of brilliant colours; bright red fading away to salmon colour and the delicate pink blush of the rose, rich purple changing to every shade of violet, bright yellow, pearly white, grey, dull brown, and deep olive, make up a picture which must be seen to be realised. In the midst of the valley, amid great banks of golden sand, rise the stately palms that mark the position of the fountain of Ain Hudherah (Hazeroth), where Miriam was smitten with leprosy (Numb. xii. 10). The question of the route followed by the Israelites after they reached the plateau of the Tih we must leave for future consideration.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

PHILIPPI (anciently Κρηνίδες, "Fountains," new-built and new-named by Philip of Macedon) was the first place in Europe where the Gospel was preached by the Apostle Paul.[1] Very simply did the evangelisation of the continent begin. "We went out of the city by a river-side, where we supposed that there was a place of prayer (for the Jews); and we spake unto the women who resorted thither."[2] In Philippi, also, broke out the earliest strictly *Gentile* persecution—presage of a world in arms against the Christian faith; and there, for the first time, did the Apostle invoke the protection of the Roman name. The visit was altogether a memorable one, and the Philippian believers were not slow to apprehend the honour that had been conferred on their city, or the affection of the teacher who had so suffered among them. When Paul, with his companions Silas and Timothy, departed from Philippi, there were "brethren" to whom he bade farewell. The "house of Lydia" was already a gathering-place for the believers in Christ. It is more than probable that Luke, who was also in the apostolic company, was left behind for a season[3] to

[1] Acts xvi. 12. Philippi is here said to be the *first* town of Macedonia at which the Apostle and his companions arrived in their journey (not "chief"). It had been made a "colony" by Augustus, after the great victory over Brutus and Cassius, B.C. 42.

[2] Acts xvi. 13. The above rendering gives the sense of the phrase οὗ ἐνομίζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι (the accepted reading).

[3] Luke first speaks of himself in Acts xvi. 11. "Loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course," &c. The first person disappears after the record of the Philippian visit, and reappears later on at *Philippi* (Acts xx. 5, 6).

minister to the infant church; but, however this may have been, the Philippians showed from the first the most generous kindness to the Apostle. Even in Thessalonica—the very next stage in his journey—they "sent once and again" unto his necessities; and when he had left the Macedonian province, and had reached Corinth, the friendly and acceptable supply continued.[1] It is characteristic of the Apostle, that what he would not receive from the proud and wealthy Corinthians, he frankly accepted from the comparatively poor people of Macedonia. Where there was no love, where the affection was but dubious, he spurned the gift.

2. We read no more of Philippi until the time of that memorable visit to Corinth in which St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans. Before that visit, the Apostle passed through Macedonia, making Philippi, no doubt, one of his halting places, and, probably, writing thence his second letter to the Corinthians, if not also that to the Galatians.[2] Then, after the three months' stay at Corinth, St. Paul, with some of his comrades, "sailed away from Philippi," on their way to Jerusalem. This was the last visit to the city before his imprisonment. The affectionate relations that he cultivated with the Philippian Christians had evidently continued in all their fervour. Whether present or absent, he had them in his heart, and the Epistle now before us, written at one of the most critical stages of his Roman captivity, indicates the relief that he found in communication with these, his best and most loyal friends.

3. The reasons which induce us to place the Philippian letter latest among the Epistles of the first Roman captivity have been already pointed out.[3] Burrhus was dead; Tigellinus filled his place; Poppæa, the Jewish wife of Nero, was at the height of her ascendancy. Every prospect was dark for the Apostle. He had himself, as it would appear, been removed into a more rigorous confinement. Certain things, at any rate, had "happened to" him of an apparently unfavourable character, although overruled by Divine Providence for good—occurrences plainly additional to the simple fact of his imprisonment. From his mention of the Prætorium (E. V., "palace"), *i.e.*, the head-quarters of the Roman city-guard, or the barracks of the imperial guard on the Palatine hill,[4] we should gather that he had been transferred from custody in his "own hired house" to a closer military *surveillance*, in prospect of a trial which would bring to him release or martyrdom.

4. At this crisis it was that Epaphroditus arrived as messenger of the Philippian church to minister to the Apostle's wants. His advent was welcome on every account, not only for the sympathy shown and the supply provided, but because it was a renewal of former kindness. For some years, it would appear, the Philippians had omitted to furnish help of the kind that had so greatly cheered St. Paul in Thessalonica and Corinth. They had, indeed, in response to his appeal, most gladly and liberally contributed to the relief of the destitute Christians in Jerusalem;[5] but to himself they had given nothing. Not that this was felt as a slight, or imputed as blame—they had only "lacked opportunity;" their disposition toward the Apostle was as fervently generous as ever. But "now at the last" this generosity had again found full vent, and the sensitive heart of the aged servant of Christ is full of joy: "Ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction."[6] For a while Epaphroditus had remained with the diminished band of St. Paul's helpers, and had wrought beyond his strength, for it would appear that many of the friends, whose names we read in earlier epistles, had departed. Some had been sent away on the Apostle's errands, as Tychicus, Epaphras; others were becoming absorbed in personal affairs. "They all," says the old man, sadly, "seek their own."[7] Only Timothy was left, and Epaphroditus threw himself into the work with such zeal as to endanger his life. Happily he had recovered, but not before the Philippian church had heard of his peril, and had been filled with sorrowing anxiety. To reassure them, therefore, as well as to convey the expression of St. Paul's gratitude to his old friends, Epaphroditus is made the bearer of this letter.

5. A closer examination of the Epistle will bring to light another apparent purpose of the Apostle, hinted, indeed, with exquisite delicacy, and to be traced only by those who read "between the lines." The earnest and repeated injunctions against mutual jealousy, vainglory, and strife, seem to imply the existence in this otherwise right-hearted church of a self-seeking spirit, which, if it had not broken out into open dissension, still threatened the peace of the community. "Stand fast in one spirit. Be like-minded, having the same love, of one accord, of one mind. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus. Do all things without murmurings and disputings. Let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." These and similar exhortations scattered through the Epistle, with the marked repetition of the word *all* in the expression of the Apostle's good wishes,[8] show an intensity and persistency in dwelling on this one theme, which would have been somewhat out of place had there been no danger. The warm words in which the Apostle again and again commends Epaphroditus suggest that the latter was to some extent the object of jealousy; but however this may be, we have the names of two, at least, who had quarrelled—two female members of the church—Euodia (not Euodias, as E. V.) and Syntyche. These

[1] See 2 Cor. xi. 9—"When I was present with you, and wanted, . . . that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied."

[2] See Bible Educator, Vol. IV., pp. 46, 80.

[3] See Bible Educator. Vol. IV., p. 158.

[4] See Canon Lightfoot's elaborate note on *Prætorium*, chap. i. 13, p. 97 sq. He gives a different explanation, but his reasonings seem hardly satisfactory.

[5] 2 Cor. viii. 1—5.

[6] Chap. iv. 10—14.

[7] Chap. ii. 21. Observe, the Apostle is not here laying down any general maxim, "All seek their own;" but is speaking of his former associates—they are all (οἱ πάντες) seeking their own—set on private and selfish interests. Demas was one of them. See Col. iv. 14, and compare 2 Tim. iv. 10. The Epistle to the Philippians stands between the two.

[8] See especially chap. i. 3—8.

St. Paul beseeches "to be of the same mind in the Lord;" and personally addressing an elder or pastor of the church as his "true yokefellow," entreats him to "help" these Christian ladies to settle their dispute, "inasmuch," adds the Apostle, "as they laboured with me in the Gospel."[1] It may be observed that the very energy of disposition which, when rightly directed, leads to the highest forms of Christian activity, as well as the sensitive adherence to principle which marks a style of character like that of the Philippians, will often expose to precisely the same danger. Those who care but little about their beliefs and labours will, without resentment, allow them to be misunderstood, or even disparaged; and, on the contrary, that which begins in enthusiasm often ends in strife.

6. Apart from the indication of this danger, however, there is nothing in the Philippian church to arouse the Apostle's fears, or to incur his rebuke. The unsophisticated men of Macedonia were little likely to be perverted by the speculations which threatened the stability of the Colossians; and the Judaising tendency, which was the bane of the early churches, is only mentioned as a source of mischief, well understood indeed, but not practically affecting the church at Philippi. Of all St. Paul's writings this is the sunniest. Its burden, uttered like a *refrain* of some glad song, is "Rejoice!"[2] No doubt it was a cherished memory in the Philippian church that Paul and Silas had prayed and sung praises at midnight when "fast in the stocks" in the "inner prison" of their town; now, from the depth of a yet sadder incarceration, and in what must outwardly have seemed a darker night, is heard the selfsame music.

7. So true is the Epistle to all that we can conceive of the great Apostle's character, and so artless and unstudied is it in tone, that it is wonderful to find any one disputing its genuineness on internal grounds. That this has been done is one of the very perversities of criticism. The objections of Baur (of which a sufficient account will be found in the introduction to Dr. Eadie's *Commentary*, "rest," says Bleek, "sometimes on perverse interpretations of separate passages, sometimes on arbitrary historical assumptions, while in other cases it is hard to conceive that they were meant in earnest."[3] The hand as well as the heart of Paul cannot but be discerned by every unprejudiced reader through the whole course of the Epistle. Here are his specially-characteristic doctrines,[4] his favourite illustrations,[5] his very turns of phrase.[6] The pathos with which he describes his trials is beyond a forger's art, while if the language of aspiration and hope which the Epistle contains throughout be the product of another mind, we can but say, "*A second Paul*, or even *a greater, is here!*"[7] The internal evidence is at every point corroborated by external testimony. In the earliest ages there is no indication that the Epistle was ever disputed. It is quoted by the most ancient Christian writers; and, in particular, the thought of "citizenship in heaven" (chap. i. 27; iii. 20) seems to have been adopted from this Epistle (for it occurs nowhere else in Scripture) into the vocabulary of the Church.[8] All the evidence, in fact, from MSS., versions, and quotations, by which the canonicity of the New Testament writings is established, applies to this Epistle, with absolutely nothing to throw into the opposite scale.

8. The arrangement of the letter is entirely informal. It is, in fact, a *letter*, simply and entirely, one topic suggesting another in natural course. For convenience in studying, the following order may be specified.

I. Address and Greeting (chap. i. 1—11). Here it is observable that the letter is addressed to an organised church, with "bishops and deacons." Compare the thanksgiving and the prayer with those in Col. i. The spirit is the same; the difference is that between the Apostle's address to Christians whom he did not personally know, and that to his own familiar friends.

II. The Apostle's own Position (chap. i. 12—30). Into this he enters at large, as likely to be of peculiar interest to the Philippians. Three things are specially noted (1), that the rigour of his imprisonment in the prætorian camp had aided the dissemination of the Gospel. For *Paul* to be talked about was for Christ to be known (vv. 12, 13). So in chap. iv. 22 we read that there were "saints in Cæsar's household."[9] (2) In the Church the immediate result of the Apostle's trials was an extended preaching of the Gospel—by some in sincerity and love, by others in a malicious spirit, inasmuch as they seized the opportunity of insinuating Jewish errors, which they knew the Apostle hated. Never was utterance more magnanimous than St. Paul's expression of joy that even thus Christ was preached. We are ready to wonder at first that he who so sternly denounced the same teachings in the Galatian churches should acquiesce in them, even welcome them, in Rome. The explanation of the anomaly is plainly that in the former case it was the perversion of Christians, in the latter it was the conversion of the heathen, that he had in mind. To the Galatians he would say, Renounce not your faith for an imperfect form of Christianity; among the Romans, Better an imperfect Christianity than none. And to his own soul the discipline was salutary—the disciple was humbled that the Master might be exalted. (3) In a sentence the Apostle gives the motto of his life:

[1] The E. V., "Help those women which laboured with me," obscures the certain reference to Euodia and Syntyche, in συνλάμβανου αὐταῖς, αἵτινες συνήθλησαν—words which can only bear the construction above given.

[2] Chap. i. 4, "making request *with joy*;" 18, "I *rejoice*, yea, and will *rejoice*;" 25, "Your furtherance *and joy* of faith;" ii. 2, "Fulfil ye *my joy*;" 17, 18, "I *joy* and *rejoice* with you all: do ye *joy* and *rejoice* with me;" iii. 1, "Finally, my brethren, *rejoice* in the Lord;" iv. 1, "My brethren . . . my *joy* and crown;" iv. 4, "*Rejoice* in the Lord alway: and again I say, *Rejoice*." Other passages are in the same strain.

[3] See Canon Lightfoot's *Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 73.

[4] Note especially the thought of conformity to the death and resurrection of Christ (chap. iii. 10, 11), and of Him as our righteousness (iii. 9).

[5] Compare chap. iii. 2, 3 with Rom. ii. 28; chap. iv. 18 with Rom. xii. 1.

[6] Compare especially chap. iv. 1 with 1 Cor. xv. 58.

[7] See especially chap. i. 21—25; iii. 7—11, 20, 21.

[8] Clement of Rome, § 21; *Ep. to Diognetus*, § 5; Justin Martyr, *De Resurrect.*, § 7.

[9] On this subject see Canon Lightfoot's singularly interesting and exhaustive discussion (*Philippians*, p. 169 sq.).

"To me to live is Christ;" then, in irresistible contrast, the attractions of the better life appear. His desire is to depart, and to be with Christ;[1] yet he is willing to remain while he can speak or work for his Lord, and for the souls of men. "And," he says, "I know that I shall abide and continue with you all." There is, of course, no inspired prophecy here, but a very assured anticipation—fulfilled, as will be shown in our introduction to the First Epistle to Timothy.

III. Counsels to the Philippians, especially against pride and partisanship (chap. i. 27—ii. 18). The key-note of this exhortation is, "Let your 'citizenship,' your common associated life, be worthy of the Gospel" (ἀξίως πολιτεύεσθε). In the special form of this exhortation there is much impressiveness. The evils that had crept into the Philippian church specially threatened the stability and harmony of the Christian *commonwealth*; "therefore," says the Apostle, "be of *one* mind; strive *together*." The great pattern of humility and self-abnegation is presented in Him, who, though truly and essentially Divine, regarded not even equality with God as an honour to be tenaciously grasped, but condescended to manhood and to death for us.[2] In closing his appeal here to the Philippians, the Apostle refers again to his own sufferings. Even if, contrary to his expectation just expressed, his blood should be shed in speedy martyrdom, as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of the faith of these his brethren, it would only add to his joy.

IV. Personal, and Apparent Close (chap. ii. 19—iii. 1). The Apostle hopes to send Timothy, has now sent Epaphroditus, whom he affectionately commends; then, as if to close the salutation, adds, probably "with his own hand," "Finally, brethren, rejoice in the Lord." The words that follow, "To write the same things," &c., have been variously understood. May they not be a half apology, so to speak, for his persistent dwelling on this one theme of Christian joy? At any rate, he seems at this point to lay down his pen. When he resumes it, it is for quite another theme.

V. Caution against Judaism—The Law of Evangelical Righteousness (chap. iii. 2—iv. 1). This familiar section begins suddenly, with the warning, "Mark ye the dogs! mark the evil workers! mark the concision!"—plainly a reference to the Judaisers who might yet menace the Philippian church. The Apostle speaks with full authority on the question, for he also was a Jew, perfect in legal righteousness, yet for Christ he had renounced it all. Never was nobler picture drawn than this self-delineation of a consecrated man, ending with a solemn protest against the perversion of Gospel blessings. The "enemies of the cross of Christ," for whom the Apostle wept, were not its open foes, but its false adherents—the "Antinomians" of the early Church. With the false position of these men St. Paul contrasts the heavenly citizenship (πολίτευμα) of believers, and declares the glorious aim of the Christian life in the final resurrection, adding the lesson, "Stand fast in the Lord."[3]

VI. Renewed Appeals (chap. iv. 1—9). That to Euodia and Syntyche has been already noted. In the reference to "Clement"[4] it is not quite clear whether he is simply mentioned as a fellow-labourer of the Apostle, or is besought to exert his influence with that of St. Paul's "true yoke-fellow" for the reconciliation of those two Christian ladies. The former seems the likelier explanation. The spirit of joy is then again commended, with the spirit of trust. "Be anxiously troubled (μεριμνᾶτε) about nothing, and the peace of God shall keep, or garrison (φρουρήσει), your hearts." Sublimely comprehensive is the call that succeeds, to the pursuit of all Christian excellence. Again the Apostle writes "finally," but he has yet a postscript to add on personal matters.

VII. Acknowledgment of the Gifts from Philippi—Doxology, Salutations, and Close (chap. iv. 10—23). The references of the Apostle to the gifts brought by Epaphroditus, and to former kindnesses received from the Philippians, have been already noted. His acknowledgment blends gratitude with manly independence. Rather for their sakes than for his own is their liberality valued; and in an equally characteristic strain does he make return for their kindness—"*My God* shall supply all your need"—as you have supplied all mine. The greeting that follows is threefold, from the Apostle's own companions, the church in Rome generally, and, in particular, the Christians attached to the "household" of Nero—probably freedmen or slaves in the Imperial retinue. So near the throne had the power of the Gospel reached.

9. The subsequent history of the church in Philippi is almost unknown. Whether Timothy was sent according to St. Paul's intention, does not appear. That the Apostle himself was able after a while to fulfil his purpose of visiting the Philippian church will be hereafter shown. In the next century, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, addresses an Epistle to the Philippians, still preserved among the writings of the Apostolical Fathers. This, however, adds but little to our knowledge of the church. An interesting glimpse of their kind hospitality to the martyr, Ignatius, when on his way to suffer

[1] In ver. 23 we should read, "having my (τὴν) desire to depart, and to be with Christ; for it is very far better" (πολλῷ γὰρ μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον). The E. V., "having a desire," leaves it in some doubt which way the Apostle's personal preferences inclined. In his own language there is no doubt at all.

[2] On the great passage, chap. ii. 5—11, much has been written, and it is impossible here to enter into any detailed exposition; the true sense, it is believed, is given above. The word ἁρπαγμός, it has been satisfactorily shown, means not "robbery," as in E. V., but a thing to be seized—an object of eager desire. On the words rendered "form" and "fashion," see Trench's *N. T. Synonyms*, series 2, § 20.

[3] It is clear that chap. iv. 1 belongs properly to chap. iii., closing the reference to the resurrection precisely as St. Paul had done in 1 Cor. xv. 58, employing the same mode of appeal—"Therefore, my beloved brethren;" and inculcating the same lesson—"be steadfast, immoveable," &c.

[4] The notion entertained by some that this Clement was the "Bishop of Rome," and the author of the Epistle to the Corinthians, included among the works of the Apostolical Fathers, is rendered entirely improbable by consideration of place and date. The name was a common one.

at Rome, shows that the ancient character of the Philippians remained; while, on the other hand, a presbyter, one Valens, had brought scandal on the church by his avarice; and partly, perhaps, because this vice was so contrary to their former habit and disposition, Polycarp utters the most solemn warnings against all covetousness. But this letter is the last clear trace that we have of this church, once so distinguished by its own devotedness, and by the affection of St. Paul. The light has passed still westward, and not a vestige remains of the mother church of European Christendom.[1]

[1] See Conybeare and Howson. The site of Philippi has long been a desert.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

BY WILLIAM CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

ORDERS XXX.—XXXII. ANACARDIACEÆ, RHAMNEÆ, AND LEGUMINOSÆ.

THE Terebinths (*Anacardiaceæ*) are an order of trees or shrubs with a resinous or milky acrid juice, and inconspicuous flowers, found in the warm regions of the world. None of them reach so far north as to find a place among our native plants. In Palestine there are five species, belonging to the two genera *Rhus* and *Pistacia*. One of them, the tanning sumach (*Rhus coriaria*, Linn.) is a small tree, some fifteen or twenty feet high. It is extensively grown for its leaves, which contain so much tannic acid that they are gathered for use in the preparation of leather.

The Pistacia tree (*Pistacia vera*, Linn.) is cultivated in Palestine for its edible fruits. These are probably the nuts which Israel sent with the balm, honey, &c., as a present to obtain favour for his sons from "the man" Joseph, in Egypt (Gen. xliii. 11). The Mastick tree (*P. Lentiscus*, Linn.) is found chiefly as a shrub along the shores, and is prized because of the resin which exudes from incisions in its bark. This is the gum mastic used for varnishing pictures, and largely chewed by the Turks, under the idea that it sweetens the breath and strengthens the gums. The Terebinth (*P. Terebinthus*, Linn.) is a larger tree, sometimes, indeed, attaining a considerable size; from it is obtained the aromatic resin called Chio turpentine. Many critics consider this to be the tree called *elah* (אֵלָה) in the Hebrew Scriptures, and translated "oak," except in two passages, viz., Isa. vi. 13, where it is rendered "teil-tree," and Hosea iv. 13, where it is incorrectly translated "elm," a tree not found in Palestine. The oak had its distinctive name *allon* (אַלּוֹן), and the *elah* is distinguished from it as a different tree in both these passages: "As a *teil*-tree and as an *oak* whose substance is in them when they cast their leaves;" and again, they "burn incense upon the hills, under *oaks*, and poplars, and *elms*, because the shadow thereof is good." The special tree meant by *elah* cannot be determined with certainty; there is, however, no tree in Palestine that has a better claim than the terebinth. Fine specimens occasionally stand out as striking objects in the landscape, trees like that in the wood of Ephraim, whose lower branches caught up Absalom as he was passing under it on the back of the ass.

The Buckthorn family (*Rhamneæ*) is an order of spiny shrubs or trees, found in warm or temperate regions, having two representatives in Britain, the common buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*, Linn.) and the alder buckthorn (*R. Frangula*, Linn.), both common in hedges and thickets. Neither of these trees occurs in Palestine, but a species common in English gardens (*R. Alaternus*, Linn.) is found on the shores in the north, and Boissier describes no less than five new species from the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. Besides these, there are belonging to this family two species of *Zizyphus* and one of *Paliurus* found in Palestine. The common jujube (*Z. vulgaris*, Lam.) is everywhere cultivated because of its berry-like fleshy fruit, which is eaten both fresh and dried, being somewhat acid when fresh, but sweet and agreeable when dried. The Christ's-thorn (*Z. spina-Christi* Linn.) is also a common plant, especially abundant in the warmer regions of the south. It is a shrub or small tree, with angular branches, small oval leaves, and numerous long sharp and recurved thorns. Its bright yellow fruit, called *nabqah*, is edible. The *Paliurus aculiatus* (Lam.) is also called Christ's-thorn. It is a shrub with slender flexible branches; the base of its oval leaves is furnished with two sharp spines, one of which is straight and erect, while the other is curved like a hook. Either of these plants might have been employed to form the crown of thorns which, in mockery, the Roman soldiers placed on the Saviour's head before His crucifixion. Both were equally suited to the purpose, and equally accessible to the soldiers.

Reference is no doubt made to the spiny bushes of this order in many passages in the Old Testament, under the various terms translated indifferently "thorns," "thistles," and "briers," in our Authorised Version. Neither the words themselves nor the context supply any key to the particular plants intended, if, indeed the terms were meant to be limited to special plants. It seems more probable that they were general designations including all the numerous prickly shrubs or herbs of this or other orders, which form so considerable a proportion of the vegetation of Palestine.

The Pea family (*Leguminosæ*) is one of the largest and most important orders in the vegetable kingdom. Its individual members are easily recognised by the generally compound leaves, the form and structure of

their flowers, and the pod or dry fruit. They are distributed over all the world, from the Equator to the Arctic regions; they are rare in New Zealand, and are reported to be entirely absent from the native flora of St. Helena, Tristan d'Acunha, and the islands of the Antarctic Ocean. There are nearly eighty species indigenous to Britain, while our gardens and pleasure-grounds abound with exotic forms, introduced for their graceful foliage and beautiful flowers. Boissier describes nearly 200 species from Palestine, a quarter of which belong to the single genus *Astragalus*. Eleven species of leguminous plants occur both in Britain and Palestine; among them is our common white clover (*Trifolium repens*, Linn.), which has been found near the summit of Lebanon. Five other clovers found in Britain grow on the sides or at the base of the same mountain. Three out of the seven British medics also reach Palestine, one (*Medicago sativa*, Linn.) being found on Lebanon, and the others occurring on the shore. And, lastly, an alpine form of the bird's-foot trefoil (*Lotus corniculatus*, Linn.) has been gathered in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. These herbaceous plants, with a few other European species, are the outliers of the northern flora, finding their southern limits in the high lands of Palestine; another group of leguminous plants, representing tropical vegetation, spreads over the country northwards from the deserts and the depressed valley of the Dead Sea in the south.

Six species of lupine occur in Palestine, several of which are old favourites in our gardens, though they are now being superseded by the more ornamental American species of the genus.

Eight genera, in addition to the three mentioned, found in Britain, are represented in Palestine, but by different species. Among these is the genus *Astragalus*, which has three British species, against the fifty recorded by Boissier. The majority of these are alpine forms, but a considerable number belong to the hoary, prickly group of dwarf woody shrubs found in the south, and from the bark of several of which exudes the gum tragacanth of commerce. It has been suggested that the "spicery" which the Ishmaelitish merchants were conveying to Egypt when Joseph was sold to them (Gen. xxxvii. 25) was this gum. As the same substance, *nekoth* (נְכֹאת), is included among the presents sent by Israel to Joseph, it would appear to have been some native product of Syria which was rare in Egypt; and the opinion that this was gum tragacanth is strengthened by the fact pointed out by Rosenmüller, that the Arabic term *naka'at* is analogous to this Hebrew word. An allied word, *nekoth* (נכת), is translated "precious things" in the Authorised Version, and in the margin "spicery," in the account given of Hezekiah's exhibiting to the ambassadors from Babylon the princely treasures which he and his predecessors had collected. It may be that the predominant vegetable products preserved in the royal museum, or house of spicery, gave its name to the house, though it contained, as well, treasures of silver and gold.

The Spanish broom (*Spartium junceum*, Linn.), which has been cultivated with us for at least three hundred years, is a common plant in Palestine; and in the south as well as throughout the deserts of the Sinaitic peninsula another broom (*Retama Rœtam*, Boiss.), often confounded with the Spanish broom, is very abundant. This is the *ratam* of the Arabs, and no doubt the *rothem* (רֹתֶם) of the Hebrew Scriptures, a word translated "juniper" in our Authorised Version, in the three passages in which it occurs. The prophet Elijah, in his flight to Horeb to escape the persecutions of Jezebel, "came and sat down under a juniper-tree; and he requested for himself that he might die; . . . and as he lay and slept under a juniper-tree, behold, then an angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat" (1 Kings xix. 4, 5). The *ratam* sometimes attains a height of ten feet, and consists of a somewhat dense bush of almost leafless slender twigs. "This is the largest and most conspicuous shrub of these deserts, growing thickly in the water-courses and valleys. Our Arabs always selected the place of encampment (if possible) in a spot where it grew, in order to be sheltered by it at night from the wind; and during the day, when they often went on in advance of the camels, we found them not unfrequently sitting or sleeping under a bush of *ratam*, to protect them from the sun. It was in this very desert, a day's journey from Beersheba, that the prophet Elijah lay down and slept beneath the same shrub" (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. i., p. 203). That the *ratam* was used for fuel is implied in the reference to "coals of juniper" (Ps. cxx. 4), and confirmed by the practice of the present day. "It is ruthlessly uprooted by the Arabs, who collect it wherever it is tolerably abundant for the manufacture of charcoal, which is considered of the finest quality, and fetches a higher price in Cairo than any other kind" (Tristram, *Nat. History*, p. 360). The large root appears to have been used in extremities as food, for Job speaks of the outcasts who were driven into the wilderness as cutting up "mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat" (Job xxx. 4). The use of this bitter root, containing but very little nutriment, as food, exhibits in a telling manner the misery of these outcasts.

Several leguminous plants were cultivated for food by the Jews. The red pottage for which Esau sold his birthright to Jacob (Gen. xxv. 34) was made from the small, dark-coloured, disc-like seeds of the lentil (*Ervum Lens*, Linn.). Dr. Robinson, having run short of provisions, was glad to get a supply of lentils at Akabah, which he found "very palatable." He could well conceive that to a weary hunter they might be quite a dainty (*Biblical Researches*, vol. i., p. 246). They were cultivated in the time of David in Palestine, for we read that one of his mighty men, Shammah, slew a troop of Philistines who were foraging in his field of lentils (2 Sam. xxiii. 11); and beans, lentils, and parched pulse were among the provisions supplied to David and his attendants by Barzillai, when he was seeking in the wilderness security from his rebel son Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 28). Beans and lentils were also part of the

ingredients of the bread that Ezekiel was to eat for 390 days, during the figurative siege of Jerusalem (Ezek. iv. 9). The lentil is the smallest leguminous plant cultivated for food. It is somewhat like the vetch, but has its flowers generally in pairs, and they are followed by very short pods, containing two or three of the small seeds. The farinaceous food sold under the name "Revalenta Arabica" is the flour of these seeds.

The bean was cultivated from the earliest times. Representations of its cultivation figure on the sculptured stones of Egypt. It continues to be a favourite food of the Fellahs.

The "parched pulse" included in the provision supplied to David was probably a leguminous seed, although this is not implied in the text, for the word "pulse" is supplied by the translators. Nor is it certain what is the pulse in the only other passage where this word is used (Dan. i. 12, 16). The plain and poor food which Daniel and his companions preferred to the flesh and rich food from the king's table, probably consisted of grain of any kind, for the word *zeroim* (זֵרְעִים) literally means seed, and there is no reason why it should be limited to pulse.

Hengstenberg suggested that the "leeks" (*hatzir*, חֲצִיר), which the Israelites longed for in the wilderness, was probably fenugreek, a plant largely eaten in Egypt. Sonnini says, "In this fertile country the Egyptians themselves eat the fenugreek so largely that it may properly be called the food of man. In the month of November they cry 'green halbeh' for sale in the streets of the town. It is tied up in large bunches, which the inhabitants purchase at a low price, and which they eat with incredible greediness, without any kind of seasoning" (*Voy.* i., p. 379). There is nothing in the etymology of the word to guide us to the plant meant; any green grass-like herb like the leek has as good a claim to be considered the plant as the fenugreek.

The locust-tree, or St. John's bread (*Ceratonia siliqua*, Linn.), is cultivated for feeding animals in Palestine, and throughout the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Its popular names have been given to it from the erroneous tradition that its pods, and not the locust insects, were the food of John in the wilderness. It is probable that the husks on which the swine fed (Luke xv. 16) were the long dark pods of this tree, which contain a certain amount of saccharine and other nutritious substances. The locust-tree is very common throughout Palestine, and its husks are to be met with on stalls in all Oriental towns.

Several acacias are found in the deserts to the south of Palestine, in the lower valley of the Jordan, and in the ravines that open into it. They are small trees, with angular twisted branches, clothed, when in flower, with elegant feathery leaves, and clusters of small flowers, arranged in round balls or long spikes. The species found in Palestine yield, from natural or artificial wounds on the bark, the gum arabic of commerce. One of the species (*A. Seyal*, Del.) has been identified with the shittah-tree of the Bible. It is mentioned only once, being included among the choice trees enumerated in Isaiah's prophecy, with which the Lord would enrich and beautify the desert when His people turned to Him. "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree; I will set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine, and the box-tree together" (Isa. xli. 19). A group of such noble trees foreign to the wilderness, but flourishing by the side of the desert acacia, would force on Israel the conviction that "the hand of the Lord had done it." The wood of this tree, called shittim-wood, was extensively used in the construction of the tabernacle and its furniture. The ark of the covenant, containing the two tables of the law written by the finger of God, and occupying the most holy place in the sanctuary, was an oblong chest of shittim-wood, four feet long, by two and a half feet wide. The altar of incense, and the table on which was placed the shew-bread, as well as the staves by which they and the ark of the covenant were borne when the camp was moved, were made of shittim-wood, and all these objects were overlaid with precious gold. The altar of burnt-offering placed in the outer court, and the staves with which it was carried, were made of the same wood, overlaid with brass. And, finally, the boards which formed the walls of the tabernacle, with the transverse bars by which they were united into a solid wall when they were erected, were of shittim-wood, as well as the four pillars which supported the curtain that enclosed the most holy place (Exod. xxv. and xxvii. *passim*). According to Tristram, the shittah-trees growing in the valley of the Dead Sea would supply planks four feet in diameter, so that there would be no difficulty in obtaining in the wilderness those required for the tabernacle, which were seventeen feet long, and scarcely a foot broad. The wood is compact and tough, and agrees well with the somewhat free translation of the LXX., who render it ἄσηπτα ξύλα, "incorruptible wood."

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

VIII.—JUDÆA.

THE term "Judæa" was sometimes applied to the whole of Palestine; and even in Matt. xix. 1 we read of the "coasts" of Judæa beyond Jordan. Strictly speaking, however, Judæa was the Roman province which, as Josephus informs us (*B. J.*, iii. 3, § 5), extended from the village of Anuath on the southern borders of Samaria, to the village of Jardas on the confines of Arabia; and from the sea to the river Jordan. Its extent was nearly the same as that of the kingdom of Judah, and it embraced the territories allotted to the tribes of Benjamin, Judah, Dan, and Simeon. The name appears to have come into use after the Captivity, for in Ezra v. 8 mention is made of the "province of Judæa;" and in Dan. v. 13, Belteshazzar asks Daniel whether he was the same man who was brought by his father out of Judæa (Jewry in A. V.).

The province of Judæa is naturally divided into five regions: the Hill country, or "mountains of Judah;" the Wilderness; the Shephelah, or Lowland; the Negeb, or South Country; and the plain between the sea and the hills. The Hill country is a continuation of the ridge that runs southwards from the plain of Esdraelon; it forms an elevated table-land or plateau, which attains its greatest altitude at Hebron, and thence sinks by a series of irregularly defined terraces to the desert on the south. The plateau is everywhere cut up by deep valleys and ravines falling abruptly to the Mediterranean on the one hand and to the Jordan valley on the other, their heads often overlapping in a remarkable manner. One great road, on which the principal cities were situated, passed along the line of water parting from south to north, and from this central highway the side roads turned off down the valleys to the coast and the trans-Jordanic region. The general aspect of the country, an endless succession of round swelling hills of grey limestone, is somewhat monotonous, especially in autumn, when the scant vegetation is burned up by the rays of the sun; there are, however, often gardens and vineyards in the valleys, and for a brief period in spring the hills are carpeted with flowers. There is no doubt that these same hills were very productive at the period when Judæa supported the large population which has left its traces in the ruins on every hill-top throughout the country; and there is ample evidence of former vegetation and cultivation, not only in the "Hareths" (forests) of the Bible which had not entirely disappeared at the time of the Crusades, but in the ruined vineyard terraces which can be traced to the summit of nearly every hill, and in the countless rock-hewn cisterns made solely for purposes of irrigation. The soil is still rich, and industry alone is wanted to re-clothe the mountain-sides with the vine, olive, and fig.

The Wilderness is the district stretching along the western shore of the Dead Sea in which David took refuge for some time when pursued by Saul; it is a dreary waste of bare hills cut up by innumerable water-courses, uncultivated, and bearing no traces of former occupation. The Shephelah or lowland intervening between the hills and the plain is, on the contrary, the most fertile portion of the province, and seems to have been at one time densely populated. The Negeb, or "south country," was the name given to the rich pasture-lands, lying between the hills and the desert, in which the Patriarchs settled down with their flocks, and which afterwards fell to the lot of Simeon. Of this, however, as well as of the plain of Philistia, a notice will be given in a future paper.

Amongst the most prominent of the mountains of Judah are Neby Samwil, which has been identified by several writers with Mizpeh; the Mount of Olives, to the east of Jerusalem; and the Frank mountain, south of the same city, on which Herod built the city and fortress of Herodion. In the Bible mention is made of Mount Perazim, possibly near Baal-perazim, the scene of two of David's victories over the Philistines; and of Mounts Ephron, Jearim, and Seir, on the boundary of Judah; but with our present information their sites cannot be definitely fixed. The valleys running to the Jordan have been noticed in a previous paper, and it will only be necessary to mention here the valley of Zeboim, or hyænas, near Michmash, probably one of the tributaries of Wady Kelt; the Kedron valley, which runs between the Mount of Olives and Jerusalem, and, under the name of Wady en-Nar, finds its way to the Dead Sea; and the valley of Berachah, now Beraikut, in the wilderness of Tekoa, where Jehoshaphat and the men of Judah and Jerusalem assembled and "blessed the Lord" after their signal deliverance from the invasion of the Moabites and Ammonites. The western valleys, rising in the hills, at first descend abruptly, and then pursue their course as deep ravines until they debouch on the plain, where they are for the most part mere shallow water-courses: the most important are Wady Suleiman, up which runs the camel-road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and which, rising near Gibeon, opens out into the plain of Beit Nuba, identified with the "valley of Ajalon" by the existence of the village of Yalo (Ajalon) on its southern border, and perhaps also with the plain of Ono mentioned by Nehemiah; Wady Ali, up which the usual road to Jerusalem runs; the great Wady Surar, amongst the feeders of which must be sought the valley of Gibeon, the valley of Rephaim, the scene of David's great battle with the Philistines, and the valley of Sorek, mentioned in connection with Samson's story; the Wady es-Sumt, which has been identified with the valley of Elah; the Wady

el-Franj, perhaps the valley of Zephathah, where Zora was defeated by King Asa; and the Wady es-Seba, which comes from the vicinity of Beer-sheba. There are many springs in the hill country of Judah, but none of them are of any great size, and the towns and villages situated on the crests of the hills appear to have depended principally on the collection of the rainfall in tanks and cisterns for their supply of water. Such was the country in which "the lion of Judah entrenched himself to guard the southern frontier of the Chosen Land, with Simeon, Dan, and Benjamin nestled around him. Well might he be so named in this wild country, more than half a wilderness, the lair of the savage beasts, of which the traces gradually disappear as we advance into the interior. Fixed there, and never dislodged except by the ruin of the whole nation, 'he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?'"[1]

Not far from the northern frontier of Judæa, "on the east side of Bethel," was Ai, an important town guarding the head of the pass from Jericho to Bethel. The possession of this point by an invader advancing from the east would enable him to cut the great highway that follows the line of water-parting, and separate the southern districts from the north of Palestine. Accordingly, we find Joshua, as soon as Jericho had fallen, sending spies to reconnoitre the place, and then attacking it. The first attempt of the Israelites failed, but after the execution of Achan in the valley of Achor, a second and successful attempt was made, and Joshua "burnt Ai, and made it an heap [a *tell*] for ever." The word *tell* used in this passage only occurs in four other places in the Bible, and it is curious to find that in the position which we should naturally expect Ai to have occupied, there is a quasi-isolated hill, to which the Arabs now apply the distinctive title of Et Tell, "the heap." On the summit of the hill are a few olive-trees, and over its surface are heaps of loose stones and rubbish, with innumerable fragments of pottery; towards the east the ground falls at first abruptly, and then passes off in a long, gentle slope to the edge of the steep descent to the Jordan valley, a feature which answers to the "plain" (Josh. viii. 14) over which the men of Ai followed the feigned flight of the Israelites. On the west side of Et Tell, and entirely concealed from it by rising ground, is a small valley, well suited for an ambush, which falls into the deep ravine that protects the northern face of the old town; into this latter valley the Israelites descended the night before the capture of Ai, and it was probably on the heights above, where the camp was pitched, that Joshua took his stand during the battle; in this position he would be able to control the movements of the main body of the Israelites, and at the proper moment give the signal for the ambush to rise up quickly and seize the city; his commanding form, thrown into sharp relief against the bright blue sky, being equally visible from "the way of the wilderness," and the valley in which the ambush was placed.

[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 162.

Not far from Et Tell, on a hill commanding a remarkable view over the lower portion of the Jordan valley, the plain of Jericho, and the northern extremity of the Dead Sea, there are the ruins of a fortified church, evidently of very ancient date, which may possibly occupy the site of the altar built by Abraham on the mountain east of Bethel, "having Bethel on the west and Hai on the east." The position with reference to Beitin and Et Tell, the modern representatives of the two towns, answers well, and as the name Ai clung to its site as late as the fourth century, it is not improbable that the church was built with a view of marking a position of so much interest. On the same hill Abraham and Lot were encamped before their separation, and the view from thence, as we have already pointed out, throws considerable light on the position of the Cities of the Plain.

Not far from Et Tell, towards the south-east, is the modern village of Mukhmas, standing on the edge of the great ravine of Wady Tuwar, which separates it from the village of Jeba. In these two names the Michmash and Geba of the Bible are readily recognised, and the features of the surrounding country are in perfect accordance with the events which are described as having taken place there. The old town of Michmash appears to have been built on rising ground a little to the west of the modern village, and from this place the hill of Tulel el-Ful, generally identified with Gibeah of Benjamin, whence the watchmen of Saul beheld the multitude of the Philistines melting away and "beating down one another" (1 Sam. xiv. 16), is distinctly visible. The battle of Michmash freed the Israelites from the yoke of the Philistines, and secured them from all oppression until the disastrous conflict on Mount Gilboa. So depressed was the state of the nation during the period which followed the loss of the ark at the battle of Aphek, that in the third year of Saul's reign "it came to pass in the day of battle that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan; but with Saul and with Jonathan was there found;" and in the hour of trial many fled across Jordan (1 Sam. xiii. 7), whilst others deserted to what they thought the stronger side (1 Sam. xiv. 21). At the opening of the campaign we find Saul at Michmash and Jonathan at Gibeah, and operations were commenced by a successful attack made by Jonathan on Geba; on hearing of this the Philistines advanced in overwhelming strength, and compelling Saul to withdraw to Gilgal, pitched their camp in Michmash, whence they sent out foraging parties towards Ophrah, Beth-horon, and the valley of Zeboim. The Israelites afterwards assembled under Saul at Gibeah, and it was from this place that Jonathan and his armour-bearer started on their heroic adventure. Descending the steep slope towards Geba under cover of the darkness, they reached "the passage" of Michmash, running between two sharp "teeth of the cliff"—Bozez, the "shining," and Seneh, "the thorn"—and climbing up the rugged face of the further side, disclosed themselves to the Philistines just as the day was

breaking. Their first onslaught created a sudden panic, which was increased by the shocks of an earthquake, and finally the host broke and fled in wild confusion, pursued by the Israelites, past Beth-aven and down the western slopes of the mountains to the valley of Ajalon. From their hiding-places in the clefts and holes of Mount Ephraim, the men of Israel rose up eager for revenge; the Hebrew deserters in the Philistine camp turned against them, and they "followed hard after them in the battle," and the "people smote the Philistines." The names of Geba and Michmash occur again in the graphic description of the advance of Sennacherib's army against Jerusalem in Isa. x. 28—32: "He is come to Aiath [Ai], he is passed to Migron [the precipice]; at Michmash [on the edge of the great ravine] he hath laid up his carriages: they are gone over the passage; they have taken up their lodging at Geba." The next day the march continues through a terror-stricken district; Ramah, out of the direct line of march, is "afraid;" "Gibeah of Saul is fled;" and in the evening Nob is reached, whence he shakes "his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem."

South-west of Bethel lies El Jib (Gibeon), one of the four cities of the Hivites, the inhabitants of which beguiled the Israelites into making a league with them, in the clever manner described in Josh. ix. The modern village stands on the northernmost of two isolated hills formed of horizontal strata of limestone, which present a somewhat remarkable appearance when seen from a distance. On the east a fine spring issues from a cavern in the rock, and the water runs down into a ruined reservoir, the "pool of Gibeon," where the bloody tragedy described in 2 Sam. ii. 15, 16 was enacted before Abner and Joab when at the head of the troops of Ishbosheth and David, and where the battle took place in which Asahel was slain. It was at the "great stone which is in Gibeon" that Amasa was treacherously murdered by Joab, and it was in the tabernacle of Gibeon that Joab himself was killed in after years whilst clinging to the horns of the brazen altar. To Gibeon the "tabernacle of the congregation" was removed from Nob, and one of the earliest acts of Solomon's reign was to visit it and offer up a thousand burnt-offerings on the occasion when the Lord appeared to him in a dream and gave him the desire of his heart, "wisdom and understanding," adding also "riches and honours." Beneath El Jib is the plain on which the five kings were encamped with all their hosts, when "Joshua came unto them suddenly, and went up from Gilgal all night." Awed by the sudden appearance of the Israelites, and by the sound of that terrible shout which "not a man could stand before," the Amorites were driven with great slaughter across the plain, and chased "along the way that *goeth up* to Beth-horon," the long gentle slope that leads to Beth-horon the Upper; then, whilst they were rushing down the steep descent to Beth-horon the Lower, "the *going down* of Beth-horon," one of those sudden storms so peculiar to Palestine broke upon them, "and the Lord cast great stones from heaven upon them to Azekah," and "they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword." It was at this stage of the battle, whilst the Amorites were rushing down the steep descent below him, that Joshua took his stand on some prominent peak on the ridge, and spake to the Lord, "and said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon! And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed until the people had avenged themselves on their enemies." The pursuit continued to Azekah and Makkedah, places not yet identified, and at the end of that long, memorable day the Israelites "returned in peace" to their camp at Makkedah; "none moved his tongue against any of the people of Israel."

A short distance to the south of El Jib, the hill crowned by the village and mosque of Neby Samwil rises abruptly from the plain, and forms one of the most conspicuous objects in the district; from its summit the most extensive view in Southern Palestine is obtained, embracing the Mediterranean, Jerusalem with Mount Olivet, and the distant mountains of Moab. The mosque was once a Christian church, built by the Crusaders on the spot whence pilgrims first saw Jerusalem, and called by them Mount Joy, from the joy which it gave to the pilgrim's heart; on the same elevation Richard Cœur de Lion stood in sight of Jerusalem, but buried his face in his armour, with the noble exclamation, "Ah, Lord God! I pray that I may never see thy Holy City, if so be that I may not rescue it from the hands of thine enemies!" In the fourth century tradition placed Ramathaim-zophim, the place where Samuel was born and buried, at Neby Samwil; and some recent travellers have sought to identify it with Mizpeh, but this latter site was possibly nearer Jerusalem, not far from the modern village of Shafat.

Proceeding southward along the central highway, we soon reach Jerusalem, and about three miles beyond it, Bethlehem, surrounded by well-kept terraces covered with vine, olive, and fig-tree. The town is almost entirely inhabited by Christians, and at its eastern extremity stands the great convent which encloses within its walls the Church of the Nativity, built by Helena over the grotto in which our Lord is said to have been born; the tradition attached to the grotto dates from the second century, and it is perhaps the oldest Christian tradition in Palestine. At a very early period pilgrims commenced visiting Bethlehem, but it is hardly possible to say whether the grotto could ever have served as a stable, for the original form of the ground is quite concealed. Below the level of the church is a series of grottoes, partly natural, partly artificial, in which are shown the tombs of St. Paula and St. Eustachia, as well as the tomb of St. Jerome and the chamber in which the illustrious recluse passed a great portion of his life. The view from Bethlehem is of great interest, for though it is impossible to identify any particular spot, the spectator cannot help feeling that he has beneath his eyes the corn-fields of Boaz, in which Ruth gleaned, and the hills on which the shepherds were

"keeping watch over their flock by night," when the angel of the Lord appeared to them and proclaimed "the good tidings of great joy." Away in the distance rise in endless succession the barren hills of the wilderness in which David took refuge when hard pressed by Saul; and close at hand is the well "by the gate," for whose water David longed when in the Cave of Adullam (2 Sam. xxiii. 15). So, too, within a narrower limit, must have been "the habitation of Chimham, which is by Bethlehem, to go to enter into Egypt" (Jer. xli. 17); the stable in which our Saviour was born and laid in a manger, "because there was no room for Him in the inn;" and the scene of that terrible massacre when Herod "sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem."

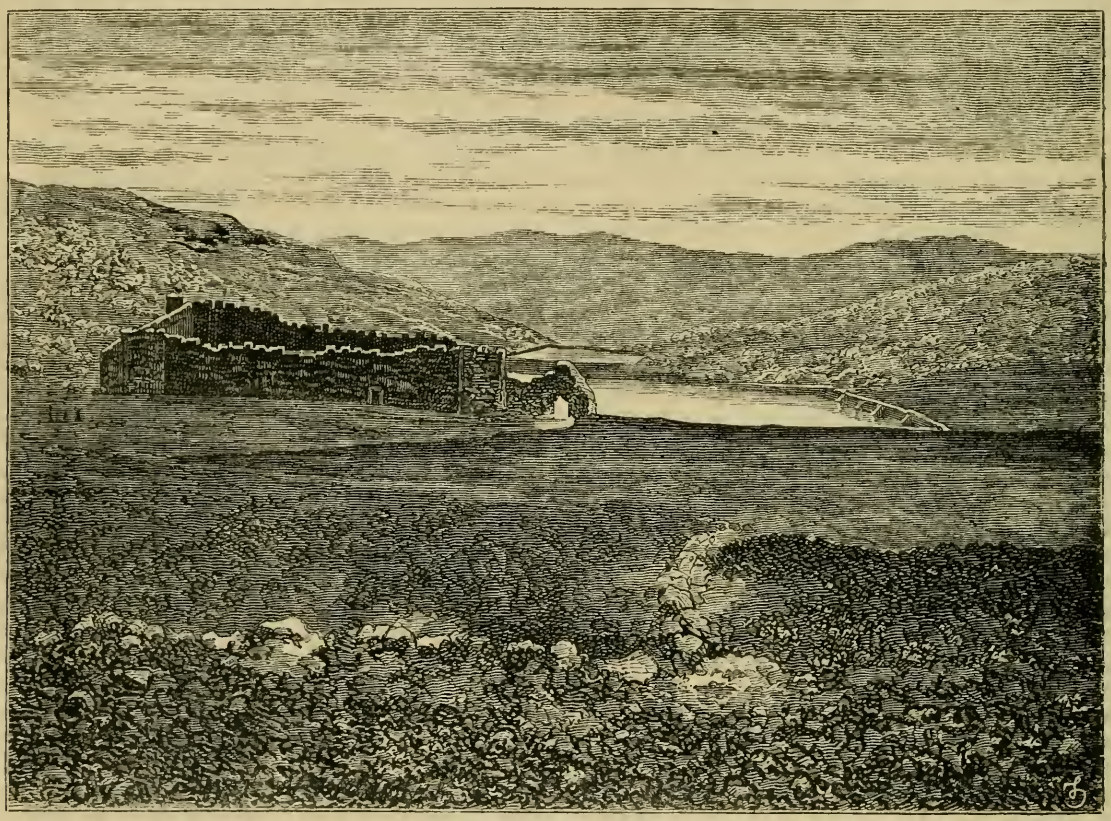
Between Bethlehem and Jerusalem a small building is pointed out as the tomb of Rachel, one of the few places concerning which the traditions of Christian, Jew, and Moslem are identical: in this case, however, tradition would certainly seem to be at fault, for no one can read the incidents in 1 Sam. ix., x., without coming to the conclusion that Rachel's sepulchre was north of Jerusalem, and not south. Not far from the sepulchre are the remains of a very remarkable aqueduct which carried the water from the sealed fountain at Solomon's Pools across the valley by means of a stone syphon, and afterwards delivered it at Jerusalem at a level high enough to supply Herod's palace and the whole city with water. The stone tubing is finished in the most beautiful manner, and the several portions are joined together by a very hard, fine cement. The so-called Pools of Solomon lie in a valley to the south-west of Bethlehem, and consist of three large tanks, so arranged that as much water as possible may be collected and stored for the use of the city. The lower pool is the largest, being 582 feet long, about 180 feet broad, and 50 feet deep, and it presents some peculiar features in its construction; round the sides are rows of seats with steps leading from one to the other, and there are several other arrangements that would lead us to believe that it was at one time used as a naval amphitheatre for nautical displays. One of the chief sources of water-supply is a subterranean fountain close to the upper pool, but there are other works which show considerable engineering skill in their construction, and which are on a large scale: one of these is an aqueduct which follows the contour of the hills for a distance of more than thirty miles, bringing water from a spring in the Wady Aroob; and another a drift or tunnel for the collection of water, which has been cut through the solid rock for a distance of about four miles. Of the two aqueducts which conveyed water to Jerusalem, that from Wady Aroob is probably the one which was restored by Pontius Pilate, who defrayed the expense from the surplus funds of the Temple, an act which exasperated the Jews to such an extent that it was found necessary to remove Pilate from Jerusalem. The distance given by Josephus, 400 stadia, agrees very fairly with the length of the aqueduct from the source to Jerusalem. Immediately below the Pools is a spring called Ain Etan, the water of which is conveyed by an aqueduct to a large subterranean reservoir excavated in a small hill called Tell Etan, on which are ruins of the type indicating the site of an ancient town or village. It is hardly possible to doubt that in this place rather than at Urtas, lower down the valley, we have the site of Etham, and that the beautiful gardens of Wady Urtas are the successors of those made by Solomon, to which allusion is probably made in Eccles. ii. 5, 6: "I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits; I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees." Of the date of the pools themselves we can form no certain opinion, but there is nothing to preclude the idea that some of them at least were made by Solomon.

From Solomon's Pools an aqueduct also carried water to the curious hill, in shape like a truncated cone, on which the fortress and city of Herodion were built by Herod. On the summit may still be seen a circular enclosure of large, well-hewn stones, with four round towers; and at its foot is a reservoir with a large mound in the centre, which some writers have supposed to be the tomb of Herod.

Southward from the Pools lies Hebron, one of the most ancient towns in Palestine, built "seven years before Zoan in Egypt;" originally called Kirjath-arba, from Arba the father of Anak, it afterwards received the name of Mamre, and became the scene of some of the most remarkable events in the lives of the Patriarchs. It was at Hebron that Sarah died and was buried in the Cave of Machpelah, which Abraham purchased from Ephron the Hittite; and the massive walls of the enclosure or Haram which surround the cave now form the most conspicuous object in the town. On the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, Hebron was given to Caleb, and it was afterwards assigned to the Levites and made a city of refuge; it was the seat of David's government for the seven and a half years during which he reigned over Judah; and beside one of the pools which still exist, David hanged the murderers of Ishbosheth. The town is prettily situated in a narrow valley, the sides of which are clothed with vineyards producing grapes still reckoned amongst the finest in Palestine; but it seems doubtful whether the valley of Eshcol was not situated more to the south, in closer proximity to Kadesh-barnea, whence the spies were sent by Moses to explore the country. The Haram or sacred enclosure, within which is the Cave of Machpelah, is 194 feet long and 109 feet wide, and its walls are built, up to a certain height, of massive masonry, similar in character to that of the substructures of the Temple at Jerusalem; and the stones used are little, if at all, inferior in finish to those of the well-known "Wailing Place." Above this ancient masonry rises a modern wall sufficiently high to screen the interior from the hill behind, and there are two minarets at opposite corners of the area; the southern end of the enclosure is occupied by a Gothic building, now used as a mosque, but possibly at one time a Christian church built by the Crusaders. Within

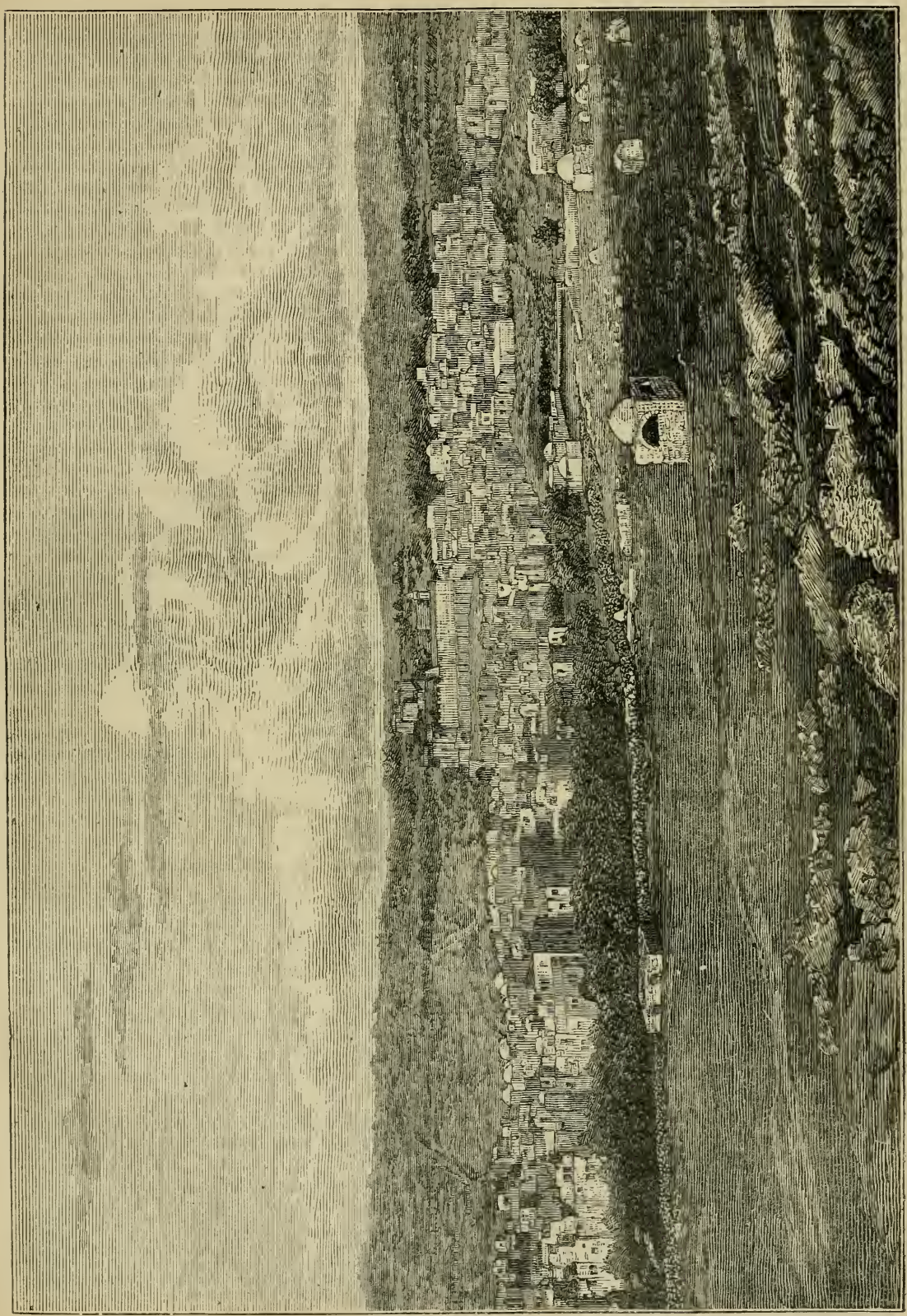
it are the tombs or cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebekah, whilst those of Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, and Leah are without the building, each in its own separate compartment; the mausolea are covered with rich silken veils, having the respective names embroidered in the centre. Of the cave itself, strange to say, we have no detailed account, though it must have been visited before the Moslem conquest of Palestine, and during the Christian occupation at the period of the Crusades. From what Arculf says with reference to the tomb of Adam, who in the seventh century was supposed to have been buried at Hebron, we may perhaps infer that the Patriarchs were buried in *loculi*, or holes cut in the side of the rock, and that the aspect of the tomb-chamber was not very different to that of the numerous sepulchral caverns scattered over Palestine.

A short distance northward from Hebron, surrounded by rich vineyards, is the large oak-tree which is supposed to mark the place where Abraham lived; but it seems more probable that the Patriarch's tent was pitched at Ramet el-Khulil, about two miles from Hebron, where some massive foundations attest the presence at one time of an important building. This view is in accordance with that of the early Christians, who speak of the place as being about two miles from Hebron. The tree, at that time a terebinth, was an object of reverence to Christian and heathen alike; an idol and altars were erected near it, and large fairs held, which attracted crowds from far and near; to put an end to the disorders arising from these practices, a basilica was erected by order of Constantine, and the solid foundations may be the remains of a wall surrounding and protecting this church. About three miles to the west of Hebron are two places called Ain Nunkur and Dewir-Ban, which Dr. Rosen has proposed to identify with Debir, the fortress captured by Othniel, who received as his reward the hand of Achsah, the daughter of Caleb; and the scene of the picturesque incident described in Judg. i. 14, 15. For a long period Hebron was the centre of the tribe of Judah, and in the extensive vineyards which surround it, producing the vine and grape, which were always, amongst the Jews, the type of the blessings of Jehovah, we may see "the choice vine" by which "Judah was to bind his foal; he was to wash his garments in wine, his clothes in the blood of grapes."



SOLOMON'S POOLS, NEAR URTAS.
(*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

South of Hebron lie Carmel, Ziph, Maon, Anab, Socho, and other towns which fell to the lot of Judah; but we have not sufficient space to give any detailed description of them, and must pass westward down the great Wady el-Franj to Beit-Jibrin, the ancient Betogabra and later Eleutheropolis. The modern village is



HEBRON. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

a thriving place, and there are many remains of the old town, as well as of a castle partly of Roman construction. To the south-east are the ruins of an old church dedicated to St. Anne, and not far from it a remarkable series of excavations in the rock, which appear to have been prepared as habitations. A small doorway leads into a cave, whence openings give access to chambers on the right and left; the chambers are either bottle-shaped with a domed roof, or large irregular excavations with pillars of rock to support the roof; some of the chambers are as much as forty and fifty feet high, with winding staircases to reach their floors, and they communicate with each other by narrow, irregular passages. To the date of these excavations we have no clue, but they may possibly have been the dwelling-places of the Idumeans who, according to Jerome, inhabited this portion of the country and lived in caves. In close proximity to Beit-Jibrin was "the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah," where Asa defeated the host of Zerah the Ethiopian, and we find the latter place still existing under the name of Maresa.

Some ten miles north of Beit-Jibrin are the ruins of Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh), prettily situated on one of the low undulations by which the mountain district passes into the plain; it lies on the left bank of Wady Surar, and commands a fine view down the valley, so that the ark must have been seen advancing long before it "came into the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite and stood there." Beth-shemesh was afterwards the scene of the battle in which Amaziah, king of Judah, was defeated and taken prisoner by Jehoash, king of Israel. In the immediate vicinity of Ain Shems lie the scenes of some of the principal events in the life of Samson, the great champion of the tribe of Dan. On the right bank of Wady Surar is Surah (Zorah), the birth-place of Samson, situated on the summit of a rocky projecting spur, "the root of Dan," whence he watched the fire, kindled by the brands attached to the foxes' tails, spreading with lightning speed through the orchards and corn-fields of Philistia; the valley at its foot is possibly the "valley of Sorek," the home of Delilah; about a mile and a half to the west is Tibneh (Timnath), where Samson got his Philistine wife; and it was somewhere in the intervening space, the "going down" from Zorah to Timnath, that he killed the young lion that "roared against him."

Proceeding northwards, we reach Amwas, the ancient Emmaus or Nicopolis, and Jimzu (Gimzo), standing at the western edge of the plain; and El Medyeh, which has recently been identified with Modin, the burial-place of several of the Maccabæan princes. About half a mile west of the modern village is a group of tombs bearing the name Kabr el-Jahud, "the tombs of the Jews," which fulfil all the required conditions—a view to the sea, and seven tombs "over against one another," with surmounting pyramids, and a cloister surrounding them. The pyramids have disappeared, the only traces left being the cornice on the interior and other fragments; and of the cloister only a portion of the supporting wall remains. Some slight excavations have already been made, and it is proposed to make others on a larger scale, which may possibly bring to light inscriptions or other memorials of the great house which, for a brief period, raised the country to a position which had been unknown to it since the Captivity.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

IN the record of St. Paul's missionary travels few cities hold so distinguished a place as Ephesus. Hither, no doubt, he was bending his way, with his companion Silas, when their course was mysteriously diverted, in a manner contrary to their own desires and repeated endeavours, to the continent of Europe. They "were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in *Asia*"—a term which designates, not the continent in general, nor even Asia Minor, but only "Proconsular Asia," the eastern part of the latter, a mere strip of country between the Mediterranean on the one side, and Phrygia, with Bithynia on the other.[1] Of this district Ephesus was the capital, while round about it lay the "seven churches" of the Apocalypse.

Returning from Europe, the Apostle proceeded at once to Ephesus, only, however, to pay a hurried visit to the synagogue, and to promise a longer stay. This promise was fulfilled in his third missionary journey, as recorded in Acts xix. For three months, we are told, St. Paul carried on his work in the synagogue: but being as usual rejected by the Jews, he constituted a Christian society of "both Jews and Gentiles," which seems to have met in the house of Aquila and Priscilla;[2] while the Apostle conducted more public ministrations in "the school of one Tyrannus." Ephesus became the head-quarters of labours widely extended. "All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus." "The churches of Asia salute you."[3] Thus to the little company of twelve, who at the outset had been led from

[1] See Acts xvi. 6. The "territory properly called Asia" (Ptolemy, *Geogr.*) included Phrygia with Mysia, Lydia, and Caria; but in Acts ii. 9, 10, Asia and Phrygia are spoken of as distinct; and this is the general usage in the New Testament. Compare Acts xxvii. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Cor. i. 8; 2 Tim. i. 15; 1 Peter i. 1, where Phrygia seems included; and in Acts vi. 9, the name probably has a still wider extension.

[2] See 1 Cor. xvi. 19; written from Ephesus.

[3] Acts xix. 10; 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

their exclusive allegiance to John the Baptist into the deeper truth and wider liberty of the Gospel, a great company of converts was added. We know the name of only one, Epænetus, "the first-fruits of Asia."[1] The Apostle had many friends and helpers in Ephesus. Timotheus of Lystra, with Erastus and Sosthenes of Corinth, "ministered unto him." "Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia," were companions of his sojourn. Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus came also to his help.[2] With this missionary band a group of native "elders" became associated. The word of God "grew mightily and prevailed." Yet was there much opposition. The Apostle even "fought with beasts"—whether literally or figuratively, it is not easy to determine.[3] Still with heroic energy he persevered, characteristically basing his determination to stand his ground not only on the "great door and effectual" which had been opened to him, but on the very fact that there were "many adversaries."[4] In the midst of these trials and conflicts, the Apostle wrote, as we have seen, his First Epistle to the Corinthians; after which the riot caused by Demetrius and his craftsmen seems to have hastened his already intended departure.[5] But the Apostle had spent three years in the city—a period unprecedented, so far as we know, in his missionary career. His subsequent interview with the Ephesian elders attests at once the power of his ministry, and the attractive charm of his life among them. Never was uttered a nobler avowal of faithfulness, "I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God:" never was parting more pathetic, "They all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him."[6]

2. It is, then, without any wonder that we find an epistle addressed "to the Ephesians," and the first supposition naturally is, that the thoughts of the great Apostle in his Roman imprisonment would fondly revert to the friends from whom he thus had parted. To the believers at Colossæ, whom he had never seen, he writes in a strain of the most earnest affection; how much more to the well-known, tenderly cherished Christians of Ephesus!

Such is the expectation which the very title to the letter is calculated to arouse. But many a reader must have been conscious that with all the power and sublimity of this almost unequalled Epistle, there is scarcely the *tone* in which St. Paul addressed the other churches with which he was personally familiar. Compare, for instance, this letter with those to the Corinthians, the Thessalonians, or the Philippians. In these, every chapter overflows with personal allusions. He dilates upon his life, toils, trials, sorrows among these people of his charge, as to readers who would never weary of the theme. True, he deals also with the sublimities of the Christian faith, but it is in the affectionate tone of one who had often talked of these things with the men to whom he writes, showing them how the doctrine ever blended with his own deepest experiences and highest hopes. Now the Epistle to the Ephesians gives us no such impression of intimacy. Not only is there no reference to any former intercourse, but throughout the whole discussion the Apostle speaks as one removed from his readers. There is no touch indicative of past fellowship and love. It is the Christian prophet at the height of his inspiration, rather than the warm-hearted pastor, who speaks. Nor does he even address "the church." As to the Romans and Colossians, he writes "to the saints—the faithful in Christ Jesus." He has "heard of" their faith and love, rather than personally witnessed it.[7] On the whole, the impression is that if he is indeed writing to the same Christian community to whose elders he had addressed words so thrillingly tender on that last voyage to Jerusalem, something must have occurred meanwhile to alter, even while elevating, his tone. Add to this that in the Epistle there are literally no personal greetings. Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, is the only person mentioned throughout. Timothy had been with St. Paul, we know, at Ephesus; he is now in Rome, and is united with the Apostle in greeting to the Colossian church; but even his name is omitted here. It is almost impossible to believe that St. Paul could have addressed a letter to the scene of labours so prolonged, and of fellowship so dear, with no individual reminiscences, or the mention of a single friend.

3. These considerations have led some critics in modern times to deny the genuineness of the letter altogether. As shown in our first paper, M. Renan classes "the Epistle to the Ephesians" among the "doubtful" letters.[8] De Wette regards it as a mere variation on the Epistle to the Colossians by some contemporary of St. Paul. Dr. Davidson attributes it to "a gifted and thoughtful Christian; far-seeing, comprehensive in the range of his ideas, with an inspiration resembling the Pauline,"[9] dating the letter about the close of the first century. Baur and Schwegler are yet more decided in rejecting the Epistle, but as they include that to the Colossians also, and that chiefly on internal grounds, discerning in both the traces of Gnostic and Montanist heresies, it is scarcely necessary to revert to their arguments.[10] Nor need we occupy space with discussing the minute inconsistencies which Dr. Davidson supposes to exist between the language and thought of this Epistle, and the undoubted Pauline writings.[11] The testimony of Christian antiquity would

[1] Rom. xvi. 5, where the undoubted reading is *Asia*. The "house of Stephanas" was "the first-fruits of Achaia" (1 Cor. xvi. 15).

[2] Acts xix. 22, 29; 1 Cor. i. 1; xvi. 17.

[3] The student must beware of applying the words to the tumult raised by Demetrius (Acts xix.), for the simple reason that this had not taken place when the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written.

[4] 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9. [5] Acts xix. 21; xx. 1. [6] Acts xx. 17—38.

[7] Compare Eph. i. 1 with Rom. i. 7, and Col. i. 2; also Eph. i. 15 with Rom. i. 8, and Col. i. 9.

[8] Bible Educator, Vol. III., p. 269.

[9] *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, vol. i., p. 403.

[10] See Bible Educator, Vol. IV., p. 157, "The Epistle to the Colossians."

[11] See *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, vol. i., pp. 385—391. An extract or two will show the style of the reasoning. "'Let him that stole steal no more,' &c. This admonition to a church where the Apostle had laboured three years is unsuitable, especially in the mild form it assumes." So on chap. v. 18, "'Be

amply counterbalance such considerations, even were they more plausible.[1] Modern criticism may pronounce this or that expression "un-Pauline;" but satisfactory evidence declares the Epistle to be *Paul's*. It was universally received in the Church at an age too early for successful forgery; while the value set upon St. Paul's writings would secure the most careful examination of any document bearing his name. In fact, the genuineness of the "Ephesian" letter has never been so much as doubted until recent times.[2]

4. The difficulty, however, remains. The personal element is most strikingly absent, just where, from our knowledge of St. Paul's character, and the whole strain of his writings, we should expect it most to abound. Various explanations of the fact have been offered. Thus it has been said that Tychicus (see chap. vi. 21) would supply by word of mouth the lacking details. Some have again suggested that a second letter of a more private character accompanied the Epistle; others have found in the very extent of St. Paul's acquaintanceship in Ephesus a reason for the omission of all greetings. He had so many friends that he would particularise none, lest he should be suspected of invidious preference. It would obviously be better to leave the difficulty altogether unexplained, than to resort to explanations like these; and the true reason for a fact which it is useless, with some critics, to ignore, or more boldly to deny, must be sought in quite another direction.

Turning, then, to the most ancient MSS. of the Greek Testament, we find in chap. i. 1, that the words "in Ephesus" (ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) are omitted from the two earliest that have come down to us—the Vatican and the Sinaitic—being supplied in both by another and a later hand. There was, therefore, virtually a *blank* after the words "the saints who are—," a fact of which the importance will immediately be seen. A passage in the writings of Basil the Great (bishop of Cæsarea, died A.D. 379) shows that the blank existed in the MSS. to which he had access: "Writing to the Ephesians, as truly united by knowledge to Him *who is*, he called them in a peculiar sense *those who are*, saying, 'To the saints who are, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.'" The point of the argument evidently is that there was no designation of place after the words *who are* (τοῖς οὖσιν), while the very absurdity of his argument, and his still regarding the Epistle as "to the Ephesians," only make his testimony to the omission the more valuable.[3] In like manner Jerome (died A.D. 420) writes, "Some think that the saints and faithful at Ephesus are addressed by a word signifying essence, so as to be called *they who are* from *Him who is*. But others simply suppose the letter addressed not to those *who are*, but to those who are *at Ephesus*, saints and faithful." It is plain that the question could never have arisen had not the omission been recognised and familiar. Further, we learn from Tertullian that Marcion (in the second century) regarded the Epistle as written *to the Laodiceans*. The words of Tertullian are, "Another Epistle, which *we* have inscribed to the Ephesians, but heretics to the Laodiceans;" and again, "Marcion has sought to alter the title (*i.e.* from *in Ephesus* to *in Laodicea*), as if he had made a most diligent inquiry into the matter."[4] That Marcion was a "heretic" does not affect his testimony in this matter; he is admitted on all hands to have been both learned and intelligent, while he can have had no theological motive for a wilful alteration in this case.[5]

5. If now we turn to the Epistle to the Colossians, dispatched into Asia, as shown in our last paper,[6] at the same time with the letter now under consideration, we find a remarkable corroboration of Marcion's view: "When this Epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea" (Col. iv. 16). Of course this *may* refer to a lost Epistle; but the probability is at least as great that St. Paul is speaking of that which, as we know, was sent at the same time with the Colossian letter "by Tychicus and Onesimus."

At the same time there is absolutely no sufficient warrant for substituting the words "in Laodicea" for "in Ephesus" (Eph. i. 1). The whole strain of the evidence points to a blank as existing in the original copy, to be filled up variously, according to the particular church by which the letter might be received. The Epistle is, in fact, "encyclical"—a letter to the churches in Asia, the autograph copy of which would be passed from one Christian community to another, and in its course would naturally be sent from Laodicea to the neighbouring city of Colossæ. This hypothesis accounts for all the facts—for the absence of personal allusion; for the blank in the MS. shown by the two most authoritative exemplars, and recognised by Origen (?), Basil, and Jerome; for the general rather than

not drunk with wine, wherein is excess.' The Christians of Asia Minor had no tendency to drunken excesses, but rather to ascetic abstinence from wine, and the advice given to Timothy might, perhaps, have been more suitable, 'Drink a little wine.'" "The co-ordination of faith and love is un-Pauline (vi. 23). Instead of saying 'faith which worketh by love' (Gal. v. 6), the writer has 'love with faith.'" "The closing benediction in which both terms stand, does not savour of Paul, because it is not addressed to the readers directly, and has the difficult expression rendered 'in sincerity' in the English version. Exegetical difficulties do not belong to authentic Pauline benedictions at the close of letters."

[1] The Epistle is quoted as St. Paul's by Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, not to speak of later authorities. See summary in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, art. "Ephesians," by Bp. Ellicott, and the citations in Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*.

[2] See Alford's *Prolegomena*, N. T., vol. iii., p. 8; also Dr. Davidson in his *Former Introduction to N. T.* (Bagster), vol. ii., p. 352, for a full reply to the objections urged against the Epistle.

[3] Origen, in the third century, has the same criticism; but it is uncertain whether the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ existed in his copies or not. See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. IV., p. 10.

[4] Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, chap. v. 11, 17.

[5] It may be added that Ignatius (bishop of Antioch, died A.D. 115), in writing to the Ephesians, quotes St. Paul as making mention of them *in every epistle*; for so the words ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ must be translated, showing that no one Epistle to the Ephesians from the Apostle could have been before this eminent father as he wrote. But another text (now regarded as of higher value) reads "always" instead of "in every epistle," so that the argument can scarcely be pressed.

[6] See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. III., p. 157.

personal tone of the letter; and lastly, for the existence of the reading "in Ephesus" in the far larger number of authorities, since the name of the chief city of the district would be likelier than any other to be inserted to fill up the ellipsis. With some confidence, therefore, we regard this sublime Epistle as *the Letter of St. Paul to the Gentile Christians of Asia*,[1] an aspect in which its tone and character appear in striking coincidence with its great design—to declare to those believers their place in the universal Church of God, and to set forth the glories of that truth, or rather of that SAVIOUR, who was their common trust. The letter may be compared with the First Epistle of St. Peter, which, with a yet wider range, was sent to the Jewish Christians scattered through the same community. Not a few interesting points of resemblance, and also of contrast, appear between the two. Jew and Gentile are "one in Christ Jesus."

6. The course of thought in the Epistle is very marked, yet, like that in its companion letter to the Colossians, not easy to reduce to exact analysis. In none of the Apostle's writings do his fervour and intensity more strikingly appear. His great theme—the gathering of the Gentiles into the fold of Christ—has fired his soul; the long paragraphs and frequent parentheses attest the eagerness and hurry of his thoughts, while the occasional grandeurs of expression reach a height unsurpassed in any other of his Epistles.

I. In the *first* chapter the Apostle, after a brief salutation, speaks of the greatness of Christ's redeeming work; exulting in its application to these Gentile Christians, and praying that they may apprehend its greatness. The closing thought is that of the RESURRECTION of Christ the Lord.

II. And in Him these Gentiles have risen from spiritual death to a heavenly life. The *second* chapter is devoted to the expansion of this thought. It is not simply on the general contrast between nature and grace that the Apostle here speaks, but on the special favour shown to the Gentiles in gathering them into the Christian commonwealth; breaking down "the middle wall of partition" which hitherto had sundered the human race, and making all ONE IN CHRIST.

III. In the *third* chapter the Apostle pursues the same theme, as one inexpressibly dear to him, "the prisoner of Jesus Christ on behalf of" the Gentiles.[2] His special apostolic commission is declared, according to his wont; the oneness of mankind in Christ is shown as "the mystery" (that is, the *secret*) hidden from past ages; all heaven is summoned, as it were, to gaze upon the unveiling of the wonder; and then an appeal is made to "THE FATHER, of whom EVERY FAMILY in heaven and earth is named,"[3] that the people thus blest may comprehend the greatness of His love. A noble doxology fitly concludes the prayer.

IV. The remainder of the Epistle is occupied by practical exhortations, based in the first instance upon the spiritual unity, with the diversity of gifts, characteristic of the Church. "There is one body and one spirit." Love is the secret of life and growth, therefore be true (ἀληθεύοντες, not simply "*speaking* the truth") in love. This is the general theme of chap. iv., leading in chap. v. to the kindred thought of "light." Love and light—this is practical Christianity. At chap. v. 22 to vi. 9 the same principles are applied to relative duties, mentioned in their order—of wives and husbands, children and parents, servants and masters.

V. The Apostle's conclusion (chap. vi. 10—24), "Put on the whole armour of God," "Pray always; pray for me." Tychicus is briefly commended, and in vv. 23, 24 we seem to see again St. Paul's "own hand" in the benediction which crowns the Epistle.

7. The great likeness between the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians cannot but strike every careful reader. The general course of thought and the evident purport are the same in both, and there are many actual identities of expression. By no writer has this correspondence been better pointed out than by Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ* on the Ephesians, § 1. Two kinds of resemblance are there shown to exist: first, between particular expressions, even whole sentences being occasionally repeated: as Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14; Eph. i. 10, Col. i. 20; Eph. iii. 2, Col. i. 25; Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16, &c.; and secondly, between the same thoughts expressed with such variations as to show the independence of the two Epistles. The instances cited under this head may be taken as decisively refuting De Wette's criticism, that this letter is a weak and diffuse imitation, by another hand, of that to Colossæ. The similarities and diversities prove alike the correctness of the supposition that the Apostle, inspired by one theme, and with one great purpose in view, wrote these two letters about the same time, adding to the church at Colossæ those special cautions respecting the inroads of subtle error, which were not needed by the other

[1] This view was first suggested by Archbishop Usher; it is supported by Bengel, Neander, Bleek, Olshausen, Lange, Stier, with many more; and among English writers by Conybeare and Howson, Canon Lightfoot, Mr. Llewellyn Davies, and others. See Lightfoot *On a Fresh English Revision of the New Testament*, pp. 20—22. The ordinary view is maintained, among others, by Wieseler, Kirchhofer, Meyer, with Ellicott, Alford, Davidson, Eadie, and Gloag. That the letter was addressed specifically to the church in Laodicea is the opinion of Grotius, Wetstein, Hammond, Mill, Paley, Lewin, and others. Of the great critical editors, Tischendorf encloses the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in brackets as doubtful; Lachmann and Tregelles retain them.

[2] In passing, the phrase "if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God given me to you-ward" (ver. 2) may be noted as hardly appropriate to the *Ephesian* church. It is not thus that St. Paul spoke to "the elders" in Acts xx. Applied to the whole Gentile community, no language could be more suitable.

[3] Chap. iii. 14, 15. Two things are here to be particularly marked. The first is, that the words "of our Lord Jesus Christ" are here to be omitted from the text (see all critical editions); *the Father* is the simple antecedent. The second point is, that "the *whole* family" in our version is a mistranslation. The Apostle is not here speaking of the church as one family; but of the hitherto divided human race, in all their separate tribes and nations, now revealed as owning one fatherhood, and partaking one salvation. Accordingly he invokes "the Father of whom πᾶσα πατριά, every tribe, or nation, or family (literally, every *fatherhood*) in heaven and earth is named." The words thus fall in with the whole scope of the Epistle—God's love in Christ to all men.

Christian communities of Asia.[1] As yet, the "will worship" and "false philosophy" which marked the dawn of a new form of heresy were confined to the Phrygian district. The warnings against these are therefore found only in the Colossian letter; while both, with equal power though in varied strain, set forth the "good pleasure" of God in His Son, "having made peace by the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself—by Him, whether things in earth or things in heaven;" and "in the dispensation of the fulness of times to gather up together (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι) all things in THE CHRIST." Here is "the one far off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves."

[1] For convenient reference, a table of these correspondences between the Epistles is subjoined:—

EPHESIANS.	COLOSSIANS.	EPHESIANS.	COLOSSIANS.
i. 19—ii. 5	ii. 12, 13.	v. 6—8	iii. 6—8.
iv. 2—4	iii. 12—15.	v. 15, 16	iv. 5.
iv. 16	ii. 19.	vi. 19, 20	iv. 3, 4.
iv. 32	iii. 13.	v. 22—vi. 9	iii. 18—iv. 1.
iv. 22—24	iii. 9, 10.		

A yet more subtle class of resemblances may be traced where in the two Epistles the association of thoughts is the same, the connection being arbitrary. Compare Eph. iv. 24, 25 with Col. iii. 9, 10; and Eph. v. 20—22 with Col. iii. 17, 18. Paley's sagacious comments on all these parallels should be read.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

BY C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., MASTER OF THE TEMPLE.

"Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named."—EPHESIANS iii. 15.

THERE is a link of connection (lost in the English) between this verse and the one before it. If, with the best manuscripts, we omit the last words of verse 14, "of our Lord Jesus Christ," the force of the connection is seen still more clearly. "For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father (Πατέρα), of whom the whole family (πατριά) in heaven and earth is named." The word πατριά is derived from πατήρ, and means a body or society made so by descent from one father. It occurs repeatedly in the Septuagint (fifty times in the Book of Numbers alone); often in combination with "house" (κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν αὐτῶν), and apparently as a paraphrase of the word "father" in the Hebrew ("by the house of their fathers"). In the New Testament it occurs but three times. Luke ii. 4, "Because he was of the house and lineage (family) of David." Acts iii. 25, "And in thy seed shall all the kindreds (families) of the earth be blessed." In the latter place it is substituted for the "nations" (ἔθνη) of Gen. xxii. 18, LXX, or the "tribes" (φυλαί) of Gen. xii. 3, LXX.

In the passage before us the rendering should assuredly be "every [not "the whole"] family." The absence of the definite article makes this evident, and the context suggests the explanation. St. Paul has spoken (in i. 21) of the exaltation of Christ "in the heavenly places, far above all [or 'every'] principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come;" evidently pointing to angelic existences, and to varieties or gradations of rank and power amongst them. Again, he has given this (in iii. 10) as the Divine object of the disclosure of the great "mystery" hidden from the beginning of the world, "that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God." The idea, therefore, of heavenly as well as earthly "families" is already in the mind of the writer and reader, when it takes the form in which it is presented in this verse. "For this cause"—because I am suffering for you Gentiles, and because that suffering is "your glory," testifying as it does your share in the "inheritance" and the "body" and the "promise" (ver. 6)—"I bend my knees (in prayer) unto the Father, from whom every family in heaven and upon earth is named [derives that name of πατριά], that He may grant you," &c.

"Every family," angelic or human. Each one of the many "principalities and powers in the heavenly places" is a πατριά in reference to the common Πατὴρ of all. Each one of the many "folds" (αὐλαί), Jewish and Gentile, which constitute the universal "flock" (ποίμνη) of the great Shepherd (John x. 16), is a πατριὰ in the same regard. The clause is no purposeless expletive. It has a direct bearing upon the paragraph, and upon the Epistle. It shows why the Gentile has a place in God's Church side by side with the Jew. It lifts the thought of both to a higher unity and a higher relationship still.

In two other places in this Epistle the presence or absence of the definite article has a similar bearing. But in neither of these instances is the reading (as it is here) certain. In ii. 21 the MSS. vary between "all the building" (πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομή) and "every building" (πᾶσα οἰκοδομή). On many accounts the latter (which is the reading of the great Vatican MS.) is to be preferred. Just as here "every family," so there "every building" is the striking and appropriate phrase to express the separate elements of which the unit whole is made up. Each church, each congregation, still more, each of the two great constituent bodies, the Gentile and the Jewish, is a building, an οἰκοδομή, of which the combination, the "framing together," is the temple, the ναός, which is to be the everlasting "habitation (κατοικητήριον) of God." This use of οἰκοδομή, as a separate part or portion of a great whole, is illustrated by its plural form in Matt. xxiv. 1, "the buildings (τὰς οἰκοδομάς) of the temple;" and Mark xiii. 1, 2, "what buildings (ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί) are here," . . . "these great buildings"

(τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς). Each wall, each buttress, each roof, is an οἰκοδομή, and the whole assemblage of οἰκοδομαὶ is the temple.

In the remaining passage referred to (iv. 7) the reading is more doubtful and less important. The question between ἐδόθη χάρις and ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις is complicated by the η of ἐδόθη, and both on that ground and on that of manuscript authority may be strongly argued both ways. The sense is only so far affected by the absence or presence of the definite article, that in the one case St. Paul *asserts* the χάρις, in the other *assumes* it ("to each one of us was given grace;" or else, "to each one of us was given *the* grace" which, of *course*, as Christians, we *have*); in either case equally laying the chief stress of his statement on this point, that the measure of the gift is the free will of the Giver, and that thus a second motive is furnished for that mutual forbearance to which he invites his readers. As the universal Church is one, in every possession and every relationship, so the individual varieties of endowment existing within it are due to the exercise of a supreme choice and will which cannot be denied to its Head.

"Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."—EPHESIANS iv. 13.

THIS verse is embedded in a long and involved sentence, and can only be understood by a glance at the whole.

St. Paul has been led to illustrate his expression, "the gift of Christ," in verse 7, by a reference to Ps. lxviii. 18, which connects an "ascension" with a "gift-receiving;" and that, not for self-aggrandisement, but for distribution to others; that distribution, once more, having for its object the communication of the Divine Presence ("that the Lord God might dwell among them"). He assumes the prophetic import of the words—their fulfilment (whatever their prior and minor application) in Christ alone. The "ascension" suggests, if it implies not, a previous "descent." And the deeper the descent, the loftier the exaltation. As the one is not only to earth, but "into the lower parts of the earth;" so is the other not only to heaven, but "far above all heavens." Further, it is only by ascension that Christ can "fill all things" with Himself. Not on earth, but only from a super-celestial heaven, can the promise be verified, "Lo, I am with you alway."

From these comments and inferences St. Paul returns (ver. 11) to the "gifts." (1) And first, he regards them as all included in the one ascension "giving." "He gave," not "He gives." The Pentecostal gift had the gifts of all times and of all lands in it. (2) Next, the gifts themselves are not things, but persons. The ascended Lord "sent abroad into the world" not agencies, but agents; not ministries, but ministers. He works by men. As the chief business of His own life on earth was the education of a few chosen men to be His disciples, witnesses, and representatives to the world, so it is now. Not by forms and ceremonies, not by books and codes, not by rules and systems, but by the instrumentality of living men, separately qualified and commissioned for the work, does the Divine Lord exercise His headship over the Church which is His body. (3) St. Paul arranges and classifies these workmen. In 1 Cor. xii. 28 he gives *one* list of Church offices and ministries: "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." Here we have another: "He gave some (to be) apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers." Neither is meant to be exhaustive. There is no more intention of a fourfold ministry in this place than of an eightfold ministry in the other. Both are *specimen* lists; exemplifications, not enumerations, of offices and officers. But though the specification of a certain number of perpetual orders and separate ministries is not to be found here, we may yet see an indication of certain *functions* indispensable at all times to the life and growth of the Church. The apostolical element, for rule and discipline; the prophetical element, for stirring and quickening; the evangelistic element, for missionary enterprise; the pastoral and doctoral element, for spiritual shepherding and systematic instruction—all these, however named, however distributed, must be found, always and everywhere, in every branch of the Church Universal which would maintain its vital union with the body and with its Head. Sometimes all these elements have been found in combination. St. Paul was apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor and teacher, all at once, or by turns, as the varying circumstances of time and place made each the appropriate office and the required ministry. More often they are found in distribution: one mind, one life, has been devoted to a single function, and has found in it an ample field for all powers and for all energies. These things are as God wills: no Church can exist without the functions, but no Church ceases to exist by reason of a change of names, or a re-arrangement of officers.

St. Paul proceeds next to the *object* of this Pentecostal gift—this gift of men, to men, for men, by Christ in heaven. And here he distinguishes between an ultimate and an immediate object. The ultimate object (πρός) is "the perfecting of the saints;" the immediate object (εἰς) is "the work of the ministry" (more exactly, "a work of service" or "ministration"), "the edifying [the gradual building up] of the body of Christ."

The same distinction between the remoter and the more direct aim is marked in the subsequent verses (13, 14). "Till we all come," &c., is the one; "that we henceforth be no more children," &c., is the other. The precision of the original is obscured in the English Version by a wanton interchange of "in" and "unto" as the rendering of the threefold εἰς in verse 13. We read it thus: "Till we all attain"—the same verb (καταντᾶν) is so rendered in Phil. iii. 11—"unto the unity of the faith"—that ἑνότης of the Christian πίστις, or Gospel revelation (see, *e.g.*, Gal. iii. 25), which has been asserted

above, and especially in the μία πίστις of verse 5—"and of the knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις, the *further* knowledge, personal and experimental) of the Son of God;" in other words, "unto a perfect [mature, full-grown] man"—one, not many (Gal. iii. 28); in other words, "unto a measure of stature [or, of age] of [belonging to, characteristic of] the fulness of Christ." The arrival at "unity" is as much future as the arrival at "maturity" of age or growth. The actual realisation of that unity, which is already ours in theory and principle, waits for that "perfecting" (καταρτισμός) which is the *ultimate* object, as the "ministry" (διακονία) and the "edifying" (οἰκοδομή) are the *immediate* objects, of the ascension gift.

The 14th verse returns to the present. Unity, like maturity, like perfection, is the goal: work, servants' work, builders' work, is the race. It, too, has an object; not, like the other, seen afar off, but lying in the way to that other, and the condition of its attainment. "That we be no more children," at the mercy of every wave and gust of human teaching, of every trick and stratagem by which designing men practise upon the weakness or credulity of an intellectual, moral, and spiritual infancy; "but speaking, doing, living the truth"—for the rare word ἀληθεύοντες embraces all these ideas—"in love, may grow up"—the tense of αὐξήσωμεν expresses the *result* of the growth; "may *have* grown up;" may be *found* to have done so, when the account is taken—"into Him in all things"—into *entire* union with Him—"who is the Head, even Christ; from whom"—out of (ἐξ) whom, as the source of all growth—"all the body, framed and knit together"—the former is a *builder's* word (see ii. 21) suitable to the figure of the οἰκοδομὴ in this verse and verse 12: the *tense* of the two participles expresses a *gradual process* of compacting—"by means of every joint of [belonging to, essential to] the supply"—by the help of each joint transmitting, as it were, the vital fluid, "the supply (ἐπιχορηγία, as here) of the Spirit of Jesus Christ" (Phil. i. 19) from one member of the body to another—"according to an operation in [within, not exceeding] the measure of each several part"—regulated by a working of Divine grace commensurate with the capacity of each particular member of the body—"makes the growth of the body"—carries on its own growth—"unto the building up of itself in love."

Let us endeavour to disentangle the sentence by a paraphrase. The ascended Lord gave gifts unto men. What gifts? A multitude of *men*, qualified and commissioned for the discharge of various ministries in the Church which is His body. With what object? "The perfecting of the saints." The attainment, in other words, of that absolute spiritual unity which is the maturity of the Christian life. This we see not yet. But we are in the way to it. There is "a work of ministering," there is a gradual "building up of the body of Christ," which aims at the healthy development of the individual and of the generation, from a helpless and credulous infancy, into a life of which the principle is "Truth in love," and which consists in a growing union with Christ Himself; a union individually realised, in the supply of the Divine Spirit to each separate member of the body, but securing also a collective and corporate growth, a progress of the Church as a whole in that life of which the very element and atmosphere is love.

BIBLE WORDS.

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SAVOUR (*verb intr.*), to be minded or disposed in a certain way. It only occurs in our Lord's words to Peter (Matt. xvi. 23), "Thou *savourest* not the things that be of God," and the parallel passage (Mark viii. 33). It was adopted by Tyndale in the latter place, but not in the former, where he has "Thou *perceavest* nott godly thynges," from Wiclif's "Thou *saverist* not the thingis that ben of God," which he had derived from the Vulgate, "Non *sapis* ea quæ Dei sunt." In earlier versions it was a frequent rendering of the Greek verb φρονεῖν, through the Latin *sapere*: *e.g.*, Wiclif's rendering of Rom. xii. 3 is "That ye *sauere* not more than it bihoueth to *sauere*, but for to *sauere* to sobreness;" and Latimer quotes 1 Cor. xiii. 11, "When I was a child I *savoured* as a child." It is used by Shakespeare, *e.g.*, "The prince our master says that you *savour* too much of your youth" (*Henry V.* i. 2), and was in not unfrequent employment down to a comparatively recent period, though now quite dropped out of use, except as a poetical word.

Savour (*subst.*), so continually used in the A. V. for "taste" or "flavour:" *e.g.*, Matt. v. 13, "If the salt have lost his *savour*;" and more frequently still for "scent," especially in the phrase, "*sweet savour*," "*sweet-smelling savour*," as applied to sacrifices, *e.g.*, Gen. viii. 21, "The Lord smelled a sweet *savour*," and sometimes metaphorically, *e.g.*, 2 Cor. ii. 16, "The *savour* of death unto death." It is now almost or quite obsolete; though the adjective *savoury* (Gen. xxvii. 4), "Make me *savoury* meat, such as I love," still remains in use.

Scall (*subst.*) is only found in the chapters relating to leprosy (Lev. xiii. 30, 31, &c.; xiv. 54), to express what is now known as "a scab," *i.e.*, a dry piece of skin peeling off from the surface of a sore. It is a translation of the Hebrew word נֶתֶק (*nethek*), derived from a verb

signifying "to pull off," "to tear away." It comes from the A. S. *scylan*, "to divide," "to separate," and is the same word under a slightly varied form and meaning, as "scale" (of a fish); the expression "a *scald* head," which is still in use for the "tetter," or "ringworm," is simply a head affected with *scalls*. It is used as a term of opprobrium in Shakespeare, "To be revenged upon the this same *scall*" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, iii. 1). Chaucer, as a punishment for the careless copying of his scrivener, utters the wish—

> "Under thy long locks thou maist have the *scall*."
> (*Words unto his own Scrivener.*)

And he describes the Sompnour as "with *scalled* (scurfy) browes, blake and pilled berd" (*Prol.* 530). Richardson quotes from Sir Thomas More, "Than shal al these *scalde* and scabbed peces *scale* clere of, and the hole body of Christes holy Church remaine pure."

Scrabble (*verb intr.*). David, in his feigned madness at Gath, "*scrabbled* on the doors of the gate" (1 Sam. xxi. 13). The marginal reading, "made marks," is a correct translation of the Hebrew verb תָּוָה, *tavah* (found also in Ezek. ix. 4, "*Set a mark* on the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry"). It is akin to the verbs "scrape," "scratch," "scrawl," "scribble," and is probably formed from the sound of scratching with the nails. It is still used in Lincolnshire in the sense of "to scratch," and is explained in Miss Baker's *Northamptonshire Glossary*, "to write in an uncouth and unsightly manner; to make unmeaning marks, as boys often do with chalk on a wall or gate."

Scrip (*subst.*), a wallet or small bag. Used in the A. V. for the shepherd's bag in which David put his stones for slinging (1 Sam. xvii. 40); and a traveller's wallet, πήρα (Matt. x. 10, and the parallels; Luke xxii. 35, 36). It is allied to the Frisian *skrap*, "a pocket;" the O. N. *skreppa*, and the Welsh *ysgrap*, *ysgrepan*, which have the same meaning. A scrip was characteristic of a traveller—

> "Whan folke in chirche had geve him what hem lest,
> He went his way, no longer wold he rest,
> With *scrippe* and tipped staf, ytucked hie."
> (Chaucer, *Sompnour's Tale*, 7316.)

"Come, Shepherd, let us make an honourable retreat, though not with bag and baggage, yet with *scrip* and scrippage." (Shakespeare, *As You Like it*, iii. 2.)

Seethe (*verb trans.*). **Sod**, *preter.*; and **sodden**, *part.*, "to boil" or "cook by boiling," from the A. S. *seothan*, "to boil," part. *soden*, *gesoden*; German, *sieden*. It is frequent in the A. V., *e.g.*, Exod. xvi. 23 (of the manna), "Bake that ye will bake to-day, and *seethe* that ye will *seethe*;" 1 Sam. ii. 13, "The priest's servant came while the flesh was in *seething*;" Gen. xxv. 29, "And Jacob *sod* pottage;" 1 Sam. ii. 15, "He will not have *sodden* flesh of thee, but raw." We give examples of its early use from Richardson—

> "Peter fyshed for his foode, and his fellowe Andrewe;
> Some they sold, and some they *soth*, and so they lived both."
> (*Piers Plowman*, fol. 81, p. 2.)

Chaucer's cook

> "Coude roste, and *sethe*, and broile, and frie,
> Maken mortrewes[1], and well bake a pie."
> (Chaucer, *Prol.* 384.)

"(Their drink is) meath made of honey, or liquorice *sodden* in water, for thereof they have great store." (Berners' *Froissart*, ii. 1.)

Shakespeare gives us "*sceth* your blood to froth" (*Timon of Athens*, iv. 3); and "*sodden* water" (*Hen. V.* iii. 5); and "*sodden* business" (*Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 1).

Shamefastness (*subst.*). This fine old word, from the A. S. *sceamfœstnes*, akin to "bedfast," "rootfast," "soothfast," steadfast," has been altered by the unauthorised meddlesomeness of printers into "shamefacedness;" thus "changing the word, which meant once a being established firmly and fast in honourable shame, into the mere wearing of the blush of shame on the cheek."[2] This alteration, as Prof. Lightfoot remarks,[3] is doubly unfortunate, "as suggesting a wrong derivation and an inadequate meaning." The passage where it occurs (1 Tim. ii. 9), "that women adorn themselves with *shamefacedness* and sobriety," has *shamefastness* in all the older editions and versions, *e.g.*, Wiclif, "Also wymmen in covenable abite with *schamefastnesse* and sobernesse araiynge hem silf;" Tyndale, "Lykwyse also the wemen that they arraye them selves in manerly aparell with *shamfastnes* and honest behaveour;" so also Beck and the Geneva Bible. It is also found in the Apocrypha (Ecclus. xli. 16, 24), "Therefore be *shamefast* according to my word, for it is not good to retain all *shamefastnes*; . . . . so shalt thou be truly *shamefast*, and find favour before all men," where the spelling has also been tampered with in the same unauthorised manner. As examples of its use we may cite Chaucer's description of Virginia—

> "*Shamefast* she was in maiden's *shamefastnesse*."
> (*Doctor's Tale*, 11,989.)

And Spenser—

> "Then to the knight with *shamefast* modestie,
> They turne themselves at Una's meeke request."
> (*F. Q.*, I. x. 15.)

And

> "She is the fountaine of your modestee;
> You *shamefast* are, but *Shamefastnesse* itself is shee."
> (*F. Q.*, II. ix. 43.)

Shawm (*subs.*) only occurs in the Prayer-book Psalter, Ps. xcviii. 7, "With trumpets also and *shawms*, O shew yourselves joyful before the Lord the King," where the A. V. has "with trumpets and sound of cornet." This latter is the more correct version, the original שׁוֹפָר (*shophar*) signifying the horn of a ram or other animal. A "shawm" or "shalm" was a bass instrument of music, played, as its derivation indicates, with a reed like the oboe, but, according to Mr. Chappell, having probably more the tone of a bassoon. Mr. Chappell (i. 35) quotes, as descriptive of the sound

[1] "A mortrewes seems to have been a rich broth or soup, in the preparation of which the flesh was stamped or beat in a mortar." (Tyrwhit.)
[2] Trench, *English Past and Present*, p. 198.
[3] *Revision of New Testament*, p. 185.

and compass of the shawm, one of the inscriptions from the walls of Leconfield Manor House, Yorkshire—

"A *shawme* maketh a swete sounde, for he tunythe the basse,
It mountith not to hye, but kepithe rule and space.
Yet yf it be blowne with to vehement a wynde,
It makithe it to mysgoverne out of his kinde."

It is derived through the French *chalumeau*, "a reed-pipe," from *calamellus*, a diminutive of the Latin *calamus*, "a reed." A kindred word is the German *schalmeie*, "a reed-pipe." The older form preserved the radical *l*, *shalmele* or *shalmie*—*e.g.*:

"Suche a soune
Of bumbarde and of clarioune,
With cornemuse (bagpipe) and *shalmele*."
(Gower, *Confessio Amantis*.)

"Loud minstralcies,
In cornmuse and *shalmies*,
And many another pipe."
(Chaucer, *House of Fame*, iii. 128.)

—or *shalme*, as used by North in his translation of Plutarch, "The women players of pipes or *shalmes*" (p. 378); "Agesilaus commanded his musitians to sound their *shalmes* or pipes, whilst he did set up a token of triumph" (p. 516).

Silverling (*subs.*; German, *silberling*) occurs only in the A.V., Isa. vii. 23, "Every place . . . where there were a thousand vines at a thousand *silverlings*," *i.e.*, returning a thousand shekels of silver for rent. Wiclif has "a thousand syluer penys." The word so translated (כֶּסֶף, *ceseph*) is rendered elsewhere "silver" or "money," or "shekels of silver." In Tyndale's and Cranmer's translations, the price of the magical books burnt at Ephesus appears as "fifty thousande *silverlynges*" (Acts xix. 19). The same word is used in Cranmer and Tyndale for the money stolen by Micah from his mother (Judg. xvii. 2, 3), "The leuen hundredth *syluerlynges*."

Skill (*verb int.*) is found in four places in Kings and Chronicles for to "know how," or "understand how" to do a thing (1 Kings v. 6; 2 Chron. ii. 8), "Thy servants can *skill* to cut timber in Lebanon;" *ib.*, ver. 7, "Can *skill* to grave;" chap. xxxiv. 12, "All that could *skill* of instruments of music." It is derived from the A. S. *scylan*, to "divide," "distinguish," "discern distinctions or differences." Julius Cæsar, scoffing at Sylla's resignation of his dictatorship, remarked "that Sylla could not *skill* of letters, and therefore knew not how to dictate" (Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, bk. I., vii. 29). Mr. Aldis Wright quotes from Holland's translation of Pliny, "Without beans they canot *skill* how to dresse anything for their daily food" (*Pliny*, xviii. 10).

Strait (*adj.* and *subst.*; **Straitly**, *adv.*; **Straitness**, *subst.*), from the Latin *strictus*, "drawn close," through the Italian *stretto*, and the O. Fr. *estroit*, "narrow." The sons of the prophets, incommoded by want of room, said to Elijah, "The place where we dwell with thee is too *strait* for us" (2 Kings vi. 1; cf. Isa. xlix. 20); "Enter ye in at the *strait* (narrow) gate, . . . because *strait* is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life" (Matt. vii. 13; Luke xiii. 24). As a substantive we find it used: 1 Sam. xiii. 6, "Israel saw that they were in a *strait*;" 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; 1 Chron. xxi. 13; Job xxxvi. 16; Phil. i. 23. Moses foretells the sufferings of the Israelites "in the siege and *straitness*" (Deut. xxviii. 53, 55, 57). The adverb *straitly* is found where we should use "strictly:" Gen. xliii. 7, "The man asked us *straitly* of our state;" Josh. vi. 1, "Jericho was *straitly* shut up;" Mark i. 43, "He *straitly* charged him." As illustrations of its use we give the following:—

"In prayers and in penance putten hem manye,
Al for loue of owre Lorde lyveden ful *streyte*."
(Piers Plowman, *Prol.* 25, 26.)

Chaucer says of the wife of Bath—

"Here hosen weren of fyn scarlet reed,
Ful *streyte* y-tyed." (*Prol.* 457.)

"He mought see that a *strait* (tight) glove will come more easily on with use." (Bacon, *Adv. of Learn.*, II. xxii. 8.)

"His majesty hath *straitly* given in charge,
That no man shall have private conference
Of what degree soever with his brother."
(Shakespeare, *Richard III.*, i. 3.)

Swaddle (*verb tr.*), to bind, to tie up in bands, used chiefly of swathing new-born infants. Lam. ii. 22, "Those that I have *swaddled* and brought up hath mine enemy consumed;" Ezek. xvi. 4, "In the day thou wast born . . . . thou wast not . . . . *swaddled* at all." We have also *swaddling-clothes* (Luke ii. 7, 12) and *swaddling-band* (Job xxxviii. 9). The word to *swaddle* is a fuller form of to *swathe*, and is connected with the A. S. *bisuethan*, "to bind," and its derivatives, *swethel*, or *swethil*, "a swathing band;" *swethung*, "a bandage or plaster." Mr. Aldis Wright supplies the following apt illustration:—

"The nurses also of Sparta use a certaine manner also to bring up their children, without *swadling* or binding them up in clothes with *swadling bandes*." (North's Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, p. 55.)

Sir Thomas More employs the word in a general sense. Thus he speaks of a man who "muste bee fayne once or twise a daye to *swaddle* and plaster his leggo," and of "our *swadlynge* and tending our bodies with warm clothes" (Richardson); and Ascham remarks that "to *swadle* a babe much about with bandes verye seldome doth anye good" (*Toxophilus*, bk. ii.). With the cessation of the pernicious practice of swathing or swaddling the limbs of a newly-born infant with tight bands of linen wound round and round it, which prevailed everywhere till the middle of the seventeenth century, the word describing it has dropped out of usage and become obsolete.

Taber (*verb intr.*). Nahum ii. 7, "Her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, *tabering* upon their breasts," *i.e.*, beating their breasts in measured time like the beating of a *tabour* or drum. It is an accurate rendering of the Hebrew verb תֹּפֵף, *tahphaph* (found also Ps. lxviii. 25, "the damsels *playing with timbrels*"), from תֹּף (*toph*), a "tabret," "timbrel," or "small drum." The verb "to taber," with its congeners, is not unfrequent in our earlier writers.

"Ich can nat *tabre* ne trompe, at festes ne harpen."
Piers Plowman (Richardson).

"For in your court is many a losengeour (deceiver),
That *tabourers* in your eares many a soun."
(Chaucer, *Leg. of Good Women*, 354.)

"Ye will rather never serve God at all; never fast, never kneel; but drink and be merry, and pipe up John *taberer*. 'To-morrow shall be my father's wake.'" (Calfhill, *Answer to Martial*, p. 257.)

Tache (*subst.*). This word, which is only another form of "tack," connected with "attach," French *attacher*, Italian *attaccare*, the A. S. *tacan*, "to take," "lay hold of," is only found in the description of the tabernacle and its furniture (Exod. xxvi. 6, 11, 33; xxxv. 11, &c.), for the small hooks or fastenings by which a curtain is suspended to the rings from which it hangs. It represents the Hebrew קֶרֶס, "a hook," from קָרַס, "to bend." Mr. Aldis Wright illustrates the interchange of the hard and soft sound in *tack* and *tache* by the similar instances of *kirk* and *church*, *nook* and *notch*, *nick* and *niche*.

Tale (*subst.*), a reckoning or account, a number told. A. S. *tael*, a number; Germ. *zahl*, a number. In Exod. v. 8, 18, we have "the *tale* of the bricks," *i.e.*, the full number of bricks for which the taskmasters of the Israelites were responsible to Pharaoh; 1 Sam. xviii. 27, of the proofs of David's slaughter of the Philistines, "They gave them in full *tale* to the king;" 1 Chron. ix. 28, "That they (the Levites) should bring them (the ministering vessels) in and out by *tale*." In A. S. *tellan* is "to tell" in both senses, to "count" and to "recount," "narrate;" as in German, *zählen*, "to reckon;" *erzählen*, "to relate." We may compare the expressions "telling beads," the "tellers" in the House of Commons, a "tally."

"Of other heuene than here holde thei no *tale*" (take no account). (*Piers Plowman*, i. 9.)

"He hath euē the verai heares of your heades noñbred out by *tale*." (Udal's Erasmus, *Luke* xii. 7.)

"And every shepherd tells his *tale* (counts his sheep)
Under the hawthorn in the dale." (Milton, *L'Allegro*, 67.)

Tire (*verb tr.* and *subst.*) is used in the A. V. exclusively for dressing the head, though its ordinary use, as of *attire*, of which it seems a shortened form, is wider and more general. Jezebel "painted her face and *tired* her head" in expectation of Jehu's arrival (2 Kings ix. 30); Isaiah speaks of the women's "round *tires* like the moon" (Isa. iii. 18); and Ezekiel is bidden "bind the *tire* of thine head about thee" (Ezek. xxiv. 17, 23). The specious derivation from the Persian *tiara* is a false one. It has been connected by some with the German *zier*, *zieren*, "ornament," but the evidence is in favour of its coming through *attire*, from the Old French *atour*, "a hood," or "woman's headdress. It is a word of frequent occurrence.

"Women *tyre* theme selues with gold and silke to please their louers." (Tyndale, *Workes*, p. 72.)

Spenser's Perissa—

"In sumptuous *tire* she joyed herself to pranck."
(*Faëry Queene*, II. ii. 56.)

And Charissa—

"On her head she wore a *tire* of gold."
(*Faëry Queene*, I. x. 31.)

Tittle (*subst.*), only found in Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17, as the translation of the Greek κεραία; Latin *apex*, one of the little projections or points which distinguish some of the Hebrew letters from one another, *e.g.*, ב and כ; ה, ח, and ת; ג and נ. Our translators adopted the word from Wiclif and Tyndale. It signifies the tiniest thing possible, and is connected with *tit*, "anything small of its kind," a little horse, a little girl, &c., often used in composition to form a diminutive, *e.g.*, *titlark*, *titmouse*, *titbit*, *titfaggots*. "To a *tittle*" signifies "exactly," *e.g.*, "I'll quote him *to a tittle*" (Beaumont and Fletcher, *Woman Hater*, iii. 4); "St. Paul . . . *to a tittle* recites the words of Christ" (Jeremy Taylor, *Apology for Set Forms*, § 87).

"What shalt thou exchange for rags? robes. For *tittles*, titles; for thyself, me." (Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 1.)

Trow (*verb int.*), to think, believe, suppose, from the A. S. *treów*, "true;" *treówian*, Germ. *trauen*, "to think to be true." It is only found in the A. V., Luke xvii. 9, "Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I *trow* not." It is a very common word in early writers, *e.g.*:—

"This I *trowe* to be treuthe, who can teche the bettre?"
(*Piers Plowman*, i. 143.)

"A bettre prest I *trowe* ther no wher none is."
(Chaucer, *Prol.* 526.)

Stephen Hawes introduces Perjury, saying—

"I swere in lykwise, and anon she *troweth*,
That we have sayd is of very trouth."

In Wiclif's version *trow* is frequent in the sense of "believe," "trust:" Matt. xxiv. 26, "Nyle ye trowe" = "believe it not;" John ii. 24, "Jhesus *trowide* not himself to hem, for he knewe alle men." The quotations from Piers Plowman and Hawes give evidence of the close connection between "trow" and "truth," or "troth," the lever by which Horne Tooke thought to overthrow Truth, defining it to be "that which every man *troweth*," and therefore having no real substantial existence.

Tush (*interj.*), an expression of contempt or impatience, occurring in the Prayer-book Psalter, Ps. x. 6, 12, 14, "*Tush*, I shall never be cast down;" "*Tush*, God hath forgotten;" "*Tush*, Thou God carest not for it;" Ps. lxxiii. 11; xciv. 7. In no place is there any corresponding expletive in the Hebrew. The word is found frequently in Coverdale's translation, *e.g.*, Ezek. xx. 49, "Then sayde I, O Lord, they will saye of me; *Tush*, they are but fables." Richardson gives the following from Sir P. Sidney: "*Tush, tush!* son, said Cecropia, if you say you love, but withal you fear, you fear least you should offend" (*Arcadia*, b. iii.). Holinshed writes it *twish*: "There is a cholerike or disdainfull interjection used in the Irish language called *boagh*, which is as much in English as *twish*" (*Descr. of Ireland*, c. 8).

Twain (*numeral adj.*), "two," from the A. S. *twêgen*, the masc. form, of which *twá* is the fem. and neut., akin to the Germ. *zween*. The root appears in the

English words containing the idea of duality, "twin," "twine," "twenty." It occurs frequently in the A. V.: *e.g.*, Isa. vi. 2 (of the wings of the seraphim), "With *twain* he covered his face, and with *twain* he covered his feet, and with *twain* he did fly;" Matt. v. 41, "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him *twain*;" xxi. 31, "Whether of them *twain* [which of the two] did the will of his father?" &c. It is met with still more frequently in Wiclif's Bible, *e.g.*, Gen. vi. 19, "And of alle lyuynge beestis of al fleisch thou schalt brynge into the schip *tweyne* and *tweyne*." In *Piers Plowman* we have "Tymme the tynkere and *tweyne* of his prentis" (v. 317). Chaucer gives us—

> "Right sone upon the chaunging of the mone,
> When lightlesse is the world, a night or *twaine*."
> (*Troil. and Cressid.* iii. 551.)
>
> "I (Grisildis) have not had no part of children *twein*,
> But first sikenesse, and after wo and peine."
> (*Clerk's Tale*, 8526.)

In Ezek. xxi. 19 we find "both *twain*," with which Mr. Aldis Wright compares—

> "He hath him clensed *bothe two*,
> The body and the soule also."
> (Gower, *Confess. Am.* i., p. 275.)
>
> "I beheld ryghtwell *bothe* the ways *twayne*,
> And mused oft whyche was best to take."
> (Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure*, c. i.)

Very (*adj.*). This word, which is now used only as an augmentative adverb, was formerly employed as an adjective, corresponding to the Latin *verus*, "true," Old French *verai*. Of this we have a very familiar example in the Nicene Creed, "*Very* God of *very* God," "Verus Deus ex vero Deo." We have it in the A. V.: Gen. xxvii. 21, 24, "Art thou my *very* son Esau?" John vii. 26; Acts ix. 22, "Proving that this is *very* Christ." Wiclif uses it constantly: *e.g.*, Luke xvi. 11, "If ye weren not trewe in the wickid thing of ritchesse ['the unrighteous mammon,' A. V.], who shall bitake to you that which is *verry?*" John i. 9, "It was *verri* light which lightneth ech man comynge into this world." Latimer gives us "the habergeon of *very* justice" (*Serm.*, p. 30); and Shakespeare—

> "My *very* friend hath got his mortal hurt
> In my behalf." (*Rom. and Jul.* iii. 1.)

And Hooker, "The *very* whole entire form of our Church polity" (*Eccl. Pol.* II. i. 1; "Superstition . . . . mingleth itself with the rites even of *very* divine service done only to the true God" (*Ibid.*, V., iii. 3).

Wax (*verb intr.*), to grow, increase, from the A. S. *weaxan*; German, *wachsen*. It is a verb of very frequent occurrence in the A. V.: 1 Sam. iii. 2, "Eli's eyes began to *wax* dim;" Jer. vi. 24, "Our hands *wax* feeble;" Luke xii. 33, "Provide yourselves bags which *wax* not old;" 2 Chron. xiii. 21, "Abijah *waxed* mighty;" Luke i. 80, "The child grew and *waxed* strong in spirit;" Phil. i. 14, "The brethren *waxing* confident by my bonds." We find it constantly in early authors—

> "These ben treuthes tresores trewe folke to helpe,
> That nevere shal *wax*, ne wanye withoute God himselve."
> (*Piers Plowman*, vii. 54, 55.)
>
> "His sleep, his mete, his drynk is him byraft [bereft],
> That lene he *wex*, and drye as is a schaft."
> (Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 504.)
>
> "As this temple *waxes*,
> The inward service of the mind and soul
> Grows wide withal." (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, i. 3.)
>
> "He *waxes* desperate with imagination." (*Ibid.* i. 4.)

Whit (*subst.*), a small part, an atom, or least bit. 1 Sam. iii. 18, "Samuel told him every *whit*, and hid nothing;" John vii. 23, "I have made a man every *whit* whole;" xiii. 10, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every *whit*;" 2 Cor. xi. 5, "I was not a *whit* behind the very chiefest apostles." It is derived from the A. S. *wiht* or *wicht*, "a thing," "creature." The words *aught* and *naught*, "something" and "nothing," contain this root; *aught* being the A. S. *â-wiht*; and *naught*, *nâ-wiht*, or *naht*. Examples are very abundant. Of Chaucer's miller's wife we read—

> "She was full aslepe a litel *wight*." (*Reeve's Tale*, 4282.)
>
> "Dyvers gaue good eare to hym, and some never a *whytte*, such as had rather have warre than peace." (Froissart, Berners' Trans., vol. i., c. 357.)
>
> "He had a sharpe foresight, and working wit
> That never idle was, ne once would rest a *whit*."
> (Spenser, *Faëry Queen*, II. ix. 49.)
>
> "Mahomet cald the hill to come to him againe and againe; and when the hill stood still he was never a *whit* abashed, but said, 'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.'" (Bacon, *Essays*, xii.)

Wimple (*subst.*) occurs once in a list of articles of female attire, "The mantles, and the *wimples*, and the curling pins" (Isa. iii. 22). The Hebrew word מִטְפָּחוֹת (*mitpâchoth*) signifies "wide coverings" or "mantles," and is employed for the "veil" worn by Ruth, capacious enough to hold "six measures of barley" (Ruth iii. 15). It is rendered by Wiclif "schetis, ether smockis;" and in Cranmer's Bible "kerchiefs." The word is akin to the A. S. *winpel*, the French *guimple*, "a hood," and the Dutch *wimpel*, "a veil." It denotes a plaited or folded covering for the neck and throat used by religious women or elderly ladies. Chaucer writes of the Prioress—

> "Ful semely hire *wympel* ypynched was" (*Prol.* 151);

and points out the distinction between it and the veil—

> "Wering a vaile insted of *wimple*,
> As nonnes don in hir abbey."
> (*Rom. of the Rose*, 3864.)

Wit (*verb intr.*), "to know," from the A. S. *witan*. Gen. xxiv. 21, "The man held his peace to *wit* whether the Lord had made his journey prosperous or not;" Exod. ii. 4, "His (Moses') sister stood afar off to *wit* what would be done to him;" 2 Cor. viii. 1, "We *do you to wit* of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia." In the last passage "do" has a causative meaning, as in Gower—

> "He *dothe* us somdele for *to wits*
> The cause of thilke prelacie."
> (*Conf. Am.* i., p. 13. W. A. W.)

Of this old verb various tenses are employed by our

translators. Thus we have the pres. ind. *wot:* Gen. xxi. 26, "I *wot* not who hath done this thing;" Phil. i. 22, "What I shall choose I *wot* not." The past *wist:* Exod. xxxiv. 29, "Moses *wist* not that the skin of his face shone;" Acts xxiii. 5, "I *wist* not, brethren, that he was the high priest." Of the infinitive to *wit*, there are examples above. Instances of its use in our old writers are too common to need citation.

Withs (*subst.*), used only in Judg. xvi. 7, 8, 9, of the means used by Delilah for binding Samson, "If they bind me with seven green *withs* that were never dried, then shall I be weak." The marginal reading "cords" is more true to the original: cf. Job xxx. 11; Ps. xi. 2. The word *with* signifies a supple bough or twig used for winding about for the purpose of binding, A. S. *withie*, "a band," "a rope," and is allied to the preposition *with* by the idea of connection. The verb *windan*, "to bend, twist, twine," and *windel*, anything "twined," especially a wicker basket, are related to it. The willow being most suitable for this purpose, the tree itself acquired the name of *with*, or *withy*, by which it is still popularly known. Wiclif so uses it: Lev. xxiii. 40, "*Withies* of the rennynge water" = "Willows of the brook" of the A. V. The "willows of Babylon," in Ps. cxxxvii. 2, are "the *withies* in the myddes of it." The word is still in good local use for a bond or tie. A pilgrim is thus described in *Piers Plowman*—

> "He bare a burdoun (a staff, *bordone*) ybound with a brode liste,
> In a *withewyndes*wise ywounden aboute." (V. 524, 525.)

Where *withewyndes* is the genitive of the old English *withwind*, convolvulus, or bindweed. "Bind-*with*" is also a popular name of the wild clematis, or traveller's joy.

Wittingly (*adv.*), knowingly, understanding what he was doing, A. S. *witendlíce*. Gen. xlviii. 14 (of Jacob blessing his grandsons), "Guiding his hands *wittingly*."

> "There is no blyndness more incurable than when a man is both *wittynglye* and willynly blynde." (Udal, *Marke* c. 3.)
>
> "Nor yet do I account those judges well advised which *wittingly* will give sentence after such witnesses." (Latimer, *Remains*, p. 325.)

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE book now before us stands at the head of what have been called the sapiential books of the Old Testament, those of which Wisdom is the theme, by which men are to be taught what true wisdom is, and how best to apply it to the varied relations of their lives. In the early stages of social intellectual growth, when men begin to observe and generalise on the facts of human life, they clothe the rough results of observation in the form of short and pithy sentences. Every race that has passed beyond mere savagery has had its proverbs of this kind. In proportion to the clearness of their moral perception of the right and wrong of things, their proverbs, as in the case of not a few of the Greek writers of this type—such, *e.g.*, as Theognis and Phocylides—have approached more or less nearly to the standard of those of Israel. The Hebrew word translated "proverb" (*mashal*) has, however, a special significance. What we may almost call the instinctive delight of man's mind in recognising resemblances where at first we see only differences, the pleasure of perceiving (as Aristotle puts it) that "this is like that," was developed in special strength in the Israelites and other people of the East. Their proverb was primarily and essentially a "similitude," the transfer of lessons from the facts of man's common life, or even from those of brute nature, to the region of man's moral and spiritual being. It was thus a condensed parable or fable, capable at any time of being expanded, sometimes presented with the lesson clearly taught, sometimes involved in greater or less obscurity, that its very difficulty might stimulate the desire to know, and so impress the lesson more deeply on the mind. The proverb might be a "dark saying," requiring an interpretation. Thus, *e.g.*, "The fining-pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold: but the Lord trieth the hearts" (Prov. xvii. 3), is a parable of which we find an expansion in Mal. iii. 3, "He shall sit as a refiner of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver;" while Prov. i. 17, "Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird," given as it is, without any interpretation, and capable (as commentaries will show) of many, is a "dark saying," in which the teaching is deliberately involved in more or less obscurity. Traces of these generalised maxims, so obvious as to seem truisms, are to be found before we are brought into contact with any full collection of them. The saying "Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked" passed current as a "proverb of the ancients" in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xxiv. 13). An individual instance of strange inconsistency was generalised as a type of all like anomalies, and the question "Is Saul also among the prophets?" became a proverb in Israel (1 Sam. x. 11; xix. 24). Later on, a rough induction from the facts of human history led men to transfer to a previous age the guilt of that in which they themselves were actors, and to say, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer. xxxi. 29; Ezek. xviii. 2). The Book of Job is full of apophthegms of the proverb

type, one of which afterwards became the motto, so to speak, of the Book of Proverbs, and gave the keynote to all its teaching. "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding" (Job xxviii. 28). It was natural that the first advance to a higher culture under the son of David, the first result of intercourse with "the children of the east country" (1 Kings iv. 30), whose wisdom clothed itself in this form, should be the utterance by this great representative and patron of culture, of maxims, precepts, condensed parables in the shape of proverbs. The definite mention of three thousand as the number of which he had been the author (1 Kings iv. 32) points to the existence of a much larger collection as known, at least by repute, in the time of Ezra, embracing many notes on the minor facts of life, as well as its great laws of duty; and it seems reasonable to assume that what we now have is but an educational anthology of that collection, made with a special view to the training of the young in that fear of the Lord which is the "beginning of wisdom." The structure of the book seems indeed to show that the selection took a yet wider range. The traces of compilation present themselves at almost every turn, and we are able, within reasonable limits of probability, to trace each part of the book to its source, and to see in it the work of one who, like a well-instructed scribe, brought out of his treasure things new and old. A brief analysis of its contents will make this plainer.

(1) i. 1—7. We have here the title and the introduction to the whole book as it now appears. It is "The Proverbs of Solomon," but at the outset we are told that it contains more than this, and "the words of the wise" generally are to be found in it. The object of the book is stated fully, as if to commend it to the attention of the reader; and that object is, as has been said, distinctly educational in the best and highest sense.

(2) i. 8—vii. 27. The next section is a long, continuous exhortation, each sub-section opening with the words "my son," or "ye children," as of a father speaking to his children, or a master to his scholars. The warnings are chiefly against the social vices which mark the transition period between the life of villages and that of great cities, the lawlessness which leads young men (as, *e.g.*, Gideon and David's followers in Adullam) to prefer the robber, brigand life of adventure to the labours of the field (i. 11—19); the harlotry and baseness which contact with nations of a lower standard of morals brought to the Israelites as to their monarch (ii. 16; v. 3—23; vi. 24—29; vii. 5—27); the frauds of the usurer and the spendthrift, sure to accompany the first initiation into the ways of commerce (vi. 1—3). The difference in style has led some critics to assign this to a later date than that of Solomon; but the evidence for or against difference of authorship is very slight. The incidental reference of the speaker to his being "tender and only beloved in the sight of his mother" (iv. 3), in connection with the name Jedidiah ("beloved of Jehovah") given him by Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 25), and with Bathsheba's conspicuous influence during his early years (1 Kings i. 15—22), so far as it goes, is in favour of Solomon's authorship.

(3) viii., ix. The book rises here into a higher and more dramatic strain. Wisdom herself is introduced as speaking, not merely, as in i. 20—33, in the language of reproof, but as setting forth her own majesty and glory. Her work is seen in the marvels of the universe, in the order of human life. She is co-eternal with the self-existing God, is with Him as one brought up with Him, works out His will, is manifested in all His works. We are reminded of Hooker's noble praise of Law, that "her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world;" yet more of the teaching of St. John, the later development of the truth thus sown upon the field of human thought, that "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" that "without Him was not anything made that was made;" that He too was from all eternity "in the bosom of the Father" (John i. 1—3, 18). With that true Wisdom inviting men as to a great feast in her lordly house, with its seven pillars as the symbol of perfection (ix. 1—12), is contrasted once again the tempting invitation of the harlot, offering the "bread eaten in secret," the pleasures of sin of which men are ashamed even in the moment of enjoyment, instead of the bread of God which endureth to eternal life (ix. 13—18).

(4) x. 1—xxii. 16. The new heading of this section, "The Proverbs of Solomon," indicates with sufficient clearness that we have here the centre and kernel of the book, the selected maxims from that larger collection which from its very bulk would have been ill adapted for educational uses. Speaking roughly, it contains about 400 out of the 3,000. The maxims are brief, pithy, isolated, in marked contrast to the continuous teaching of the two previous sections, are more simply prudential, are characterised by the recurrence of certain striking phrases, such as the "fountain" or "well of life" (x. 11; xiii. 14; xiv. 27; xvi. 22), the "tree of life" (xi. 30; xiii. 12; xv. 4), the "snares of death" (xiii. 14; xiv. 27), "health" or "healing," in its ethical sense as contrasted with the sins which are the diseases of the soul (xii. 18; xiii. 17; xiv. 30; xv. 4; xvi. 24), and many others less conspicuous; yet more by the constant reference to Jehovah as the Judge and Ruler of mankind, and to the office of the king as his great earthly representative.

(5) xxii. 17—xxiv. 22. This section, though following in our received chapter-division as if it were continuous with the foregoing, is yet manifestly distinct. The short proverbs cease, and we again have the continuous exhortation, addressed as before by the teacher to his "son" (xxiii. 15, 19, 26), warning him against the same dangers. It would be a reasonable hypothesis to assume that it was in this form that the book first came into use, the proverbs properly so called being its substance, the homiletic exhortations serving as prologue and epilogue.

(6) xxiv. 23—34. Here, too, in the midst of apparent continuity we see the traces of a late addition. The compiler, or a later editor, came across the vivid picture

of "the field of the slothful," and in the absence of any direct evidence that they were by Solomon, attached them to the book which he had already put together, or which he found ready to his hand, under the title of "the words of the wise," to which he had already referred by anticipation in the opening promise of its title.

(7) xxv. 1—xxix. 27. Here the commencement of a new and later section is more distinctly set before us. "These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." The words are very remarkable. They show the existence of a collection of proverbs already recognised as authoritative. They point to a literary activity specially busied at that period in collecting and arranging the scattered fragments of the past, either as making further extracts from the original more bulky collection, or putting into writing what had hitherto been handed down orally. And it may be noted that the section which thus opens is all but identical in character with that from x. 1—xxii. 16, which bears the heading "The Proverbs of Solomon," and which we have seen reason to regard as the kernel of the original book. The maxims are of the same length, have the same parallelism of structure, and are more or less grouped together in the same way, according to their subjects. There is the same stress laid on the ideal majesty of the kingly office, on the typical characters of the "fool" (xxvi. 1—12), the "slothful" (xxvi. 13—16), and the "righteous" (xxix. 2, 7, 16).

(8) xxx. The sections that follow present more peculiar characteristics. Instead of the "proverbs," or simply "words of the wise," we have here and in xxxi. 1 the word "prophecy." The Hebrew word thus rendered (*massa*) is not, however, that which is commonly used to describe the prophet's work: literally it means "burden," and as such is used either literally (as in Numb. iv. 15) of the holy things which were to be borne by the sons of Korah, or figuratively (as in Numb. xi. 11) for the weight of care and responsibility. In Isa. xiii.—xxiii. and Jer. xxiii. 33—38, it appears in a sense more nearly approaching to that of "prophecy" as the title of messages which the prophets were commissioned to deliver, and probably implied that the message was in the figurative sense, a "burden" which the prophet had to bear, until he had freed himself from its weight by delivering the message. An obscure passage in 1 Chron. xv. 22, in which Chenaniah, the chief of the Levites, is said to have been for *massa*, or, as in our version, for "song," gives us probably a transition stage in the history of the word, and helps us to understand how it might come to be applied to the deeper, more enigmatic, more poetic forms of proverbial wisdom.

The authorship of this section presents a problem almost as difficult as that of the title. Who was Agur the son of Jakeh? Who were Ithiel and Ucal, to whom his counsels were addressed? Their names occur nowhere else, and there is not even the shadow of a tradition about them. The conjecture that the names are ideal, that Agur means the "collector" of wise counsels, while Ithiel (= *God is with me*) and Ucal (= *I am strong*) represent two types of character, one trusting in Divine support, the other in his own strength, though ingenious, can hardly be looked on as satisfactory. On the whole, I believe it is safest to come to the conclusion that we have here, as in the "Chalcol and Darda, sons of Mahol," of 1 Kings iv. 31, names of Eastern sages, who were famous in their day, though we know nothing but their names; and that in the final revision of the Book of Proverbs, probably under Hezekiah, the editor (if we may use that modern term) found in the teaching which the master had given to his scholars a wisdom that was worth preserving. A careful study of the chapter will show that it has in many passages a striking resemblance to the Book of Job. Here, too, the teacher has learnt his ignorance of the Infinite and Eternal God. He, the man honoured as a sage, confesses that he has not "learned wisdom," nor has he the knowledge of the Holy One (comp. Job xlii. 5). There is as in Job, especially in chaps. xxxix., xl., a deep sense of the wonders of the animal world, the mystery of their half-human skill, and foreshadowings of human characteristics of moral good and evil (Prov. xxx. 15, 19, 25—31). His thoughts on the mystery of the universe have suggested the question, identical in substance with that thought of Prov. viii. 30, whether he can in any way transfer to that Divine Being the human relations of fatherhood and sonship; and he asks, and yet is not able to make answer to himself, "What is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou canst tell it?" The facts thus noticed suggest, I think, the probability that we have here, as in the Book of Job, a wisdom, Semitic indeed, but not Israelite, the work of some proselyte to the faith of Israel, whose wisdom the "men of Hezekiah" honoured by placing its utterances in the same anthology as the proverbs of their own king. The reign of that king was, we know, conspicuous for the re-opening of intercourse with the neighbouring nations of the East (2 Chron. xxxii. 23), and, if we may assign Ps. lxxxvii. as one of the psalms of the son of Korah to that period, for the admission of proselytes from among them to the faith of Israel.

(9) xxxi. 1—9. Here, too, we must rest in the confession of our ignorance as to Lemuel and the mother who thus entreats him to resist the temptations of wine and strong drink. The Jewish tradition that the king was Solomon, and the monitress, Bathsheba; and Ewald's conjecture that Lemuel (= *he who is for God*), like Ithiel and Ucal, is a purely ideal name, are neither of them satisfying; and here, too, I incline to the view that we have an excerpt from some lost storehouse of gnomic wisdom. On the assumption of which I have before spoken, that the whole work was put together in its present shape in the days of Hezekiah, it may be an allowable conjecture that the king's purpose was to provide an educational manual for the son whom he left behind him as the fruit of his somewhat late marriage with Hephzibah.

(10) xxxi. 10—31. Here, again, we have manifestly an

independent fragment. Not only is the subject carried on through twenty-two verses in a manner entirely different from anything else in the book, but the structure of those verses, arranged as they are like the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and some few of the Psalms, in alphabetic order, shows its distinct and isolated character. The portrait of a "virtuous woman," of one whose virtue is also energy and strength, corresponds in its general features to the praise of the happiness of home in vv. 18, 19; but as a picture it is fuller, and brings before us more vividly the nobler ideal of womanhood, which was impressed on the minds of Israel, to be transmitted and transfigured afterwards in the history of Christendom, as compared with that which has prevailed in the barbarism which makes the woman do the man's work and bear the man's burdens, or in the corrupt civilisation which sees in her only the instrument of man's sensual pleasure.

I have thought it right to bring out the composite character of the book with this fulness, partly because its structure could not otherwise be understood, and partly also because it may serve as a representative instance of the kind of editorial addition and revision to which so many of the books of the Old Testament have been subjected. It will be felt, I believe, that these facts in no degree diminish our reverence for the book or affect our trust in its guidance, while they add largely to the interest with which we read it, and to the life and reality with which it comes before us as embodying the thoughts and experience of living men. One word remains to be said as to the teaching of the book. For the most part it seems to stand, like the proverbs of other nations, on the ground of a prudential, practical morality. Men are warned against sensuality, drunkenness, slander, indebtedness, on the ground that they will find themselves involved in disaster, or shame, or inconvenience. The rewards and punishments of the life to come are hardly mentioned. It was well that there should be one book in the Bible recognising the worth of those mixed motives which no ethical system can altogether dispense with, which are specially necessary for the young whose spiritual discernment has not been quickened by personal experience. But though this is the dominant character of the book, it would be wrong to take it, as men have sometimes done, as a complete account of it. The keynote struck in the opening prologue, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," is never altogether lost. The thought of the mystery and greatness of the Divine government is ever present to the minds of the writers of its several parts. It is one of the blessings promised to the "righteous," that they, and they only, have hope in their death (xiv. 32). In the noble poetry of chap. viii., in the obscure but suggestive enigmatic utterances of chap. xxx., the book passes beyond the limits of prudence and rules of life, and enters on the higher region of the Eternity and Infinity of the Divine existence. The moralist passes for a brief moment behind the veil, and speaks as a theologian.

I may be allowed, perhaps, in conclusion to refer the reader to an essay on "The Social Ethics of the Book of Proverbs" in my volume on *Biblical Studies*, and to my introduction to, and notes on, the book itself in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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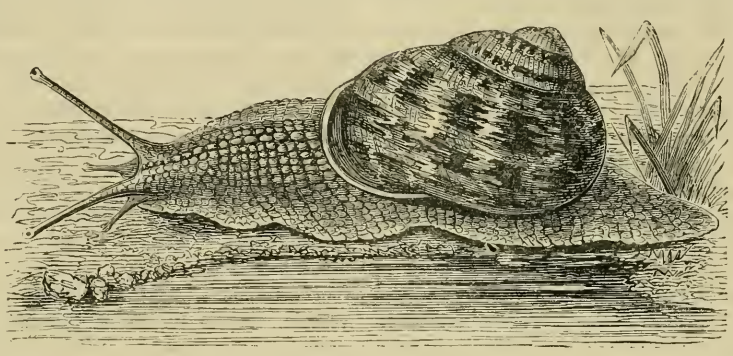
MOLLUSKS.

"THE character of the molluscan fauna of Palestine," says Tristram, "partakes, as might have been expected, of the same variety which marks the other branches of its fauna and flora. There are, however, fewer exceptions to its general character as a part of the Mediterranean basin, and fewer traces of the admixture of African and Indian forms. Northern types, especially of the genus *Clausilia*, are frequent in the Lebanon and on its southern spurs in Galilee. The molluscan fauna of the maritime plains and the coast possesses no features distinct from those of Lower Egypt and Asia Minor. The shells of the central region are scarce, and not generally interesting; while on the borders of the Jordan Valley and in the southern wilderness we meet with very distinct groups of *Helix* and of *Bulimus*, chiefly of species peculiar or common in some few cases to the Arabian desert. The fluviatile mollusca are of a type much more tropical in its character than that of the terrestrial shells. There are here but few species similar to those of the east of Europe. Most of the species are identical with or similar to those of the Nile and Euphrates, and some of the genus *Melanopsis* are peculiar to the Jordan and its feeders. It seems probable that the inhabitants of the waters were better able to sustain the cold of the glacial epoch than the mollusks of the land; and from the post-tertiary remains found by the Dead Sea, we may infer that the species now existing have been transmitted from a period antecedent to the glacial; while the more boreal forms introduced at that epoch have maintained their existence in the colder districts of Northern Palestine, to the exclusion of the southern species, which have not succeeded in re-establishing themselves. The beautiful group *Achatina* requiring a degree of moisture not generally found in Palestine, is only represented by a few insignificant and almost microscopic species." ("Report on the Terrestrial and Fluviatile Mollusks of Palestine," in *Proc. Zool. Soc.*, 1865, p. 530, &c.)

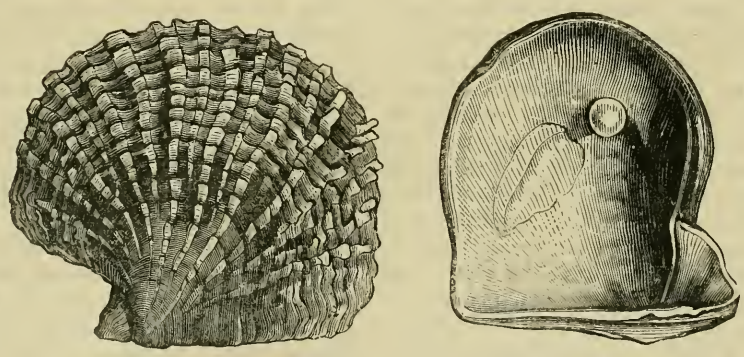
The following species have been noticed as occurring in Palestine—of the genus *Limax*, 3 species: *Testacella*

1; *Succinea*, 2; *Helix*, 49 or 50; *Bulimus*, 16; *Pupa*, 8; *Clausilia*, 8; *Tornatella*, 1; *Glandina*, 1; *Planorbis*, 2; *Limneus*, 1 or 2; *Cyclostoma*, 1; *Bithinia*, 3; *Melania*, 4; *Melanopsis*, 7; *Neritina*, 3; *Cyrena*, 2; *Unio*, 7. The Unios, or fresh-water mussels, are abundant and of large size, of species often differing from those found elsewhere; they are especially common in the Lake of Galilee, and are collected by the natives for food.

Bible references to molluscous animals are few; "the snail" is mentioned in Ps. lviii. 8: "As a snail which melteth, let every one of them pass away;" or, more literally, as in the Hebrew, "As a snail that goes along melting as it goes." The Hebrew word is *shablul*, from a root meaning "to make wet or moist," and is interpreted by the Targum to mean the naked snail or slug (*Limax*). It seems to have been an idea amongst the Orientals that the slug, by emitting its slime as it moved along, melted away. Owing to the dry climate of Palestine, slugs are few and scarce, but snails (*Helix*) are very abundant. "God has created nothing without its use," says the Talmud; "He has created the snail to heal bruises, by laying it upon them." The snail is mentioned in our English Version, in Lev. xi. 30, amongst unclean animals; but the Hebrew term *chomet* denotes some species of lizard.



HELIX ASPERSA. (MULLER.)



PEARL OYSTERS (*Avicula margaritifera*).

Onycha—that is, the horny operculum attached to the foot of some gasteropodous mollusk of the *Strombus* family—occurs in Exod. xxx. 34, as one of the ingredients of the sacred perfume. It is also mentioned in Ecclus. (xxiv. 15), where wisdom is compared to the pleasant odour yielded by "galbanum, onyx, and sweet storax." The name from the Greek, ὄνυξ, "a nail" or "claw," correctly designates the claw-shaped operculum of a *strombus*, hence the Arabs call this mollusk "Devil's claw;" compare the German *Teufelsklaw*. Onycha, under the name of *Blatta Byzantina*, was formerly used as medicine, and is often mentioned by old pharmacological writers. Some years ago Mr. Daniel Hanbury kindly supplied us with specimens of onycha which he purchased at Damascus; the claw-shaped opercula were mixed with the opercula of some species of *Fusus*; when burnt, the substance yielded a slight aromatic odour.

Pearls are mentioned in the Old Testament only in Job xxviii. 18: "No mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls; for the price of wisdom is above rubies." The Hebrew word *gâbish* occurs also with *abnê*, "stones," in Ezek. xiii. 11; xxxviii. 22, "stones of ice," *i.e.*, hailstones. We have no doubt that rock-crystal—than which nothing can be better compared with ice—and not pearls, is denoted by the Hebrew word *gâbish*. If it be objected that rock-crystal is not an article of much value amongst ourselves, there is reason to believe that it was held in very high esteem by the Orientals. In an interesting inscription in the cuneiform characters which contains the private will of Sennacherib, King of Assyria—the earliest example of a will extant—especial mention is made of crystal. Amongst other treasures, such as golden chains, crowns and heaps of ivory, which the great king, the king of multitudes, gave to Esarhaddon his son, crystal (*abne ibba*) stands prominently out. But although no definite allusion to pearls is made in the Old Testament, the New Testament contains several references to them. Pearls (μαργαρῖται) are especially mentioned by our Lord in one of His parables: "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls; who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it" (Matt. xiii. 45, 46). Pearls are mentioned amongst the jewellery worn by women (1 Tim. ii. 9; Rev. xvii. 4) "The twelve gates" of the heavenly Jerusalem "were twelve pearls" (Rev. xxi. 21), where perhaps mother-of-pearl may be more definitely intended. In the expression, "Neither cast ye your pearls before swine" (Matt. vii. 6), our Lord uses pearls metaphorically for any-

thing valuable, or more especially for wise and precious words, which in Arabic are figuratively called pearls.

Various species of mollusca yield pearls, such as the *Unio margaritiferus* of our own rivers, the *Mytilus edulis, Ostrea edulis*, of our shores and seas. We once possessed a fine pearl obtained from the first-named mollusk taken from a river in the Isle of Man; but the most valuable of pearls are afforded by the *Avicula margaritifera*, the pearl-oyster of commerce, found in the Indian Ocean, and especially in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. Pearls are formed by the deposit of the nacreous substance around some foreign body, as a grain of sand, which serves as a nucleus.

Purple.—Under this name, the representative of the Hebrew word *argâmân*, two or three species of molluscous animals of the genera *Murex* and *Purpura* are signified. The colouring matter—though it is difficult to say precisely what was the tint described under the Hebrew name—was obtained from a small organ in the animal's throat, and was extensively used as a dye. Phœnicia was celebrated for its production, Tyrian dye having had a world-wide reputation. The *Murex brandaris* and *M. trunculus* furnished most of the colouring matter, though the *Purpura hæmastoma* was also employed. These mollusks were obtained in immense numbers from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. "To the present day," writes Tristram, "thick layers of crushed shells of *Murex brandaris* may be found near Tyre, the remains of this extinct industry, and recalling the Mons Testaceus of Rome, or the kitchen-middings of Denmark." Princes and nobles were clad in robes of purple or scarlet (see Judg. viii. 26; Esth. viii. 15; Dan. v. 7, 16, 29); they were also worn by the rich and luxurious amongst the people (see Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7; Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xvii. 4, &c.). All the species of the *Muricidæ* probably yield a colouring matter; the *Murex erinaceous* (Linn.) of our own coasts gives a dye which is either violet, blue, or rosy, under apparently the same conditions. The *Purpura lapillus*, common dog-whelk of the family *Buccinidæ*, yields a dye of a creamy consistency and colour more or less yellowish at first; when exposed to the light of the sun it passes through different shades of green to violet, then to purple and crimson, as may be readily seen by crushing a specimen, and exposing the dye to the sun's light. According to Lacaze-Duthiers, the organ which secretes the colouring matter is the kidney, urea having been discovered in the liquid by chemical analysis. A good deal has been written on the purple dye yielded by our English Purpura. The Venerable Bede says of its permanency, "quo vetustior eo solet esse venustior." The derivation of the Hebrew word *argâmân* (Chaldee, *argevânâ*) is uncertain. The notion that it is to be referred to the Sanskrit *râgaman*, "having a red tinge," should be rejected, as it is exceedingly improbable that the Phœnicians should have used a loan-word to designate an animal so common on their own shores. The derivations proposed by Fürst and Gesenius seem to us also unsatisfactory.

Some species of dye-producing mollusk is intended by the Hebrew term *techêleth*, rendered "blue" in the Authorised Version (see Exod. xxvi. 4, 31; Numb. iv. 6, &c.; Ezek. xxiii. 6; xxvii. 7, 24); the Targum explains it by *chilzôn* or *chalzôn*, evidently, from the description, "a slug." It is usual to refer the *techêleth* to the *Helix ianthina* (Linn.)—the *Ianthina* of more modern zoologists—the oceanic snails whose small foot secretes a float of numerous cartilaginous air-vessels, to the under surface of which the ovarian capsules are attached. When handled these mollusks exude a copious violet fluid from beneath the margin of the mantle. But this remarkable mollusk does not appear to have been known by the ancients, whether Oriental or European; no mention of it occurs in the works of Aristotle, Pliny, or other old writers on natural history. The earliest notice of it appears in the *Opusculum de Purpura*, of Fabio Colonna, published at Rome in 1616. Forskal, in 1776, has given an account of *Ianthina communis*. We learn from Pliny that the Romans had various names for their purple dyes, expressing more or less their various tints and qualities; the principal mollusks which supplied the dye so much esteemed by the Romans were the *Murex trunculus* and *M. brandaris*, and the *Purpura lapillus*, which Pliny appears to intend by the name *Buccinum*. The *techêleth* of the Hebrew Bible, we think, denotes one or other of these dye-yielding species, and not any kind of *Ianthina*.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

PRAYER: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

BY THE REV. DR. EDERSHEIM.

"THOUGH all other gates of heaven were closed, yet are those ever open by which the sighs of the afflicted go in." This beautiful Rabbinical saying is truly descriptive of Jewish views and feelings unto this day. Even in the most degenerate period of Isaiah and Micah, the people were not remiss in "appearing" before God, "spreading forth their hands," "making many prayers," or "crying unto Jehovah" (Isa. i.; Mic. iii.). The same seeming inconsistency appears in New Testament times. Side by side with the mere outward service of the letter, with hypocrisy, self-righteousness, and vain glory—indeed, partly as their vehicle or their cover—we read of many and long prayers. Prayer formed not only part of the religion of the Pharisees and Scribes; it mingled with every relationship, and literally pervaded

the every-day life of Israel. As a man rose in the morning, or laid down at night: as he went out, or came in; as he worshipped in the Temple, or entered the synagogue; at every meal; in every domestic occurrence; in danger or deliverance, nay, almost for every act and event of life, there were prescribed formulas which the devout Jew had to repeat. Besides, since every such *berachah* (or benediction) contained praise of the Divine name, it was considered an act of piety, and therefore entailing merit, to repeat as many as possible, till it was declared an evidence of special righteousness to say a hundred such *berachoth* in the course of the day. The formalism and bondage which characterised all this were the fruits of Pharisaism. But the zeal for God which underlay it, the desire to serve Him, and even the many sublime sayings of the Rabbis in regard to prayer, were the outcome of the Old Testament dispensation, and of the many centuries of Divine teaching and training through which Israel had passed.

For the Old Testament history had been full of prayer, and all its heroes men of prayer. It was the earliest sign of distinction between the races of Seth and Cain, in the days of Enos: "Then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah" (Gen. iv. 26). Enoch "walked with God;" Noah, and after him all the Patriarchs, marked the place of their sojourn by each building an altar; Abraham pled with God; Eliezer of Damascus sought His guidance and help; Isaac "entreated for his wife;" Jacob had power with God, and prevailed; and Moses was pre-eminently a man of prayer.[1] The same characteristic appears in seasons of need or in hours of danger in the history of Joshua (chap. vii. 6—9), and of all the later judges. Hannah asks her child of the Lord; Samuel frequently prays; the Psalms of David; the recorded prayer of Solomon for himself at the beginning of his reign, and again at the dedication of the Temple; the example of the pious kings, of Daniel, and of the prophets, all taught one and the same lesson. Every glorious event in the history of Israel was connected with the personal intervention of God, with His presence and help sought and obtained; and every calamity or humiliation called for fresh acknowledgment of Jehovah, and return to Him. Great national experiences are not like isolated dogmas; they reach down to the roots of social life, and pervade it in all its branches.[2] It was not otherwise in Israel, although Pharisaism made of the living God a sort of national Deity, bound to Israel for the fathers', and for their own sake; converted prayer partly into a necessary form, and partly into necessarily a merit; and made every Jewish petitioner a claimant, more or less entitled according to his position, his learning, or his religiousness.

Yet with all these examples of prayer in the history of Israel, it is very remarkable that the original institution of public worship by Moses contains no allusion to prayer as one of its constituent elements. The nearest approach to it is found in the confession of the high priest over the so-called "scapegoat," on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 21), and in the sublime prayer with which every Israelite was to accompany the offering of the first-fruits (Deut. xxvi. 5), and the third year's, or, as it is commonly called, "the poor's tithe" (Deut. xxvi. 15). But even so, these were rather private than public services, while the high priest's confession can scarcely be ranked with the ordinary ritual. The true explanation probably lies in this, that the worship of the sanctuary was primarily *sacrificial*, and as such symbolical and typical. Sacrifices proceeded on the ground of the covenant relationship between Israel and God, and were either sacrifices for restoring that relationship when it had become interrupted or dimmed (sin and trespass offerings), or else to exhibit and enjoy it (burnt and peace offerings). Hence sacrifices were not so much "prayers without words" (to use the language of a distinguished German writer), as rather the preparation for prayer, while the symbol of prayer consisted in the burning of incense on the golden altar within the holy place (Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8).[3]

So far as appears from Scripture, the first real liturgical element was introduced by King David in his Psalms, which henceforth formed part of the Temple services. This institution was, no doubt, further developed by King Solomon, and in later times of religious revival. The Levites acted not only as choristers, but there was probably also antiphonal singing, and the worshippers took part in the service (1 Chron. xvi. 36; Ps. xxvi. 12; lxviii. 26; Jer. xxxiii. 11). But, indeed, our present arrangement of the Psalms, which must be of a very early date, already contains distinct evidence of liturgical formulas. Each of the first four books of Psalms closes with a "eulogy," or benediction (Ps. xli.; lxxii.; lxxxix.; cvi.), while Ps. cl. may be regarded as a grand closing eulogy, not only to the fifth book, but to the work as a whole. Then there are festive Psalms for the Sabbath (Ps. xcii.), and for the new moon (Ps. lxxxi.); Psalms of degrees, or rather of ascent, possibly for the festive pilgrim bands on their way to Jerusalem and arrival in the sanctuary; the "*Hallel*" (Ps. cxiii. to cxviii.); the Hallelujah Psalms, &c.

The subject is far too wide for special treatment here, but this much seemed necessary to explain the great revolution which took place in public worship during and after the period of the Babylonish captivity. Deprived of their sacrificial services, and of their common central sanctuary, the institution of synagogues became almost a necessity to the Jews. After the return from Babylon these were spread over the whole of Palestine, and, indeed, wherever Jews resided in any numbers. The avowed purpose of the synagogues was mainly twofold: that in every place Moses should be read, and to have some central spot "where prayer was wont to be made." After that the practice of public prayers soon became general. Not to speak of the services when the foun-

[1] Even according to the Talmud (*Ber.* 32 *b*), the acceptance of Moses depended not upon his works, but upon his prayers.

[2] It deserves special notice that no less than twenty-five different terms are used in the Hebrew for praying.

[3] I must here take leave to refer the reader to my work on *The Temple, its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ*, chap. viii., and other places.

dations of the second Temple were laid, and the walls of Jerusalem dedicated (Ezra iii. 10, 11; Neh. xii. 27, 40), we read in Neh. xi. 17 of a special office "to begin the thanksgiving in prayer." Henceforth the progress was rapid. The Apocrypha, while expressing many beautiful sentiments, also afford painful evidence how soon prayer degenerated into formalism, with its two-fold consequences of either work-righteousness or hypocrisy. This brings us to the period of the Pharisees and Scribes, and of the New Testament, which must chiefly engage our attention. Here it may be convenient to consider the subject under the three-fold aspect of *Temple-prayers*, *Synagogue* and other *public prayers*, and *private and family prayers*. Before briefly describing each, some general remarks, explanatory of the views prevalent at the time of Christ, may prove useful.

In general the Rabbis distinguished, on the ground of the expressions used by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 28), two elements in prayer, entreaty and thanksgiving. To these corresponded the two kinds of prayer—the *Berachah*, or benediction, and the *Tephillah*, or petition. Confession of sin was indeed, not wanting, but it seems rather national than individual, or else to stand out as quite a separate and distinct element, specially suitable for certain wants or seasons, such as at fasts, or on those occasions when it was thought that God held periodical judgment in regard to the deeds of men, decreeing the fate of each individual according to his merits. The duty of prayer itself is in the Talmud (Jerus. *Ber.* iv. 1) beautifully traced up to the command to love the Lord our God, and to serve Him with our whole heart (Deut. xi. 13), since the service of the heart could, in the nature of it, consist only in prayer, as evidenced in the case of Daniel, whose "continual service of God" (Dan. vi. 16) must refer to his habit of prayer (chap. vi. 11). The later Rabbis indeed, especially in the Babylon Talmud, whose constant aim it was to substitute prayer for the sacrifices of which they were for ever deprived, tried to put supplication even above sacrifices, as the most acceptable mode of approaching God. But sounder views also prevailed. Thus it was said, that the great point in prayer should be, in the first place, to realise before Whom we stood. When Rabbi Eliezer lay a-dying, his disciples came to ask him what they should do to inherit eternal life. "Have regard," he replied, "for the honour of your companions, turn away your children from vain thoughts, place them near sages, and when you pray, think before Whom you are standing, and so you shall obtain the life to come" (*Ber.* 28, *b*). This same Eliezer was (according to Jer. *Ber.* iv. 4) in the habit of every day saying some one new prayer for fear of falling into formalism, while other Rabbis either added a new eulogy, or some verses from Scripture, to the ordinary prescribed prayers. For as another sage, Eleazar, declared: "He that converteth prayer into a regular recurring duty, his is not devout supplication." These are the words of the *Mishna*, or of the traditional law. Would that their spirit were not contradicted by the punctilious injunctions with which they are surrounded. But the very explanations and illustrations by which the above quotation is accompanied in the *Gemara* contain puerile discussions about what a man was to do, if, while praying, he remembered that he had already said his prayers, or if he recited on the Sabbath the prayer for ordinary days, &c. But here is another beautiful Mishnic saying. In *Berachoth* v. 1, we read: "None should stand up to prayer except he have first bowed the head in private devout meditation. The pious of old were wont to wait an hour before they prayed, in order to direct their hearts to the place (of His holiness). Even were a king to greet us, we should not acknowledge it; nor should we stop even if a serpent were to wind around our heel." Unfortunately, or rather characteristically, here again the Rabbis immediately set themselves (in the *Gemara*) elaborately to discuss under what circumstances of previous pre-occupation, lightness, or weariness one may or may not pray; what subjects Elijah discussed with Elisha in their last walk; whether a man may, while praying, shake off a scorpion, though not a serpent, since the bite of the former is far more dangerous, and so on.

The subject of intercessory prayer is often alluded to by the Rabbis. Its efficacy depended, of course, on the religious merits of him who offered it. Frequent instances of its miraculous success are recorded. But as, in general, to commit a mistake in prayer was regarded as of evil omen, whether to the individual or the congregation, so it was said that you might know by the case or otherwise with which you said your prayer whether or not your intercessions for others were heard. We purposely abstain from quoting the views of the later Rabbis about the benedictions which the Divine Being Himself was supposed to say, and other kindred topics, as they touch on the blasphemous. Yet they were only the logical consequences, rigidly carried out, of their system. Rather will we close this part of our subject by quoting two beautiful principles laid down in the *Mishna*, whatever may be thought of the reasons by which they are supported. "Every one," it is said, "ought to bless God for the evil (that happens him), even as he blesses Him for the good; for it is written, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.' With all thy heart means, with both its inclinations—that towards good, and that towards evil; with all thy soul means, even if thy soul were taken from thee; with all thy strength means, with all thou possessest;" or, as explained by others, "according to every measure that God measureth out to thee, praise Him as much as possibly thou canst."[1] Again, "When giving thanks for evil, it is to be done, without regard for the good (that may flow from it); and when for the good, it is without regard to the evil (that may ultimately result in consequence);" in short, it is to be absolute and grateful acknowledgment of God as our Father under

[1] There is in the original a play of alliteration upon the words *strength, measure, praise*, and *very much* which cannot be reproduced in the translation.

all circumstances, and without selfishness, doubt, or cavil. While Rabbi Akiba was being horribly tortured to death, the hour arrived for reciting the *Shema*—of which hereafter. Straightway he commenced it, and became full of joy. His torturers charged him with being either a sorcerer, or mocking them. But the Rabbi replied, that never before had he been able to know that he loved God with all his soul, and that now he felt most joyous in that opportunity. The *Gemara* adds that thus—professing at the same time his belief and his love—he gave up the ghost. With the same words on their lips have thousands of Jewish sufferers in bygone ages died under the hands of their persecutors; for most truly could St. Paul bear Israel witness, "that they have a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge" (Rom. x. 2).

1. So far as the *Temple services* were concerned, we know that at the time of Christ prayer mingled with every one of them. When a private sacrifice was offered by any one in Israel, he led it up into the Great Court, and turned its face westwards, towards the sanctuary, so as to present it before the Lord. Then, laying his hands on the head of the sacrifice,[1] to constitute it the substitute of the offerer, he confessed over it as follows:—"I entreat, O Jehovah! I have sinned; I have done perversely; I have rebelled; I have committed (naming here his sin, or his trespass, or the breach of the command of which he had been guilty); but, behold, I return in repentance, and let this be for my atonement."[2] Again, the ordinary daily service in the Temple had its season of prayer alike for priests and worshippers. We read in Luke i. 9, 10, that while the aged Zacharias—on whom the lot for it had fallen for the first and only time in his life[3]—was burning the incense on the golden altar in the awful gloom of the holy place, only lit up by the seven-branched candlestick, "the whole multitude of the people were praying without." This was the period of great silence in the Temple, which served as a symbol to heavenly realities, in the silence of heaven, "about the space of half an hour," after the opening of the seventh Apocalyptic seal (Rev. viii. 1—4). We know exactly what the prayers then offered[4] were. Even before that service, and when the priests were gathered in "the hall of polished stones," to cast lots who should burn the incense, and who lay upon the altar the pieces of the sacrifice, or pour out the drink-offering, prayer was made by them, the people probably also at the same time engaging in devotions. Again, as at the close of each day's service, the drink-offering was poured out, the Temple music began, and to its accompaniment the Levites chanted the Psalm appointed for the day. Each Psalm was sung, not continuously, but in three sections. At each interval the priests drew a threefold blast on their silver trumpets, and the people worshipped. In the Temple it was customary not to respond by an *Amen*, but with this: "Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever" (Jer. *Ber.* ix. 9). Hence the concluding addition to the Lord's Prayer in Matt. vi. 13, which is wanting in most ancient MSS., is really only the Temple formula.

We have given but an outline of the prayers in the ordinary daily Temple services. There were also special benedictions for the particular services of the various feast days, in the presentation of firstlings, the first-fruits, and the firstborn, and in the different purifications. Probably the most elaborate ritual was that on the Day of Atonement, and during the Feast of Tabernacles. Into this we cannot here enter. But sufficient has been said to show that at the time of our Lord prayer formed one of the great elements in the worship of the Temple. In connection with this matter, the Rabbis were very particular in enjoining due reverence in every approach to the sanctuary. The worshippers were to come up solemnly and quietly, carrying neither staff in their hand, nor having shoes on their feet, nor yet bearing purse or scrip, nor with dust on their feet (*Ber.* ix. 8). The application of this command to His disciples by the Saviour (Matt. x. 9, 10) must mean, that in the service of the true Temple they were to be influenced by the same spirit of reverence. In reference to the attitude in prayer, a distinction was made between bending the knees, bowing the head, and falling prostrate on the ground, the latter being reserved only for those in closest fellowship with God. Thus we read, that in the night of His agony in the garden, the blessed Saviour "fell on his face, praying" (Matt. xxvi. 39). In general, the worshippers were to turn towards the Holy Place, and on leaving, to retire at first backwards, properly to compose their body and dress, to draw the feet together, to cast down their eyes, to fold the hands over their breast, and to "stand as a servant before his master, with all reverence and fear."

2. So much has already been said in previous articles on the *synagogue*, and the manner in which prayers were there offered—on the phylacteries and the *tallith*, that we need not enter into many details. The duty of attending the synagogue is put so strongly, that it is said he who does not pray in a synagogue deserves the name of impious (Jer. *Ber.* v. 1), the Scriptural reference here being somewhat curiously to Ps. xii. 8, while the Babylon Talmud maintains (*Ber.* 6, *a*) that prayer best secures its answer when offered in a synagogue (Ps. lxxxii. 1). Similarly it is maintained that if a man, who is wont to attend the synagogue, misses it one day, God would demand an account of the neglect, according to Isa. l. 10; and that if the Eternal, on entering a synagogue, found fewer than ten present, He was angry at this remissness. Further it is declared, that if there was a synagogue in a place, and a man entered it not, he was an evil neighbour, according to Jer. xii. 14. Rabbi Jochanan accounted for the longevity of people

[1] The only exceptions to this rule were firstlings, tithes, and the Paschal lamb, in which cases there was no imposition of hands.

[2] We must here refer to our volume on the *Temple Services* (chapter on Sacrifices), which gives full details on all Temple rites and ordinances at the time of Christ.

[3] No one was admitted to this service if he had already once before officiated in it.

[4] They form part of the ordinary daily prayers. We must again refer to our volume on *The Temple and its Services*.

in Babylon, by their going early to the synagogue, and remaining long there; and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi recommended this to his sons as a means of prolonging life (Deut. xi. 21; Prov. viii. 34). It was even deemed a duty to have a fixed place in the synagogue (Jer. *Ber.* iv. 5), for which, as we know, the Pharisees chose the chief seats. Besides prayer in the synagogue, and private prayer in the Temple, the Rabbis were wont to offer their devotions in the Academies, and to commence and close their studies with supplication, of which frequent examples are given in the Talmud. On occasion of public fasts it was the custom to bring the ark, which contained the rolls of the Law, into a public place. The people appeared in sackcloth and ashes. Some venerable man, whose home had been desolated by sorrow, was chosen in preference to lead the devotions of the people, and penitential Psalms mingled with confession of sin and entreaty.

Few questions require more careful answering than those of the proportion of fixed and free prayer in the synagogue, and what parts of the present Jewish prayer-book date from Temple times, or, at least, from the first century of our era. About fifty fragments of the ritual still in use in the synagogue on ordinary days, on Sabbaths, fast-days, the New Year's, and the Day of Atonement, undoubtedly belong to that period. Certain portions being early fixed, considerable latitude was allowed to the leader to insert between them longer or shorter prayers, which in course of time became traditional, and finally a fixed part of the liturgy. Among the early Rabbis great difference of opinion prevailed on this subject. Rabbi Gamaliel insisted on strict adherence to the fixed forms; Rabbi Joshua thought that an abstract of the prescribed daily benedictions was sufficient; while Akiba only allowed it to those who could not remember the eulogies. On the other hand, Rabbi Eliezer strongly insisted on free prayer.

The oldest portions of the liturgy extant, and which were undoubtedly in use at the time of our Lord, claim our special attention. These never varied. Any one who attempted any alteration; pronounced certain words (in reference to God) more than once, which might seem by implication to contravene the Divine Unity; or made use of what were deemed heretical expressions; or, indeed, did anything at all singular, was at once stopped, when leading the devotions. In fact, the very manner in which the honour of leading prayers was to be accepted was accurately defined (*Ber.* 34 *a*). It seems that at first you must decline, without which officiating would be like meat without salt; but if you resisted too long, it would be like a dish that was oversalted. At the first invitation you are to refuse, at the second to hesitate, and at the third to rise and go.[1] What an illustration does all this afford of the hypocrisy and vain glory with which the Master charges the Pharisees! In the minuteness of their injunctions, in the punctiliousness of their observances, and in the self-righteous confidence of their pretensions, no better illustration nor sadder confirmation of the words of our Lord could be imagined, than that all unconsciously offered in these Rabbinical disquisitions.

3. The Rabbis fixed *three* times a day as seasons for *private prayer*, quoting for this the example of the Psalmist (Ps. lv. 17), and of Daniel (vi. 10). They further vindicated the practice, because there were three changes in the course of every day. The origin of morning prayer they traced to Abraham, on the ground of Gen. xix. 27; that of afternoon prayer to Isaac, appealing to Gen. xxiv. 63; and that of evening prayer to Jacob, basing their inference on Gen. xxviii. 11. They also placed the morning and afternoon prayers in correspondence with the morning and evening sacrifice in the Temple, frankly confessing that from that point of view they had no warrant for evening prayer, upon which one of their number suggested that it might stand in remembrance of the half-burnt pieces of the sacrifice, which were allowed to smoulder all night on the altar. We know, as a matter of fact, that the hour for the morning sacrifice was the *third* (corresponding to our 9 A.M.), though the preparations for it commenced with the break of day. The evening sacrifice was slain at the eighth hour and a-half (about 2.30 P.M.), and the pieces laid on the altar about an hour later. On the eve of the Passover, the evening sacrifice was offered one hour, and if it fell on the Sabbath two hours earlier, on account of the Paschal lambs that had to be slain afterwards. Hence the earliest hour at which evening prayers might be said was 12.30 P.M., and this was probably the prayer which Peter offered when he had the vision which showed him that nothing might be called common or unclean (Acts x. 14). In course of time, the afternoon prayer dropped out of practice, leaving only morning and evening prayers. The limit for morning prayer was variously fixed at from when you can distinguish between pale-blue and white or else light green, till nine o'clock (when the children of kings rise), or even mid-day; that of the afternoon either till the evening, or to a quarter before four o'clock; while evening prayer might be said any time of the evening or night. The prayers for the Sabbath and feast-days were not bound to any special hour.

In prayer the voice was neither to be too much elevated, nor were they to be said silently. In bowing down, the back must be bent so low that every vertebra becomes conspicuous. Here again arise endless discussions, as to how loud one must say prayers, and whether or not it is sufficient, if one cannot hear one's own voice; what is to be done in case of misplacement of words or sentences, of insufficient pronunciation, of errors, &c.; in what posture workmen on walls or trees, or persons carrying burdens, may say their prayers, &c.; till one feels involved in endless wretched casuistry, that stifles all spirit of devotion. Thus the question whether a man may at all salute or return a salutation in the middle of his prayer, or only at the close of a section, is a very knotty point, the solution of which partly depends on whether you salute from reverence, from

[1] In three things, the Rabbis say on this occasion, may there be a too much or a too little: in rising, in salt, and in the refusal (to lead prayer).

fear, or merely in common politeness. The school of Shammai was wont to say evening prayers lying, and morning prayers standing, but the practice was declared dangerous. Commonly, devotions were performed in an upper room on the roof, or in the open air, in streets and market-places, which, as we know, the Pharisees chose in preference, for the purpose of ostentation (Matt. vi. 5).

The fixed prayers for the morning, which were in use at the time of Christ, in the form we are about to reproduce, consisted (1) of two benedictions, after which it had been common to read the Ten Commandments, a practice abolished lest the Sadducees should pretend that this was the only important point in the Law; (2) of the repetition of the *Shema* (so called from the first word in it, *Shema*—"*Hear*, O Israel," &c.), which was really a sort of "belief," and consisted of the recital of Deut. vi. 4—9; xi. 13—21; Numb. xv. 37—41; (3) of another benediction; and (4) of the *Shemoneh-Esreh*, or eighteen benedictions. In reality, however, they were nineteen, a special prayer having afterwards been added against the "heretics"—most probably the early Christians. Of these Eulogies, the three first and the three last are the oldest in date; while those numbered xiii., xiv., xv., date from the final dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth.

The afternoon prayers consisted of the eighteen Eulogies, and the evening prayer of the *Shema*, with two benedictions before and two after it, followed by the eighteen Eulogies.

Morning and Evening Prayer.[1]

(3) "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, King of the world, who formest the light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createst everything; who in mercy givest light to the earth and to those who dwell upon it, and in Thy goodness renewest day by day, and continually, the works of creation. Blessed be the Lord our God for the glory of His handiworks, and for the light-giving lights which He has made for His praise. Selah! Blessed be the Lord God, who hath formed the lights!"

(2) "With great love hast Thou loved us, O Lord our God, and with much overflowing pity hast Thou pitied us. Our Father and our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in Thee, and Thou taughtest them the statutes of life, have mercy upon us and enlighten our eyes,[2] that we in love may praise Thee and Thy unity. Blessed be the Lord, who in love chose His people Israel."

[1] We give it not in its present form in the Jewish Prayer Book, but as criticism suggests it had originally stood.

[2] We have here left out a beautiful portion, because the most recent authorities consider it of later date than the original prayer, and we also wish to study brevity.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

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DAVID.

THE biography of the man who was the virtual founder of the Hebrew monarchy, and by the admission, even of his detractors (see Bayle, *Dict.* s. v.), one of the greatest men that ever lived, is set before us in Holy Scripture with a fulness and detail not unworthy of its great interest and importance. It cannot, of course, be told at length within the narrow limits at our disposal in these pages. Nor will any attempt be made to do more than to refer very briefly to the leading facts, and especially to those facts which relate rather to his personal history, than to the history of the times of which he formed so great a part.

Let it be admitted, at the outset, that while it is hardly possible to exaggerate the greatness of the qualities by which David was distinguished, his character was not only not without defects and failings, but was stained by the perpetration of crimes for which no palliation can be found that absolves him from fearful guilt, any more than it saved him from a terrible retribution; and which, especially when regarded in relation to his high religious professions and advantages, must, but for the deep remorse, and life-long repentance by which they were followed, have more than neutralised all the claims which he otherwise possesses to the lofty position which he occupies—and, all things considered, worthily occupies—among the most illustrious of mankind.

I. The true character of David began to reveal itself even in his earliest years. We are apt to be struck less with the essential unity, than with the formal contrast between the youth and manhood of the son of Jesse. The distinction in his fortunes at the two periods is indeed very remarkable, and as such is oftener than once expressly referred to in the Bible: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, from following the sheep, to be ruler over my people, over Israel" (2 Sam. vii. 8); "The Lord chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds: from following the ewes great with young he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance" (Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71). But the ruddy boy, in his shepherd's coat, tending the sheep of his father on the hill-sides in the wilderness of Judah, was already, if not a king, endowed with the kingly gifts, and with those gifts more than kingly, which gave to his royal state in after years its truest splendour and glory. Thus, before he left the sheepfolds he was already known for his skill in minstrelsy; for remarkable courage, and aptitude for military enterprises; for his sagacity, or

"prudence," in any business entrusted to him; for a noble presence; and for the spiritual graces which always continued to be the brightest jewels in his diadem (1 Sam. xvi. 18).

Nor can we wonder that so it should have been. It might perhaps at first sight appear that the circumstances of David's youth were very unfavourable to the development of such qualities as those which afterwards distinguished him so eminently. But, in the first place, those qualities were in a great measure independent of the outward conditions under which the son of Jesse grew up from infancy to manhood. A man of his extraordinary native genius, and force of character—to say nothing of the spiritual graces with which he had from boyhood been endowed in a measure not less remarkable—must have forced his way to high distinction, under any circumstances, however discouraging and unfavourable. It is the common lot of men such as he was, to rise superior to the hindrances and difficulties with which they have often to contend, and which, while sufficient to repress the ambitious aspirations of feebler natures, tend, in their cases, to further rather than to hinder the ultimate triumph. Then, in the second place, it may be doubted whether for such a career as lay before him, the circumstances of David's youth were otherwise than favourable in a very high degree.

Even for the rougher aspects of that career his life in those early years afforded no unsuitable preparation. Bethlehem was a remote, and, if we are to judge of the condition of the inhabitants from the description of them in the Book of Ruth, as a rule, a quiet and peaceful village. But it was exposed, like other parts of the country, to occasional incursions from hostile tribes, with one of whose strongholds, Jebus, it was in dangerously close proximity. In the time of Elkanah it appears to have been ravaged by the Midianites (Ruth i. 1, 6). And when David was in hiding in the cave of Adullam, it is mentioned incidentally that there was a garrison of the Philistines close to the gate of Bethlehem (2 Sam. xxiii. 14). In these circumstances even those of the young men of the town whose youth, or employment, kept them at home, could not fail to have opportunities of acquiring some experience in arms. But David's shepherd life gave him special facilities for such experience. The wild and thinly-peopled wilderness-ground, stretching towards the east to the borders of the Dead Sea, and in a southerly direction to the confines of Mount Seir, where the shepherds of Bethlehem had often to follow their flocks in search of pasture, were the haunts not only of wild beasts, but of more formidable enemies, in the shape of robber-hordes from beyond the frontiers. And we know that in defence of their charge the men who followed this employment not unfrequently found it necessary to engage in bloody conflicts with aggressors who carried out their depredations not by stealth, but by force of arms (1 Chron. vii. 21; cf. Kitto, *Pict. Bible*, in loc.). The reputation which we have found David had already gained as "a mighty valiant man, and a man of war" (1 Sam. xvi. 18), was doubtless earned in contests arising from one or other of the causes here referred to.

It must be remembered, however, that the place for which the future king was destined, was not solely, or even chiefly, that of a soldier; and for the development of some, at least, of those qualities by which he was in the future to be more eminently distinguished, but especially for the early growth of that simple piety towards God, which from first to last formed the crowning distinction of "the man after God's own heart," the very quietness and seclusion of his shepherd life—and whether under his father's roof in Bethlehem, or on the wild uplands, where by day and night he watched his flocks, that life must have been for the most part quiet and secluded—afforded some of the most favourable conditions which he could have enjoyed.

Nor was the even tenor of the quiet Bethlehem life altogether unbroken. One incident of this period demands notice, in consequence of the difficulty of reconciling the account of it with another portion of the history of David's early years;[1] but perhaps it may deserve our attention also, in connection with the discipline by which the young shepherd was prepared for the approaching change in his fortunes. Saul had now become subject to paroxysms of a mental disease, for which, in accordance with the practice of early times, it was determined to employ the supposed remedy of music. And already, as we have seen, enjoying at least a local reputation for skill in minstrelsy, the youngest son of Jesse, the Bethlehemite, was recommended by one of the courtiers, and sent for by the king, to "play with his hand" before Saul. It appears that there was as yet no continuous residence on his part at the palace. David did not wholly abandon the pastoral life, and assume, as for a time he appears to have done afterwards (1 Sam. xvi. 21), the position of a minstrel permanently attached to the court. He "went and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep" (xvii. 15); *i. e.*, he came and went between Gibeah and Bethlehem, as the state of the king's mind was such as to require or dispense with his services. Even, however, the occasional visits which he paid, while yet a boy, to a court in which, if he did not then himself attract the attention of Saul (xvii. 55), or possibly of any of the great men Saul had gathered around him (xiv. 52; xvii. 55), he had an opportunity of seeing something of a world very different from that with which he was familiar in his own obscure village, could not fail to have some influence on the secret training which he was undergoing for the great part he was, ere long, himself to play on the stage of public life.

It is in relation to its influence in the same direction

[1] Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 19—23 with 1 Sam. xvii. 55, 58. Many suggestions have been offered for the removal of an apparent discrepancy, the importance of which has surely been greatly exaggerated. The first passage appears to imply an earlier familiarity on the part of Saul with David's person than probably existed, simply because some portions of it—*e.g.*, verse 21—refer, by anticipation, to circumstances which did not take place till after the victory over Goliath.

that a previous event in the simple annals of these, upon the whole, uneventful years, finds its explanation. While the young shepherd of Bethlehem was passing his days and nights in tending his father's "few sheep in the wilderness," with no cares beyond those arising from his humble charge, a great, though, as far as the country generally was concerned, little suspected revolution had taken place in Israel. Saul had forfeited the favour of God, and been formally, if secretly, rejected by Jehovah as king. He was now king only by sufferance. But not only had Saul been virtually deposed; Samuel had received the command to anoint the man whom Jehovah had selected to be the future occupant of the throne. It was to the town of Bethlehem that the aged prophet was commanded, with this view, to direct his steps. It was among the sons of Jesse, the Bethlehemite, that he was told he should find the predestined captain of the Lord's inheritance. And it was, in fine, on the head of Jesse's youngest son, David, that, when the moment for the completion of the transaction arrived, he was divinely directed to pour the consecrating oil. The graphic details of this, the most striking event in the history of David's youth, are familiar to every reader. That its influence on the formation of David's character was mainly contemplated in the seemingly premature ceremony which brought Samuel to Bethlehem, on the occasion in question, cannot be doubted. It made no immediate change in his fortunes. From the sacrificial feast, at which he received the holy unction, he returned to the sheepfolds, whence he had been hurriedly brought, at the last moment, at the bidding of the prophet; and many years were to elapse before he should ascend the throne of Israel. It could not even have any effect in preparing the way for his eventual succession to the monarchy. Such a purpose, indeed, the care taken to avoid public notoriety must alone have sufficed to defeat. Its aim must be mainly, at least, sought in the direction already indicated. Thus understood, the anointing was an event of the utmost importance in the early history of David. One result was found in the special grace which was communicated to the "chosen of the Lord," by means of the sacrament. "The Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward." But how great must also have been the moral influence in the formation of his own character, of the mere knowledge which was now for the first time conveyed to him —the knowledge, if not of the precise nature of the destiny awaiting him (for this was probably withheld), at least of the fact that he was the object of the peculiar favour of Jehovah!

An invasion of the Philistines, which seems to have taken place when he was about twenty years of age (Ussher, *Ann.* i. 49), at length gave David an opportunity of manifesting to the nation how great a man had been growing up in comparative obscurity in their midst, and was the occasion of raising him, in a single day, from his humble duties at the sheepfolds, if not to the throne, to a position which was hardly second to that of the king who still reigned over Israel.

The inveterate and powerful enemies of the chosen people, just mentioned, probably encouraged by the growing weakness of Saul's government, had on this occasion penetrated as far south as to the mountain Ephes-dammim, near Shochoh, in Western Judah, and had there entrenched themselves. Saul, who seems at once to have raised an army to oppose the invaders, took up his position in the Valley of Elah, or of "the Terebinth," a narrow "ravine" alone separating the two hosts. It was this "ravine" which became the scene of the combat between David and Goliath. The details of the remarkable episode in the life of the Psalmist, to which reference is now made, need not be gone into at length. Whether the proposal of the Philistines to submit the old question of Israel's independence to the arbitrement of single combat, had been contemplated by them from the first, or was an after-thought, suggested by some such circumstance as their finding the Israelites better prepared for resistance than they expected, is not stated. There seems, at all events, to have been a reluctance on their part, not only to force on a general engagement, but even to give battle when themselves threatened by the attacks of the army of Saul. In ancient warfare, the mode of determining the fortune of war between contending forces by duel was not unusual (see examples in Chandler's *Life of David*, i. 70); and there was an obvious motive for its proposal on the part of the Philistines on the present occasion. They had in their camp a man of gigantic stature (six cubits and a span, or upwards of nine feet—a stature, however unusual, not unprecedented: see Keil *in loc.*). Goliath of Gath was probably a descendant of the Rephaim or "Giants," whom the spies of Moses, and afterwards Joshua, found in Canaan among the aborigines of that country, and a few remnants of whom are said to have taken refuge, after the conquest, "in Gaza, *in Gath*, and in Ashdod," cities of the Philistines (Numb. xiii. 32; Josh. xi. 22; cf. Blunt, *Coincidences*, 119). It was reasonable to suppose that the Israelites could have no warrior willing and able to encounter single-handed such an opponent, especially with the great additional advantage he possessed from the strength of his armour, and the weight and size of his weapons. Nor need we be surprised that the hope which may have been indulged to this effect by the Philistines was not disappointed. For forty days, morning and evening, the Philistine champion had come forth into the open valley to repeat his defiance with no other result, except that "all the men of Israel . . . . fled from him, and were sore afraid" (1 Sam. xvii. 24); when David, in his shepherd's coat, and with his shepherd's wallet and sling, and also with the simple faith in God, and in God's cause, which he had in like manner brought with him from the sheepfolds, appeared on the scene. The Israelite camp could not be more than two or three hours' journey from Bethlehem. David was at this time still engaged in attendance on Jesse's sheep; but his three eldest brothers were in the ranks of the army of Saul. Sent one day, by his father, with some simple gifts, to inquire after the

welfare of those brothers, he arrived at the camp at the very moment when the Philistine champion came forth as usual to defy Israel. It may perhaps appear marvellous, even incredible, that a task which had been declined by Saul and all his mighty warriors, should have been accomplished by a shepherd-boy with a sling and a stone. That a stone hurled by the strong and practised arm of a youth should have chanced to kill Goliath, is however, neither incredible nor marvellous. Nor are the youth and inexperience of David reasons why we should be surprised that he made the attempt. The venture was one perhaps rather to be expected from a youth than from a man, who with more years might have been expected to have less hardihood and self-confidence. But it must be remembered that the victory of David over Goliath was a victory accomplished rather by religious faith than by warlike qualities. There is no pretence of the exhibition on his part of greater military skill, or force of arm, or even physical courage, than was possessed by those great captains in Saul's army who declined the encounter. His trust was only in God. "Thou comest to me," he said to Goliath, "with a sword and with a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, whom thou hast defied" (1 Sam. xvii. 45). Whatever the cause, the result of the apparently so unequal combat was not only the death of Goliath, but the utter rout of the Philistines, and a revolution in the fortunes of David himself, which gave a new colour to his whole life.

II. The phase of David's history on which we now enter embraces the period from his introduction to the court of Saul—the immediate result of his victory over the Philistine champion—to the death of that monarch: the period of what may be called his hero life, in contrast at once with his shepherd life, by which it was preceded, and his life as king, first over Judah, and latterly over all Israel, which followed it. Its whole duration was probably about ten years. It was for David a time of very various fortune. For the first few years he might have appeared to have reached an elevation of rank and prosperity sufficient to satisfy his utmost ambition, or at least to render him an object of envy to all the nation. He was admitted into the number of the king's most favoured servants. The honourable position of Saul's armour-bearer, to which he was immediately raised, was ere long exchanged for that of commander of the king's body-guard (Ewald, *Hist.*, iii. 75), an officer only second to the commander-in-chief of his forces, and, like the latter, having the distinction, shared only with the presumptive heir to the throne, of a seat at the royal table. He became, at the same time, the chosen associate and bosom friend of Jonathan, the son of Saul: he was married to one of Saul's daughters. Nor did he enjoy only the honours and distinctions which can be conferred by the favour of the monarch: he was the idol of the nation. "All Israel and Judah loved David, because he went out and came in before them" (1 Sam. xviii. 16.) A great and terrible reverse of fortune followed. The seeds of that implacable hatred of the youth whom he had raised to so high a pinnacle of greatness, which at last took possession of Saul, and led to all the persecutions from which David suffered, in the later years of Saul's life, were indeed sown at a very early period, and began to bear fruit long before the final rupture between these two remarkable men. At the close of the campaign against the Philistines, in which David had played so distinguished a part, even if he did no more than kill Goliath—but the presumption is that he had earned further honours in the pursuit of the enemy—Saul returned in triumph to Gibeah; and as the victorious army passed across the country from the borders of Philistia, whither it had chased the routed foe towards the capital, "the women," we are told, "came out of all [the] cities of Israel [which lay on the route], singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women answered one another, as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (xviii. 6). The preference implied in such words rankled in a nature probably always prone to jealousy, and all whose worst passions had been exasperated by insanity and a consciousness of the loss of the Divine favour. "From that day forward" Saul had looked upon David with an evil eye; and the very honours he heaped upon him were bestowed in, apparently, every case with some latent evil design. At last—after escaping repeated attempts at assassination, even in the palace of the sovereign—David was driven forth from house and home; deprived of all his honours; divorced from a wife whom he loved; and, hunted as a felon and outlaw from one refuge to another, at the continual hazard of his life, could only find in the end security in voluntary banishment.

That which mainly characterises this period of the life of the Psalmist is, as already suggested, the heroic aspect in which it presents him throughout. Whether in Saul's service—first as captain over a thousand of the ordinary tribal conscripts, and, latterly, as commander of the king's body-guard; or, again, as the chief of a band of freebooters, who gathered around him after his outlawry, in the wilderness of Judah, and in the land of the Philistines at Ziklag, a common character belonged to the life of David all through these years. Wild feats of arms, often against overwhelming odds, in which, by his great military genius, his personal daring, and the command he exercised over his comrades in arms (whom he had the art of inspiring with his own martial spirit, and with the most unreserved confidence and attachment to his person), he met with almost unvarying success—such were the every-day incidents of his life at a period in which he appears to have been undergoing the special discipline, previously denied him, for an important part of the work which awaited him after his accession to the throne.

It was, in some respects, a very different life from that which was ever passed by him either before or

afterwards: a rough life, toc, and part of it, at least, spent among rough companions, few if any of whom had any sympathy with his better nature. Nor was his own conduct, at this period, always without traces of the inevitable results of the deteriorating influences to which he was exposed. The duplicity, for instance, to which he stooped in his relations to Achish, king of Gath, at Ziklag (1 Sam. xxviii. 1 seq.), was wholly unworthy of him, and nearly led him into what might have proved a fatal blunder. The question, too, how far his position, especially at Ziklag, was consistent with his own professions (1 Sam. xxiv. 10) of loyalty to the existing government, is a very difficult one. David, however, as might indeed have been expected from the force and strong individuality of his character by nature, preserved even at this time, under the rough manners of a soldier of fortune, the high religious principle, the warm feelings, and elevated tastes, which he had shown in earlier and happier days. It is not without interest that we find him, after the final rupture with Saul took place, making it his first care to provide for the security of his aged parents (1 Sam. xxii. 3). A striking fact of the same kind has been noticed by all his biographers. One day, when in hiding in a fastness above the cave of Adullam, and within view of the home of his youth, he was seized with an irrepressible longing for a draught of water from the well from which he had drunk in his boyhood. "David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate!" The sequel of the story must be added. When, at the hazard of their lives—for to reach the well they had to break through the ranks of a "garrison" of the Philistines, then at Bethlehem—three of his companions proceeded to the place, drew water, and brought it back to him, "he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the Lord;" he saw in it but the blood of these brave men (2 Sam. xxiii. 15). It is needless to say how in this incident at once the strong home affections which prompted the wish, and the womanly tenderness which shrunk from its gratification at so great a risk, are full of significance in relation to the degree in which the finer instincts of David's nature remained unaffected by the circumstances of his life at this time. Then, not only was his harp still his constant companion and solace in those days, and was as often heard in his camp in the wilds of En-gedi, as it had been on the neighbouring pasture-grounds in the days of his youth, or afterwards in the palace at Jerusalem, and employed at every period in the praise of God; but perhaps there are none of the Davidic Psalms more remarkable for the depth of the spiritual experience which they embody, or for the evidence they afford of the devoutness, the strength of faith, the aspiration after good of their author, than those many Psalms (*e.g.*, Ps. vi., vii., xviii., xxxiv., xl., lii., liv., lvi., lvii., lix., lxiii., cxlii.) which are, either by tradition or on internal evidence, attributed to this period.

It must never be forgotten by any one who wishes to estimate aright the character of David that, if not the soldier-life, the life of the freebooter, at least, was adopted by him not by choice, but by compulsion. To escape the persecutions of Saul he had in vain attempted to find refuge in a voluntary exile from Israel (1 Sam. xxi. 10). He had previously thought, it would seem, of even abandoning all ambitious hopes in connection with public affairs, and devoting himself to a purely religious life. Such at least appears to be the most obvious explanation of a remarkable incident in his history, which finds its place between the flight from his house at Gibeah and the failure of Jonathan's last efforts to bring about a reconciliation with Saul. At this period, we are told, he fled first to Ramah, to the house of Samuel, who still survived; and from thence removed with the aged prophet to the neighbouring school of the prophets (Naioth, "school," or "studium;" Ewald, *Hist.*, iii. 50, note), where for some time—indeed, until driven forth, whether he would or not, by his powerful and implacable enemy—we find him living among the ordinary members of the sacred college, and taking his part in the devotional exercises and other religious employments to which these holy men were exclusively dedicated (1 Sam. xix. 18, seq.; cf. Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 59).

III. The last great division of the history of David embraces a period of no less than forty years—the forty years during which he filled the throne.

It was at Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, that he heard of the issue of the battle on Mount Gilboa. He received the tidings of a disaster which involved the ruin of his enemy, if it also inflicted a terrible blow on his country, in no unworthy spirit. The wretched Amalekite who brought him the first intelligence, and, doubtless in the hope of a rich reward, claimed to have himself administered the death-blow to Saul, found, to his cost, that he had fatally miscalculated the feelings with which a generous nature, like that of David, would regard the fall of one whom, whatever the wrongs he had suffered from him, he never ceased to respect, both on account of his position and for the sake of his personal qualities. That David's mourning for Saul, no less than for Jonathan, was heartfelt, cannot be doubted. He had no purpose to serve in paying insincere honours to the memory of a king who had already lost his hold on the affections of his former subjects. And every word of the magnificent elegy which he composed on the occasion bears testimony to the depth of the emotions by which it was inspired.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ECCLESIASTES; OR, THE PREACHER.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE title of this book in the original, *Koheleth*, is fairly rendered by the Greek, *Ecclesiastes*, and by the English equivalent, *Preacher*. It is connected with the verb which signifies "to call together," with the noun which denotes an "assembly" so called. The Hebrew form of the word is that which belongs properly to abstract feminine nouns, and hence there seems reason to believe that, as with such English words as "majesty," "lordship," "royalty," the abstract word has been transferred to the concrete, personal representative of the thought implied, or else that, as in Prov. i. 8, Wisdom is introduced as a person, speaking as a woman, uttering her voice in the streets, so here the primary thought is that the writer is identified with the wisdom with which he was so largely gifted, and assumes that as a kind of allegorical designation, as if to imply that it is Wisdom who speaks through him.

The contents of the book would seem, at first, to leave no room for doubt as to its authorship, and therefore as to its date. The Preacher describes himself as "the son of David, king over Israel in Jerusalem" (i. 1, 12). The autobiography with which the book opens corresponds in its broad outlines and in many of its details with the life of the historical Solomon. Jewish and Christian writers till the sixteenth century accepted it as the work of Solomon, with hardly an exception. The criticism of the last three centuries, beginning with the great name of Grotius, has, however, raised serious doubts on this point. The style of the book is unlike that of the Proverbs which we ascribe to Solomon. Its language is fuller of Aramaic or Chaldee words and forms than the Proverbs, or than any Psalm or other writing belonging to the period of the monarchy of Judah. The word "angel," or "messenger," as applied to the priest of God (chap. v. 6), is not found elsewhere in that sense till we meet with it in Mal. ii. 7. The Divine name throughout the book is *Elohim*, and not Jehovah; and though this has little bearing on the question of date, and might, from one point of view, be said to point to an early rather than a late period in the history of Israel, it is urged that this betrays a different hand from that of the author of the Proverbs, in which both names are used with nearly equal frequency. The social and political state described in the book belongs, it is said, to a time of decay, and anarchy, and oppression, rather than to the highly-organised and prosperous reign of Solomon. The tone of scepticism and despondency which pervades the book throughout, finding the thought that strengthens it only at the very last, is said to be foreign to the earnestness and devotion of the tone of David and of Solomon. And so the ingenuity of critics has assigned for its composition the time of Zerubbabel, or Nehemiah, or Alexander the Great, or the Maccabees. One able writer, dwelling on what he considers the parallelism of parts of its teaching with that of the Stoics and Epicureans, has argued that it must have been after those two sects had divided the philosophy of the world of Greek thought—that is, in the third, or even as late as the second, century before Christ.[1]

These arguments are met by the assertion that Aramaic forms and words might have belonged to Hebrew in its early stages of growth, or might have come in through Solomon's intercourse with other Semitic races; that the history of the Judges, or of Saul, or David, presented types of social disorder that correspond with the descriptions given by the Preacher; that diversity of style is adequately accounted for by difference of age, or subject, or mood, even in the same writer. The mental struggles which it portrays are not greater than those which meet us in the Book of Job or the complaints of Ps. lxxiii. It is not necessary, even assuming a very close resemblance, to infer that the writer of the book must therefore have derived his thoughts from the disciples of Epicurus or of Zeno. The tendencies of thought and feeling which we connect with those two names are essentially human tendencies, and have appeared in different countries and different periods quite unconnected with each other. To make the best of life, by hardening ourselves against its troubles, or making the most of its enjoyments; to believe that we are in a fixed order which we cannot alter, or in a whirl of chance which we cannot control; these rough and ready solutions of the problems of the universe present themselves naturally enough at all times, and we need not look for traces of derivation, or urge a charge of plagiarism, wherever we may find them.

On the whole, then, while it must be admitted that the verdict of nearly all recent criticism is against the Solomonic authorship of the book, it must be said that no satisfactory theory has as yet been substituted in its place, and that, after all, we must say of it, as of the Book of Job—in some respects at once the most like it, and the most unlike, among the books of the Old Testament—as Origen said of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Who wrote it, God only knows." It will not do to say, as some have said, that the book itself settles the question, that it is either an impudent forgery, with no claim whatever to a place in the canon of Scripture, or that it must stand as written by the son of David. Those who press this short and easy method of settling a complicated question forget that the Wisdom of Solomon in the Apocrypha presents phenomena of a strictly analogous character. It, too,

[1] Mr. T. Tyler, *Ecclesiastes*. Williams and Norgate, 1874.

claims to be written by the great king whose name is prefixed to it. For centuries it was received as standing on the same footing as Ecclesiastes. Even now it occupies an honourable place among the books which the Church reads for "example of life and instruction of manners." No one has ever dreamt of stigmatising it as a forgery. The fact must be admitted that the quasi-dramatic personation of character as one form of instruction has been in almost every age recognised as perfectly legitimate, and that if the balance of evidence is in favour of a later date than that of Solomon, there is no ground for rejecting this conclusion on an *à priori* assumption that an inspired writer was necessarily debarred from employing such personation.

The contents of the book present, perhaps, a yet more difficult problem than the question of its authorship. It does not present moral lessons in plain and easy language like the Book of Proverbs. It is not an utterance of devout aspirations like the Psalms, nor the proclamation of a Divine message like the writings of the prophets. Its tones are harsh, discordant, despondent. It reads like the confession of one who had wasted his life, and had no hope beyond it. Life and immortality are shrouded as with a thick darkness. It seems to anticipate that weariness of the satiated voluptuary, of the over-wrought intellect, which we are sometimes to think of as attaching to a high culture, like that of modern civilisation. Want of power to understand its drift led some of the older Rabbis to question its authority—to shut it out from the studies of the young. For a like reason it takes its place now among the less-known and less-studied books of the Old Testament. Rightly apprehended, however, the book is of profound interest and significance. It meets the necessities of a state of mind from which, perhaps, no period of the world's history has ever been quite exempt, but to which periods, like our own, of increasing luxury and advancing knowledge are especially liable.

The ever-recurring watchword of the book, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," speaks of bitter disappointment, in tones of which we find echoes in the poetry that expresses most powerfully our modern experience—in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, in Byron's *Childe Harold*, in Tennyson's *Palace of Art*. The man has gone in quest of the chief good, and has sought for it in many ways, and retired from the search at every stage baffled and disappointed. The permanence of Nature does but oppress him with the sense of the short-lived littleness of man. Pleasure palled on the sense; magnificence and state brought no profit; wisdom, sought for its own sake, and not springing from the fear of the Lord, yielded no contentment. He hated the labour which he had taken under the sun. "Vanity of Vanities, hollowness and vexation, were written upon all things" (chaps. i., ii.).

The order of the world presented, it was true, tokens of a righteous order—a time for everything, for blameless joy, after the pattern of a true Epicureanism (iii. 12, 13), for righteous judgment (iii. 16, 17). But that thought, too, failed to comfort at first, for the shadow of death closed in the prospect, and, as yet, there was no vision of judgment beyond it, only the thought that man "hath no pre-eminence above the beast; that all are of the dust and all turn to dust again" (iii. 19, 20). A closer scrutiny of the facts of man's life around him did but make the problem more insoluble. Sympathy with the oppressed, indignation against the oppressor, were better than the selfish pursuit of pleasure, with which the seeker after happiness had started; but there was no clue to guide him through the labyrinth, and what he saw did but leave on him the conviction that death was better than life; that the experience of other men was like his own, and that everything under the sun was vanity (iv. 2—7). Changes of dynasties, rashness and hypocrisies in worship, the increase of goods that brings increase of trouble, and gives nothing to the possessor but the beholding of them with their eyes—all these taught the same lesson. Length of days, seeming prosperity, was to him, as to the old Greek poets, no safeguard against a disastrous end. It was better not to be at all than to lead a life so profitless (v., vi.).

There came, however, at this stage, the dawning of better things. A "good name" was "better than precious ointment" (vii. 1). Conscience and self-respect were quickened into a new, though as yet struggling, life by the seeker's sympathy with suffering; and with this there revived also the sense of the preciousness of wisdom, not now as merely speculative, but as including patience, calmness, the equal balance of temper at either extreme of fortune (vii. 9—14). The man learnt to see that the first condition of wisdom was to fear God (vii. 18); that its first fruits were the consciousness of the sin that cleaves to all men, even to the just (vii. 20); of the ignorance which hems in man's search for knowledge on every side; of the uprightness of man's nature as designed by God; of the "many inventions" by which man has swerved from that uprightness (vii. 23—29).

So far there had been a clear and definite progress; but the book, true to human experience, reproduces the oscillations and wanderings of thought of one who has not as yet set his feet upon the rock which remains unmoved, though the waves foam and dash around it; and so we find a return of the old melancholy. "Vanity" is still written on all things. Mirth within reasonable limits seems the highest good attainable, but those limits are fixed by the deepening conviction that it never can be well with the wicked, "because he feareth not God," that it shall be well with those that do fear Him (viii. 11—13). The consciousness of God, so to speak, is growing stronger; a righteous scorn of evil is taking the place of cynical indifference. And with this there is a greater readiness to accept even the apparent disorder of the world as having a divine order underlying it. The "poor wise man who delivered the city" may be slighted and forgotten; kings may be negligent or corrupt, "servants may be set upon horses;" but the wise man will yield to the ruler, and will not curse the king, nor pour out his passion in a multitude of words (ix. 15; x. 4—7, 20). Revolution brings no remedy. Government of any kind is better than absolute anarchy.

The wise man can, in the midst of that imperfect order, find opportunities for doing good, and "cast his bread upon the waters," and "in the morning sow his seed" (xi. 1—6). Activity in good works is the natural and divinely-appointed remedy for the gloom and melancholy of scepticism. Even this, in the absence of the life and immortality which was not then brought to light, was not enough to remove the sense of the nothingness of human life. Death, with all its physical phenomena, the failure of sight and hearing, the silver cord loosed and the golden bowl broken, with all its attendant pageantry, the mourners going about the streets, is still a dark and dreary thought; but there is at least a gleam of hope in the belief, however faint and indistinct, that when "the dust shall return to the earth as it was," the spirit shall "return to God who gave it" (xii. 1—7). The burden of the seeker's strain, the burden which weighs heavily on his soul, is not yet removed. "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity." But much has been gained, though not all. The seeker has found, at least, a higher law of life than that with which he started; a deeper conviction that the order of things, in which he recognises God's work, does indeed make for righteousness, and by that law he is content to live himself, and is eager to proclaim the "acceptable words" to others. "Fear God, and keep His commandments, for that is the whole *duty* of man"[1] —all, *i.e.*, that makes man truly man. "For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

Such, I believe, is the plan and teaching of this strange enigmatic book, which, as we read it, we feel to be as true to the sad and dreamy scepticism of our own time as it was to that of the man who wrote it, more than two thousand years ago. The *Two Voices* of Tennyson present a parallel more or less close to its alternations of mood and thought; and I am constrained to confess that that poem and the *Palace of Art*, to which I have referred above, have helped me more to understand its teaching than the exegesis of many commentators. If at first it seems strange that a book so different, in its questioning and half-desponding tone, from the writings of lawgiver, psalmist, prophet, evangelist, apostle, should have found a place in the canon of Scripture, we may yet recognise in those who so placed it a wisdom higher than they were themselves conscious of. The mental and spiritual disease for which it provides a remedy, is not peculiar to any one age or race, is not excluded by the prevalence of any religious system. It recurs in the nineteenth century after Christ in nearly the same form as it had presented itself, it may be, a thousand years before. The man of pleasure, the man of money, the statesman and the controversialist, each wearied with that to which he has given his life, finds in it still the echo of his own experience. Renan, judging of St. Paul by what he himself would have done, had he been in St. Paul's place, pictures to himself the old age of the Apostle, as that of one who found that he had been living for a dream and delusion, and who, after his youth and manhood had fed upon the words of the psalmist or prophet, after he himself had written what was to occupy a like place with them in the veneration of mankind, fell back after all upon Ecclesiastes—the words of the Preacher—as the one book that satisfied him, and helped him to meet the problems which vision and revelation failed to solve. As applied to St. Paul personally, that picture of the brilliant Frenchman is, of course, simply ludicrous, but it is not the less true that many who have been students of St. Paul's writings, and admired his life, and traced the controversies that have grown out of them, may yet, in the presence of doubts which they cannot put away, find refuge in its teaching. It is one of the signs of the times, in part helping us to understand how M. Renan could have adopted a notion that seems so monstrous, that Mr. Matthew Arnold, who claims to be the true expositor of St. Paul's mind and heart to the men of this generation, should have reproduced substantially the teaching of Ecclesiastes. So far as he is an ethical teacher, he is the *Koheleth* of the nineteenth century. We may hope, much as we may shrink from the contrast which his teaching presents to the mind of Christendom, and, we must add, to the mind of Christ, that he, too, may have borne, not altogether in vain, a witness for the law of righteousness, and the "sweet reasonableness" of Jesus, and given men who were in the abyss of despair and doubt a stepping-stone on which to rise out of it.

[1] The italics show that the word "duty" is not in the Hebrew. Literally, we might render, "all that becomes a man."

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

PALESTINE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

IX.—PHŒNICIA, PHILISTIA, AND THE MARITIME PLAIN.

THE original name of Phœnicia was Kna or Kenaan (Canaan), derived from Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, and signifying "lowland" in contradistinction to Aram, the "highland" of Syria. This term, if we may judge from the allusion in Gen. x. 15 to Sidon, the first-born of Canaan, from the pre-eminence given to the name Sidon throughout the Old Testament, and from the manner in which Isaiah speaks of Tyre and Sidon as "cities of Canaan," appears at first to have been confined to the narrow undulating tract which stretches along the Mediterranean from Ras en-Nakurah, "the ladder of Tyre," to the Nahr Auly, River Bostrenus, two miles north of Sidon. Herodian states that Kna or Chna was

the ancient name of Phœnicia, and the word Kenaan is found on a coin of Laodicea, whereon that town is called "a mother city of Canaan." The name Canaan was not, however, long confined to this limited area, for it was applied at different times to districts of varying extent. The earliest mention of its limits is in Gen. x. 19, where we are told that "the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest from Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest, unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha;" and in Numb. xxxiv. 2—12 the boundaries are more definitely fixed as extending from the wilderness of Zin on the south to the entrance of Hamath on the north.

At present, however, we must confine our attention to the country known as Phœnicia, a name derived, according to some, from φοίνιξ, "a palm-tree," according to others, from Phoinix, the founder of the Phœnician race. Phœnicia proper was probably the tract originally called Kna, including Tyre and Sidon, but at a later period it embraced the more extensive district from the mouth of the Orontes to the "ladder of Tyre," including the colonies of Aradus (Arvad), Tripoli, and Beirut (Berytus). Josephus calls Mount Carmel a "Tyrian mountain," and states that Cæsarea was in Phœnicia. Ptolemy makes the river Chorseus, south of Tantura (Dor), the southern boundary; and Strabo includes Cæsarea, Joppa, and the whole coast of Philistia within the limits of Phœnicia. The eastern boundary is nowhere defined, but the country probably did not extend far beyond the narrow strip of plain along the coast and the lower spurs of the mountain-range of Palestine. Laish, which under its later name of Dan became famous as the northern limit of the Jewish nation, appears to have been an isolated colony; at any rate, its capture by the Danites does not seem to have caused any complications between the Jews and the Phœnicians.

The narrow coast-plain commences about four miles north of Latakiyeh (Laodicea) and extends to Tarabulus (Tripoli); between the last-named place and Tartus (Antaradus) it expands into a fine open plain, the Junia, whence an arm of some width stretches towards the south-east, and is connected with the Bukaa, or valley, between the two Lebanons, by an easy pass up the Nahr el-Kebir (River Eleutherus), possibly "the entrance of Hamath." South of Tripoli the mountains approach the coast, and as far as Beirut the road lies either along the beach or over the rugged spurs of the main range of Lebanon; one of which terminates in a fine bold cliff, crowned by a Maronite convent, the present Ras es-Shuka and the Theoprosopon of Strabo. The projecting headland of Beirut is level or slightly undulating, with sand-hills on the southern side, which are constantly encroaching on the town, and swallowing up mulberry-gardens and houses; southward from these sand-dunes a narrow level tract stretches along the coast till we approach Sidon, where the hills again close in, but after crossing the river Auly they sweep round to the east, leaving a broad undulating plain behind the town of Sidon; still farther south, the hills return to the shore for a short distance, and then again recede behind Tyre, till the plain is terminated by the Ras el-Abiad, or "White Promontory," a cliff of white chalk projecting into the sea, which may perhaps dispute the title of "Ladder of Tyre" with the Ras en-Nakurah, about three miles to the south. The narrow undulating tract between Beirut and Ras el-Abiad is called by Josephus "the great plain of the city of Sidon;" its average width is about a mile, but behind Sidon the hills recede to a distance of two miles, and in rear of Tyre to a distance of five miles.

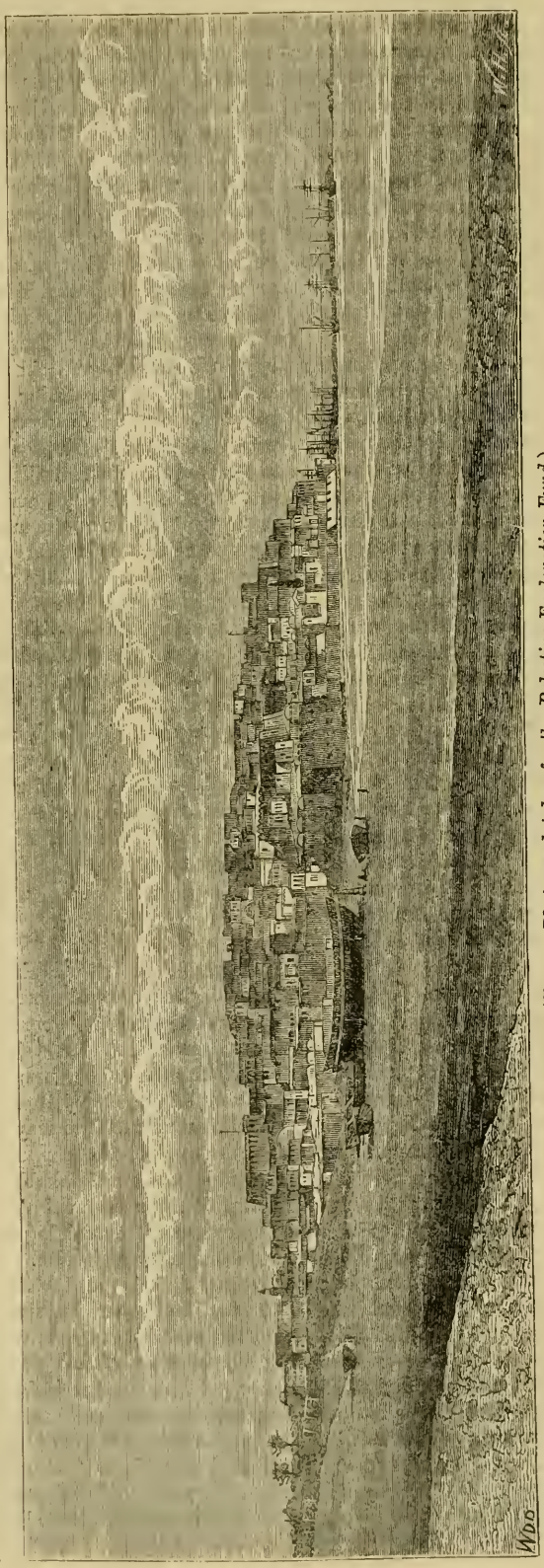
Phœnicia presents a marked contrast to Palestine in the number and size of the perennial streams and rivers by which it is watered; in the north, between Aradus and Tripoli, is the Nahr el-Kebir (Eleutherus), one tributary of which has been identified by Dr. Thomson with the Sabbatical River of Josephus, which was said to flow only on the seventh day; Pliny, however, states that it ran for six days, and was dry the seventh. At the present day there are many reports current respecting the river; it would appear to flow, as a rule, every third day, but, like many intermittent springs, the source from which it derives its supply is greatly influenced by the rainfall. A few miles south of Jebeil is the Nahr Ibrahim, River Adonis, which derived its name from Adonis, who was supposed to have been killed in the neighbouring mountain; on the anniversary of his death the river was believed to become a blood colour, and the water still acquires a ruddy tinge when heavy rains have brought down a quantity of the red soil on its banks: this feature, alluded to by Lucian and Maundrell, did not escape the notice of Milton when writing the lines—

> "While smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
> Of Thammuz yearly wounded."

The next river is the Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog River, the ancient Lycus, a rapid mountain stream which runs to the sea through a fine gorge about seven miles northwards from Beirut. At this point the mountains touch the coast, and a road has been artificially cut in the rock, over a cliff from eighty to one hundred feet above the sea; this road is, if we may trust an existing inscription, the work of the Emperor Aurelius. At a higher level there are unmistakable remains of a much older road, which has been cut at one place through a layer of bone brescia, containing the bones of many animals now extinct in Palestine. On the face of the cliff above are a series of tablets, traces of Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, but unfortunately so defaced that, with the exception of one, which is said to record the passage of Sennacherib on his return from his first campaign against Hezekiah, not a word can be deciphered. These monuments possibly commemorated the successful passage of this difficult place by the several Egyptian and Assyrian armies during the constant wars in which the two countries were engaged. North of Beirut, the Nahr Beirut, or Majoras, flows to the sea hard by the traditional scene of St. George's

fight with the dragon; and south of the same town is the Nahr ed-Damur, the ancient Tamyras. North of Sidon, the Nahr Auly, or "pleasant Bostrenus," gives life and fertility to the plain; and between that town and Tyre, the Khasimiyeh, or Leontes, discharges the drainage of the great plain of Cœle-Syria into the sea. A short distance south of Tyre, a cluster of large fountains of clear good water, called Ras el-Ain, bursts forth from the plain; the water, which rises to the surface with great force, was raised to a certain level by a series of circular or octagonal reservoirs, similar to that previously described as existing at Et Tabigah, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and was then carried away by aqueducts to the ancient city of Tyre.

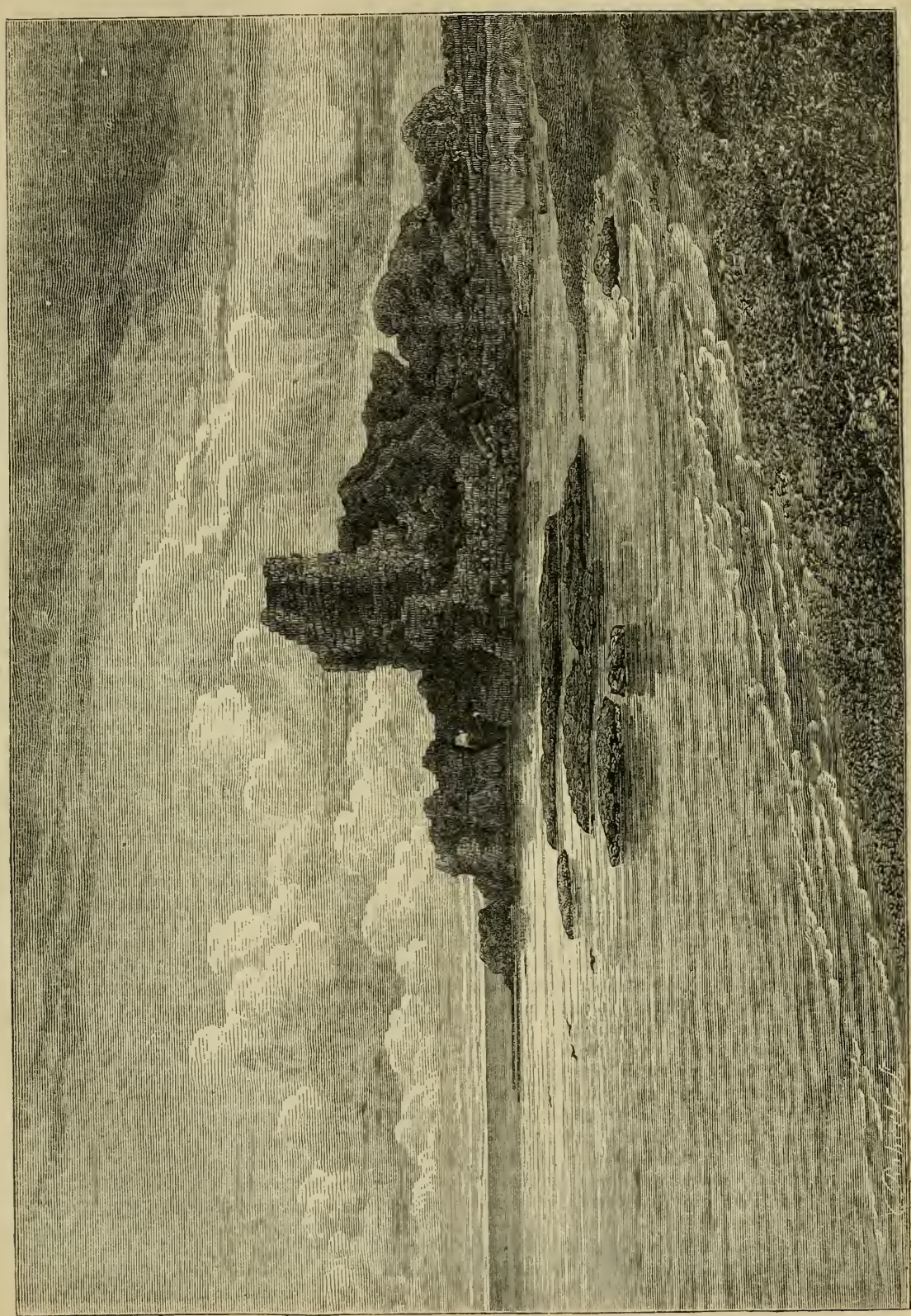
There are a few points which should be noticed with regard to Phœnicia: the smallness of the territory in comparison with the influence which it exerted on the history of the world, as in the similar cases of Palestine, Greece, and Italy; the secluded character of the country, shut in on the east by the range of Lebanon, which secured it for a long period from invasion, and turned the attention of the people to maritime rather than to land enterprise; and the number and convenience of its harbours, quite large enough for the requirements of ancient navigation, when compared with the southern coast of Palestine. The soil of Phœnicia, though now uncultivated, is rich, and lemons, oranges, figs, pomegranates, apricots, &c., grow in great luxuriance,



JAFFA. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

whilst the neighbouring forests of Lebanon formerly supplied abundant timber for ship-building, and the cedar which was used by Solomon when building the Temple.

We have previously alluded to the close intercourse that probably existed between the Phœnicians and the northern tribes, the mixed state of society, and the possible effect which such intimate relations had upon the introduction of idolatry amongst the Israelites; and may here notice the intimacy between Solomon and Hiram, and the marriage of Ahab with a daughter of Ethbaal. Until the reign of David the Israelites do not seem to have engaged in commercial enterprise, but the conquest of Edom by that monarch gave them the command of Ezion-geber, on the Gulf of Akabah, and in the reign of Solomon we find the Phœnicians engaged with the Jews in making voyages to Ophir, and participating in the profits derived from them. When, however, at a later date Jehoshaphat attempted to restore the trade in the Gulf of Akabah, the Phœnicians were not allowed to take any part in the undertaking. In the 27th chapter of Ezekiel there is an interesting account of the trade of Tyre with the surrounding nations, amongst others with Judah and the land of Israel, from which were imported "wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm" (ver. 17). If we may infer from this that the Phœnicians derived their chief supply of grain from their Hebrew neighbours, it will explain



CÆSAREA. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

the friendly, or, at any rate, not openly hostile, relations that always existed between the two peoples, even at a time when the Phœnicians were engaged in that traffic in Jewish slaves which brought down upon them the fierce denunciations of the Hebrew prophets (Isa. xxiii.; Ezek. xxvii., xxviii.; Joel iii. 4—8; Amos i. 9, 10). There is one other point of contact between the Jews and Phœnicians which should not remain unnoticed—the similarity, perhaps identity, of the language used by the two peoples, and also by the surrounding tribes: this is perhaps indicated by the absence of any mention in the Bible of the employment of interpreters by the Jews in their intercourse with the original inhabitants, and by the special mention of Egypt in Ps. lxxxi. 5 as being a country "where I heard a language that I understood not." The similarity between Hebrew and Phœnician was noticed by Jerome and Augustine, when the latter language was still spoken; and there are, besides, many Phœnician and Carthaginian names which are devoid of meaning except in Hebrew. The discovery of the celebrated Moabite stone proves the use of the Phœnician language in Moab in the time of King Mesha, and a small inscription, found by Monsieur Ganneau, near Jerusalem, seems to point to its use in that city during the period of the kings.

Commencing at the northern extremity of the country, the first place of importance is Aradus, the Arvad of the Bible, situated on the island of Ruad, which lies about two and a-half miles from the shore, to the north of the river Eleutherus. The island is about three-quarters of a mile in circumference, high and rocky, and still surrounded by the massive foundations of the old Phœnician fortifications; there are also numbers of rock-hewn cisterns, and the remains of the moles which formed the ancient harbour. Arvad appears to have been noted for the skill and bravery of its mariners and soldiers (Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11), and to have escaped the fate of the southern cities, by its timely submission to Alexander the Great. During the troubled period which followed Alexander's death, it was a place of considerable importance, but gradually fell to decay under the Romans and Saracens. On the mainland, nearly opposite the island of Ruad, is Tartus (Antaradus), alluded to by Tasso under the name of Tortosa. The old town was of some extent, and was protected by a massive wall and fine castle, which bear traces of Phœnician workmanship. A short distance to the east are the ruins of a fine old Gothic cathedral, erected during the time of the Crusades.

Proceeding southwards, we reach Tarabulus, the modern Tripoli, which sprang up round the castle built by Raymond of Toulouse on the banks of the Kadisha. The old city, which derived its name, "Triple City," from the colonies established by Arvad, Tyre, and Sidon, was situated on a promontory to the west of the modern town, where there are the remains of a wall and line of towers, with an immense number of broken shafts of columns. At Tripolis the scheme was designed for the revolt of the Phœnician cities against the Persian king Ochus, which resulted in the almost total destruction of Sidon; and the town is alluded to (2 Macc. xiv. 1) as the place at which Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus, landed. Southward from Tripoli, along the sea-coast, is Batrun (Botrys), and Jebeil, the Gebal of the Bible, whose inhabitants were employed as stone-cutters in preparing the material for Solomon's Temple (1 Kings v. 18), and are mentioned by Ezekiel as the "calkers" of the Tyrian ships (xxvii. 9). Gebal or Byblus was also celebrated in mythology as the birth-place of Adonis.

To the south of Jebeil is Beirut (Berytus), the most important commercial town in modern Syria, and the port of Damascus. The town is prettily situated on a triangular promontory, projecting into the Mediterranean, with a good roadstead, suitable to the requirements of the present day, in the Bay of St. George, which has been compared to that of Naples. The principal export is silk, the trade in which is rapidly increasing, and the town itself is every day becoming of greater importance. Beirut has been identified with the Berothah or Berothai of Scripture, but this seems doubtful, and its chief interest is perhaps due to its having been the place at which Titus celebrated the birthday of Vespasian, after the fall of Jerusalem, holding games and public spectacles in the amphitheatre built by Agrippa, on which occasion many of the captive Jews are said to have perished; as well as to its having been one of the most noted seats of learning from the third to the sixth century. Following the coast-line, we reach the little promontory on which Saida (Sidon) now stands; the existing remains, or at least such as meet the eye, are not of much importance, but there is no doubt that many interesting relics of the old Phœnician city lie buried in the rubbish; and from the tombs we may hope for records of the past as valuable as the great sarcophagus of King Esmunazar, which is now deposited at the Louvre in Paris. The environs of Sidon are still famous for the beauty of the gardens, in which the various fruits of Palestine grow with great luxuriance; but the harbour, which was once alive with galleys from all parts of the then known world, is now forsaken, except by a few small boats which are able to pass through its half-closed entrance. Sidon is mentioned in Gen. x. 19, as marking one of the limits of the Canaanite, and it appears to have acquired importance at a very early period; for we find Joshua alluding to it as "great Sidon," and Homer makes special mention of the skill of the Sidonian workmen; the embroidered robes of Andromache, and the bowl given as a prize by Achilles at the games in honour of Patroclus, were of Sidonian workmanship. At a later period the Sidonians were celebrated for their nautical skill, and the contingent which they sent to the fleet of Xerxes is said by Herodotus to have been the best and most renowned of the great armada. Sidon is inferior to Tyre in Biblical interest, and we need only notice here its capture by Nebuchadnezzar, its revolt against Persia, the almost total destruction of the town by King Ochus, and the assistance rendered by the Sidonian fleet to Alexander during the siege of Tyre. At the time of our Saviour's visit to the coasts of Tyre and

Sidon, the latter appears to have been a thriving city, whose inhabitants, according to Strabo, cultivated the sciences of arithmetic and astronomy. It is now but a small town, rarely visited by a foreign vessel, as all the Syrian trade has passed to the more convenient port of Beirut.

South of Saida, not far from the headland of Ain el-Kentarah, are the ruins of Zarephath, or Sarepta, the town in which Elijah lived during the latter part of the drought (1 Kings xvii. 9, 10); and a little chapel on the sea-shore bearing the name of El Khudr, the Muhammedan title of Elijah, possibly marks the site of the chapel erected by the Crusaders over the spot on which the widow's house was supposed to have stood. The ruins extend for more than a mile, and contain many fragments of columns; but the name has been transferred to the modern village of Surafend, which is situated on the slope of the hills some distance from the sea-coast. Still further south is Sur (Tyre), once the "mistress of the sea," now a wretched collection of hovels, with narrow, dirty streets. The old town stood on a rocky islet about three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile wide; but the causeway made by Alexander during his famous siege connects it with the mainland, and has converted the island into a peninsula. The island is nowhere more than fifteen feet above the level of the sea, and its surface is covered with the ruins of old walls and towers; the confined space available for building purposes must have had its effect on the architecture of the Tyrians, and it is probable that the houses of the old town were, contrary to the usual practice in Palestine, built in several storeys, giving the place that grand appearance which is noticed by more than one old writer. The harbour is now almost filled up with rubbish, and a few fishing boats only are left to represent the fleets that once carried the commerce of the Mediterranean. One of the most interesting ruins is that of the Cathedral, in which lie the remains of the German Emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, which were brought down from Tarsus. No one can visit Tyre without being reminded at every step of the prophecies uttered against the city by the Hebrew prophets, and especially by Ezekiel (see chaps. xxvi., xxvii., xxviii.) —her walls are "broken down;" her "pleasant houses" destroyed; her stones and timber lay "in the midst of the water;" it is a place "for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea;" and we may well exclaim with Ezekiel, "What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?" or, "How art thou destroyed, that wast inhabited of sea-faring men, the renowned city, which wast strong in the sea?"

The first mention made of Tyre in the Bible is in connection with the boundary of Asher (Josh. xix. 29), and even at this early period it was of sufficient importance to be classed as a "strong city:" it is, however, during the reigns of David and Solomon that we first catch any glimpses of the condition of the city. In 2 Sam. v. 11, Hiram, king of Tyre, is said to have sent "messengers to David, and cedar-trees, and carpenters, and masons; and they built David a house" (palace); and the assistance rendered by Hiram to Solomon in the building of the Temple is familiar to every one. The various works in brass executed for the Temple (1 Kings vii. 13—45) imply a considerable advancement in art; and we also gather that they were skilled as wood-carvers and stone-masons, and were bold adventurous seamen. The wood for the Temple was floated down in great rafts to Jaffa (Joppa), and thence carried up to Jerusalem; this, of course, necessitated constant and close intercourse between the Tyrians and the Jews, and the relations at this period between Hiram and Solomon, and their respective peoples, appear to have been very intimate, a fact which may have had its influence on the polytheistic tendencies of Solomon in his old age. About 720 B.C. Tyre was ineffectually besieged by Shalmaneser for five years, but this did not interfere with its progress, for Ezekiel gives a most graphic description of its wealth and power between that date and the memorable siege of Nebuchadnezzar, which lasted for thirteen years. Curiously enough, history nowhere tells us whether Tyre was captured by Nebuchadnezzar—the probability is that it was not; but however this may be, there is no doubt as to the result of Alexander's siege in 332 B.C., when 30,000 of the inhabitants were sold as slaves. The town soon revived, and when our Saviour, and afterwards St. Paul, visited it, there was a flourishing trade. Jerome calls it the finest and most beautiful city in Phœnicia, and William of Tyre, who was archbishop of the see, has left an interesting account of its wealth and military strength during the Crusades; under Moslem rule it gradually declined until it reached its present state.

Between four and five miles from Tyre there is a remarkable monument shown as the tomb of Hiram, which consists of a huge sarcophagus twelve feet long, eight feet wide, and six feet high, hewn out of a single block of limestone, with a lid of the same material five feet thick, the whole resting on a massive platform, ten feet high, built up of three courses of large stones. South of Tyre are the fine fountains of Ras el-Ain, and the reservoirs or tanks which were made to raise the water to a level sufficiently high to supply the old town; the remains of the aqueducts are still visible in many places. In the vicinity of the fountains stood Palætyrus (old Tyre), but hardly a trace of it is now left, as Alexander carried away all the stonework of the buildings for the construction of his causeway. According to mediæval tradition, it was at Ras el-Ain that Jesus met the Syro-Phœnician woman (Mark vii. 24—30); and it is said that He drank of the water from the fountain, and blessed the place from whence it came.

Passing southward, and crossing the rocky spurs of Ras el-Abiad and Ras en-Nakurah by winding paths hewn step-like in the rock, we reach the northern extremity of the *plain of Acre*, which extends to the base of Mount Carmel, a distance of twenty miles. The plain has an average width of about five miles, and it is extremely fertile, being well watered by the Belus and Kishon, as well as by several fountains. On the east

the hills of Galilee rise somewhat abruptly, but spurs occasionally run out into the plain, and give variety to the landscape. The town of Acre, the Accho assigned to the tribe of Asher, and the Ptolemais of the Maccabees and the New Testament, is situated on a projecting headland, which forms the northern extremity of the great bay that sweeps round to Carmel on the south. There is little Biblical interest attached to Acre, with the exception of its having been one of the places at which St. Paul touched on his journey to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 7); but during the Crusades it became of great importance, and at a later period was called by Napoleon the key of Palestine. Its position, guarding the entrance to the great plain of Esdraelon, and commanding the anchorage in the spacious bay, fully justified this title; and it is perhaps worthy of notice that the rise of Acre to importance followed upon the increase in the size of ships, the bay affording the only secure anchorage for large ships on the coast of Syria south of Beirut. It is hardly necessary to notice here the numerous sieges of Acre during the Middle Ages, or in more modern times: that by Napoleon, when the town was so heroically defended by Sir Sidney Smith, will always have a special interest to Englishmen; and that by Khalil, when the place was finally captured by the Saracens, will ever be regarded as one of the saddest tragedies in the history of the Crusades. At the southern end of the bay of Acre, under the shadow of Mount Carmel, is Haifa, a small town, supposed by some writers to be the Sycaminum of the Greeks and Romans.

To the south of Mount Carmel the celebrated *plain of Sharon* commences, and extends with varying width as far south as Jaffa; a range of low hills runs parallel to the coast-line, and separates the sandy and sometimes marshy district along the shore from the fertile cultivated plain that lies at the foot of the hills of Samaria, and is the true plain of Sharon. We may infer from the fact that the herds of David were pastured on Sharon, or "the Sharon," as it is called in the Hebrew text, that the plain afforded abundant pasturage, and its beauty and importance are indicated in Isa. xxxv. 2; xxxiii. 9. The tall squill, which may possibly be the "rose of Sharon," grows in abundance, and in many places are still found numbers of those oak-trees from which the rendering of the LXX., ὁ δρυμός, "the wood," may have been derived. Southward from Jaffa stretches the great *maritime plain*, which comprised the country of the Philistines; it extends beyond Gaza to the verge of the desert, and is from ten to twenty miles wide. On the west the coast is fringed by a line of sand-hills, and a sandy tract, on which the maritime cities are built; whilst between these and the foot of the mountains of Judah lies the immense plain of corn-fields, which was one of the chief sources of the power and wealth of the Philistines. In early summer the plain is still clothed with one waving mass of corn, from which rise up "tells," or mounds, covered with ruins, a few native houses, and gardens; and marking the sites of the ancient cities of Philistia.

The plain south of Carmel is watered by several streams—the Nahr Belka, south of Tantura (Dor); the Nahr Zerka, about two miles north of Cæsarea, a deep stream, which is probably the Shihor-libnath of the Bible, on the south border of Asher. The Zerka is interesting, as being the only river in Palestine in which the presence of the crocodile has been ascertained, though it is also believed to live in the Kishon. Pliny and Strabo mention the name of a town called Crocodilon, in this district; and in the time of the Crusades the presence of crocodiles in the river is alluded to. South of Cæsarea are the streams El Akhdar, Abu Zaburah, Arsuf, and the Aujeh, which has its source in the great springs at Ras el-Ain, and reaches the sea some distance north of Jaffa. South of Jaffa there are no perennial streams. In summer the water of some of these streams does not find its way to the sea, but lodges in marshes on the eastern side of the range of hills mentioned above. This renders the district unhealthy, and withdraws large tracts from cultivation; but formerly there was a perfect system of drainage, the water being carried off by drifts or tunnels cut through the hills: these are now choked with rubbish and vegetation, but they might be easily cleared, and a large area of waste land reclaimed.

The origin of the Philistines is doubtful, and their history is almost a blank; they appear to have been a commercial people, and to have attained considerable proficiency as smiths, armourers, and in the goldsmith's art; their wealth was abundant, owing to the extreme richness of their country, and the extensive transit trade between Northern Syria and Egypt. The warlike spirit of the Philistines, and the military strength of the country, may be gathered from the constant wars with the Phœnicians, and Egyptians, and the length of many of the sieges sustained by the towns; there would also appear to have been a navy, which took part in the war between the Mediterranean nations and Rameses III.

The first point of interest south of Carmel is Athlit, the Castellum Peregrinorum of the Crusading period; it is probable that Athlit occupies the position of an old town, though it has not been identified with any Biblical site, and is first known to us as a fortified landing-place for pilgrims on their way to the Holy City. The ruins are extensive, and consist of a large castle or fortified post, in which was the town proper, and an entrenched camp of some size. The town, now a confused mass of ruined churches and palaces, was situated on a rocky promontory, having a bay on the north and on the south, so that shelter could be obtained from the north and south winds. South of Athlit, picturesquely situated on a tongue of land which juts out into the sea, are the ruins of Dor; at the extremity of the spit is a fragment of a lofty tower, which formed part of a mediæval castle separated from the old town by a deep rock-hewn ditch. The remains of the old harbour can still be traced, and there are many capitals and broken columns on the shore, but most of the ruins have been covered by the drifting sand. The king of Dor is mentioned in the list of

kings conquered by Joshua (Josh. xii. 23), and his city was assigned to Manasseh, though lying within the territory of Asher (Josh. xvii. 11). We gather, however, from Judg. i. 27, that the original inhabitants of Dor were not at first driven out by the Israelites, though at a later period we find one of Solomon's purveyors, who was also his son-in-law, stationed there (1 Kings iv. 11).

South of Dor are the extensive ruins of Cæsarea. The line of the old Roman wall, which enclosed an area in the shape of a half moon, can still be traced by the line of rubbish which marks its course; but the more important remains are those of the mediæval city built by the Crusaders, which occupied a space 600 yards long and 250 yards broad, near the centre of the diameter of the half moon. The walls of this later city with their flanking towers are still standing, and one tower, at the south-west corner, into which the shafts of many columns have been built, is well known, from the drawings of Mr. Tipping and others. Stretching out into the sea beyond this tower are the remains of an old mole or breakwater, which curved round so as to give complete protection from the south-westerly gales, whilst at the northern end of the harbour there is a sort of rough landing-stage, made entirely of marble and granite columns. Within the mediæval walls are the ruins of the old cathedral church of Cæsarea, and some massive foundations which, Mr. Drake suggests, may have formed part of the temple built by Herod in honour of Cæsar. The ruin, however, which will be regarded with most interest is that of the amphitheatre situated, as Josephus describes it, "on the south quarter behind the port, ... and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea;" for it was probably in this theatre that Herod was seated upon his throne, "arrayed in royal apparel," when he was smitten by the mysterious disease which ended his life. Our view of Cæsarea (page 233) is taken from the theatre, and shows the walls of the city of the Crusaders in the distance. On the north of the city there are the remains of three aqueducts, one 6 feet 3 inches high and 5 feet 10 inches wide, which appears to have brought a portion of the waters of the Nahr Zerka into the town. Cæsarea was built with great magnificence by Herod the Great, and occupies an important place in the Acts of the Apostles; it was here that Cornelius was converted and received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and that St. Paul remained two years in bonds before his voyage to Rome. It was the home for some time of Philip the deacon, and was visited by St. Paul on several occasions. Cæsarea appears to have been the official residence of Festus and Felix, and the headquarters of the Roman army of occupation.

When St. Paul was brought down to Cæsarea, in consequence of the conspiracy against him at Jerusalem, we read (Acts xxiii. 31—33) that he was brought "by night to Antipatris," by a mixed body of horse and foot soldiers, but that at that point the footmen returned to Jerusalem, and "left the horsemen to go with him" to Cæsarea, across the level expanse of the plain of Sharon. Antipatris has usually been identified with Kefr Saba, a small village south-east of Cæsarea; but it was more probably at Ras el-Ain, where there is a large artificial mound close to the great fountains which feed the river Aujeh. Ras el-Ain is close to the point at which the old Roman road left the mountains and entered the plain, and fulfils all the requirements of the account given by Josephus, having "rivers in abundance," and a fertile soil, being near the mountains, and a suitable point for the commencement of a line of defence, such as Alexander Jannæus took up across the maritime plain. Kefr Saba, on the other hand, meets none of the required conditions. The springs at Ras el-Ain are probably the "Deaf Fountains" of the Crusaders; and their old castle of Mirabel stands on the mound.

Southward, along the sandy ridge which fringes the coast, runs the direct road from Cæsarea to Jaffa (Joppa), up which St. Peter passed on his memorable journey "to find the first Gentile convert in the Roman garrison at Cæsarea." There is little to remark on the way except the ruined citadel, town, and harbour of Arsuf (Apollonia), where there appears at one time to have been an extensive manufactory of glass; and the numerous tunnels which formerly drained the marshes of the district. Jaffa itself is beautifully situated on an isolated hill, which rises from the edge of the Mediterranean, and is surrounded on the land side by a girdle of gardens, which produce oranges, lemons, and apricots, that have a special reputation even in the East. The appearance of the town from the sea, with the houses rising in a succession of terraces, is very charming; but, like all Eastern towns, the streets are narrow and filthy, and the interior disappointing. Of ancient Joppa little remains; the outline of the harbour, to which the fleets of Hiram came laden with material for the Temple, can still be traced; and M. Ganneau has recently found the old cemetery; but all else is of modern or mediæval date. It was at Joppa that Peter raised Tabitha from the dead, and afterwards tarried many days "with one Simon, a tanner," whose house was "by the sea-side." The house is still pointed out to travellers, and whether it is really the site or not, we can feel certain that the flat house-top on which Peter prayed, and saw in a vision "heaven opened," overlooked, as the present one does, the great western sea, which was to be one of the principal means of conveying the glad tidings of great joy to the Gentiles. In later years a mournful interest attached to Jaffa, as the scene of the massacre of 4,000 Turkish prisoners, by order of Napoleon.

Passing south-eastward over the sandy plain in the footsteps of the messengers who were sent to seek Peter at Lydda, we reach the remnant of the old Philistine town of Beth-dagon, and shortly afterwards Ludd, or Lydda itself, surrounded by olive-trees, which bear the appearance of great age. In the village is one of the most picturesque ruins in Palestine, the church of St. George, said to have been built by Richard Cœur de Lion, in honour of England's patron saint, who, according to tradition, was born at Lydda; and on its outskirts

is a series of catacombs, apparently used by the early Christians. At Lydda Peter cured Eneas, who "had kept his bed eight years, and was sick of the palsy;" and "all that dwelt in Lydda and Saron saw him, and turned to the Lord." From Ludd a road runs southward through an avenue bordered by gardens and orchards to Ramleh, a place which has not yet been satisfactorily identified with any Biblical site, but which played an important part in the history of the Crusades, and was celebrated as the head-quarters of Richard, some of whose most daring exploits were performed in its immediate vicinity. Not far from Ramleh, Mons. Clermont-Ganneau has made a most important discovery, identifying beyond a doubt the ruins of Abu Shusheh with Gezer, one of the most ancient towns of Palestine, whose king, Hozam, was defeated by Joshua whilst attempting to relieve Lachish, then besieged by the Israelites. The town occupied an important strategical position, guarding the entrance of one of the passes leading to Jerusalem, and was several times taken and re-taken during the wars of the Jews. On one of these occasions it was captured by one of the Pharaohs, and afterwards formed part of the dowry of Pharaoh's daughter, when she became Solomon's wife. Two inscriptions, which Mons. Ganneau has recently found, defining the limits of Gezer, are of the highest interest.

South of Ramleh, on the north bank of Wady Surar, is Akir (Ekron), the northernmost of the five cities of the lords of the Philistines, standing on a gentle eminence, which overlooks the rich plains to the south and east. Ekron was the last place in Philistia in which the ark rested, and whence the two milch kine, drawing the cart which conveyed it, choosing their own path, "took the straight way to the way of Beth-shemesh." West of Akir, on a slight elevation about two miles from the sea, is Yebnah, the ancient Jabneh, taken by Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 6); and to the south of the latter place is Esdud (Ashdod), one of the royal cities of the Philistines which fell to the lot of Judah. It was to Ashdod that the ark was brought after the defeat of the Israelites at the fatal battle of Aphek; and here it was set up in the temple of Dagon; "and when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord." Dagon was set up again, but on the second night he was also thrown down and shattered before the ark; and "the hand of the Lord was heavy upon them of Ashdod, and He destroyed them, and smote them with emerods;" after which the ark was sent to Gath. Ashdod is noted as having sustained the longest siege recorded in history, that of Psammeticus, who besieged it for twenty-seven years; and it was the Azotus at which Philip was found after the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch.

Southward from Esdud is Asculan (Ascalon), occupying a strong natural position on the sea-coast; it was one of the five cities of the lords of the Philistines, but is less frequently mentioned in the Bible than the other four. Of the ruins of Ascalon little can now be seen; they are for the most part buried in the drifting sand or covered with gardens, and the place presents an appearance of desolation which cannot fail to call to mind the words of Zephaniah, "Ashkelon shall be a desolation." Ascalon was celebrated as the seat of the worship of the Syrian Venus, a goddess represented under the form of a fish with a woman's head; and in Herod's reign it was adorned with baths, porticoes, and fountains. During the crusades Ascalon was one of the most important cities in the country, and in it "was entrenched the hero of the last gleam of history which has thrown its light over the plains of Philistia. Within the walls and towers still standing Richard held his court; and the white-faced hill which, seen from their heights, forms so conspicuous an object in the eastern part of the plain, is the 'Blanche Garde' of the crusading chroniclers, which witnessed his chief adventures." Still further south, about three miles from the sea, from which it is separated by an intervening tract of drifting sand, is Ghuzzeh (Gaza), still a town of some size, surrounded by gardens, orchards, and a wide-spreading grove of olives. Gaza, as the frontier town on the road from Egypt to Palestine, occupied an important position both as a military station and depôt for the transit trade with Arabia, and has been well described by Van de Velde as the key of the country. It was one of the oldest cities in the world, being mentioned even before the call of Abraham as a "border" city of the Canaanites. It was assigned to Judah, and appears to have been for a short time in the possession of the Israelites, but soon reverted to the hands of the Philistines. The account of the destruction of the temple of Dagon by Samson, when the blind giant perished with 3,000 of his enemies, who had come to make merry over him, is familiar to every one. As might be expected from its position, the history of Gaza is one of almost constant sieges, but we have no space to allude to any of them, except that by Alexander the Great, who captured the town after a stubborn resistance of five months, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. It will be noticed that Gaza, Jabneel, and Ashdod stand inland, and these positions were probably selected from fear of pirates; each town, however, had its double in the *maiumas*, or port, which was situated on the coast itself.

There are two towns which demand a few words in conclusion—Gath, the home of Goliath, and Lachish. The site of Gath has not yet been definitely ascertained, though there are good reasons for supposing that it stood on Tell es-Safieh, a conspicuous hill in the plain about ten miles east of Ashdod. Lachish has been sometimes identified with Umm Lakis, a mound where there are a few ruins, between Gaza and Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis); but this site hardly answers to the requirements of Lachish, which was evidently a strong place, occupying an important position on one of the roads from Philistia to Egypt, possibly near or on the lower slopes of the hills of Judæa. In the reign of Hezekiah, Sennacherib laid siege to the town "with all his power," and amongst the slabs found by Layard in

the palace of Kouyunjik were some representing the siege and capture of Lachish, with the following inscription: "Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before the city of Lachish. I give permission for its slaughter." These slabs are now in the British Museum, and give a most interesting representation of the siege of an ancient city.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. DR. EDERSHEIM.

Recitation of the Shema.

(Deut. vi. 4—9; xi. 13—21; Numb. xv. 37—41.)

Prayers after the Shema.

(3) "True it is that Thou art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers; our Maker and the Rock of our Salvation; our Help and our Deliverer. Thy name is from everlasting, and there is no God beside Thee. A new song did they that were delivered sing to Thy name by the sea-shore; together did all praise and own Thee as King, and say, The Lord God shall reign who saveth Israel."

(4) (Only said in the evening.) "O Lord our God, cause us to lie down in peace, and raise us up again to life, O our King! Spread over us the tabernacle of Thy peace; strengthen us before Thee in Thy good counsel, and deliver us for Thy name's sake. Be Thou for protection round about us; keep far from us the enemy, the pestilence, the sword, famine, and affliction; keep Satan from before and from behind us, and hide us in the shadow of Thy wings, for Thou art a God who keepest and deliverest us; and Thou, O God, art a gracious and merciful King; keep Thou our going out and our coming in, for life and for peace, from henceforth and for ever."

The *Shema* was allowed to be repeated not only in Hebrew, but in any other language, so as to procure the proper understanding of the prayer. A bridegroom, women, children, slaves, mourners for the first two days, and those necessarily engaged about a dead body, as well as all who were unfit for prayer, were exempted from the *Shema*.

It is impossible here to reproduce all the eighteen, or rather nineteen, eulogies. On the Sabbath, only the three first and the three last were said, but a seventh (for the feast) was inserted between them; on New Year's Day, nine; on public fasts, twenty-four eulogies were said. Besides, every individual was bound on such occasions to insert between the eulogies a prayer that God might hear and deliver His people. In general, private prayers might be inserted among these "benedictions." In seasons or places of danger, this brief prayer, which summarised the eighteen eulogies, was prescribed: "Save Thy people Israel, even though they transgress Thy laws; may their need come before Thee. Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who hearest prayers and supplications!" Indeed, a benediction was ordered to be said at every great event, or phenomenon in Nature—in short, almost on every special occurrence. Thus the Rabbis multiplied prayer and formalised it.

We reproduce, however, two of the eighteen eulogies (VII. and XIV.), because they contain some echoes of the benediction of Zacharias, when, his tongue once more loosed to praise the Lord, he was "filled with the Holy Spirit and prophesied, saying, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for He hath visited His people, and hath wrought redemption for them, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of His servant David.'" With this compare—

Eulogy VII.—"Behold our misery, and plead our cause, and save us quickly for Thy name's sake, for Thou art a strong Saviour. Blessed be Thou, O Lord, the Saviour of Israel."

Eulogy XIV.—"Speedily cause Thou the branch of David Thy servant to shoot forth, and exalt his horn by Thy salvation, for in Thy salvation do we trust all the day. Blessed be the Lord God, who causeth the horn of salvation to shoot forth."

A very interesting branch of this subject is that of family prayer among the ancient Jews. There were certain seasons and feasts in which family prayer formed a special element. At the beginning of every Sabbath, there were the setting apart of the cup of wine, the welcoming of the Sabbath as a bridegroom, the blessing of the children of the house, and other religious rites in the family. At the close of the sacred day, solemn distinction was made between it and the working week. The Paschal supper was pre-eminently a season of family prayer, and many of the sacred relics of that night of service have been preserved to us. Other feasts also, such as that of Tabernacles and the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple, when every house was illuminated, afforded special opportunities for family religion. But, indeed, one of the oldest liturgical remnants left us is the grace at table, which also embodied Ps. xxiii. Never was food or drink tasted without blessing God for each and all—for the fruits of the ground, for those of trees, for bread, &c. In fact, for every article of food, and for every variety of it, special benedictions were enjoined. Unhappily, here also the same spirit of legalism everywhere appeared, the same miserable questions and discussions, the same cumbrous punctiliousness, which, as in other services, turned the freedom of the spirit into the bondage of the letter, and laid upon the worshipper a yoke that was intolerable.

We shall now, in conclusion, bring before the reader some passages of the New Testament in which the prayers of the Pharisees are referred to, and see how they are illustrated by what has been described in this paper.

Of the practices condemned in Matt. vi. 5 we have

had abundant evidence in reference to the choice of the synagogue for prayer, and the value attached to this. As for praying in the streets, the example of a Rabbi is specially extolled (Jer. *Ber.* viii. 3), who was observed to pray in the streets, then to walk on a few yards and again to pray. Nor could such public exhibitions be well avoided, since the sight of anything strange, new, good, or beautiful, always required a special benediction (*Ber.* ix.).

In reference to the encouragement to persevere in prayer (Matt. vii. 7—11; Luke xviii. 1—8), we could quote a number of beautiful Rabbinical sayings such as these:—"With man it happens, that he attends to the wishes of the rich, and heeds not those of the poor; but before God all are equal;" "Man disowns poor relatives, but God owned Israel in the oppression of Egypt;" "Pray," it is said, "even in the most desperate circumstances." We are assured that "he who prays much is heard;" though some prayers (the Scriptural instances being mentioned) may be answered only after forty days, some after twenty, some in three, some in one day, and often in the same hour, or even before they have been spoken. In this respect a comparison is also made between the God of Israel and the idols of the heathen, the latter being near (in the house), and yet far when you call upon them; while the God of Israel is far (in heaven), and yet close at hand when you seek Him. As for the "long prayers" of the Pharisees (Mark xii. 40), we have had abundant evidence of them. Besides, it was a fixed Rabbinical principle that "prolix prayer prolonged life."

The story of the prayers of the Pharisee and the publican (Luke xviii. 10—14) may receive this farther illustration. We read (Jer. *Ber.* iv. 2) that on leaving the Academy, Rabbi Nechunjah was wont to pray, "I thank Thee, O Lord my God, and God of my fathers, that Thou hast cast my lot among those who frequent academies and synagogues, and not among those who attend theatres and games. Both I and they work and watch; I work for the inheritance of heaven, and they for their perdition, as it is written in Ps. xvi. 10, 'For Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.'"

These brief notes on some of the sayings of our Lord might be greatly enlarged, if the scope of this paper admitted. One other passage, however, claims our attention. In Luke xi. 1 we read that the disciples asked the Master to teach them to pray, even as John the Baptist and the Pharisees had taught theirs. The plea was well grounded, as the Talmud contains many prayers which the Rabbis left to their followers. And the Lord also so far recognised the justice and propriety of their request, that He left both for them and for us those precious words known as "The Lord's Prayer." A certain class of writers have thought that they could trace such similarity between the prayer which Christ and those which the Rabbis taught, as to establish a kind of identity between them. The statement has no real foundation whatever. It is quite true that we meet with expressions and petitions analogous to most of those in the Lord's Prayer, scattered among the recorded prayers of the Rabbis. But all these prayers are of a *much later date* than the Lord's Prayer; they contain each only one or two of these expressions, while the most deeply reaching find no counterpart among the Rabbis; and lastly, such addresses and petitions as "Our Father," and "Thy kingdom come," mean, in the mouths of the Pharisees, not the universal fatherhood of love and compassion, nor yet the all-embracing enlargement of His spiritual dominion, but that God is the Father of Israel as a nation, that all men are to be coerced into the synagogue, and that the bondage of its cumbrous traditionalism is to be imposed upon a world of proselytes, over whom Israel shall rule with all the pride of Pharisaical self-assertion. In proof of the wide difference between the Lord's Prayer and those of the Rabbis, we select the one which, so far as we can judge, comes nearest to it.[1] Bar Kapara prayed: "Before Thee do we bend, before Thee we bow, before Thee we fall down, and Thee alone do we adore. To Thee every knee shall bend, and every tongue confess. Thine, O Lord, is the majesty, the power, the glory, the victory, and the praise; for what is in heaven, and what on earth, is Thine. Thine, Lord, is the kingdom, and Thou art exalted above all. Riches and honour are before Thee. Thou reignest over all, and in Thine hand are power and might. It is in Thy power to make any one great or mighty. We bless Thee, O our God, and praise Thy glorious name. We adore Thee with all our heart and soul. All our members say, Who is like Thee, O God, who deliverest the needy from the mighty, and the poor from the hand of him who doeth violence? Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who art worthy of praise." (Jer. *Ber.* viii. 8.)

The reader will sufficiently mark the difference—we had almost said the contrast—between this and our Lord's prayer. The same felt want runs through all the teaching of the Rabbis on this subject. And yet we have chiefly sought to present the most favourable side of it. We have purposely confined our references almost exclusively to the Jerusalem Talmud, the whole tone of which is far higher and less mingled with superstition than that of the later Babylon *Gemara*. And even so we have left out all allusion to such follies as the supposed influence of prayer upon evil spirits, its miraculous results, &c. But the deepest want underlying all, is that of a sense of personal (not national) need, guilt, and sin (not special sins), which lays us all equally low, calls us all equally to God, and is equally met for us all in the revelation and provision of the Gospel. In short, in all its religiousness Judaism knew not that beatitude with which Christ's teaching began: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." For He "has not come to call the righteous," but "to the poor the Gospel is preached."

[1] Gfrörer, *Gesch. d. Urchrist*, ii. pp. 149, &c., refers to two other prayers, which, however, are far inferior in tone to that given above. Many other Rabbinical prayers are scattered through the Talmud.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

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THE Epistles of St. Paul to his younger companions Timothy and Titus are not only distinguished from the Apostle's other letters by the specialty of purpose expressed in the title of "the *Pastoral* Epistles:" they mark also a new stage in his career.

Much ingenuity has been expended in the endeavour to connect the notices of time and place in these Epistles with the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles. The attempt, however, is futile, as will immediately be shown; and, in our own day, those critics who reject the supposition of the Apostle's liberation followed by a second imprisonment, find it an easier escape from the difficulty to deny altogether the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. It is well to have been brought to this point of agreement at least, that if St. Paul did indeed write these three letters, there was a period of freedom and missionary effort in his life subsequent to that two years' captivity in Rome which St. Luke records, and to which we owe his letters to the churches in Asia, to Philemon, and to the Philippians.

2. The first question, then, is whether there is sufficient warrant to accept the Pastoral Epistles as the veritable letters of St. Paul. To this, if the verdict of Christian antiquity is to be taken, there can be but one reply. The testimony is unanimous; the letters are undisputed.[1] To moderns it has been left to question, on internal and subjective grounds alone, what the early Church without hesitation accepted. That the objections made are baseless might be shown by an examination of them one by one.[2] The letters, it is said, recognise Gnostic forms of error; the sufficient reply is that the tendencies from which Gnosticism arose were already discernible in the churches. Many words and phrases, it is again alleged, occur in the Epistles which are not found in St. Paul's other writings: this merely suggests a different date of composition. The same fact may be noted in comparing the Epistle to the Galatians with those to the Thessalonians.[3] Criticisms to the effect that the "general tone and character of the Epistles are different from Paul's," that "the pervading spirit is flat, sober, sensible, without vigour, depth, or spiritual richness," and that "un-Pauline sentiments occur,"[4] may safely be left to the readers of the letters themselves. Let it only be remembered that an address *ad clerum* will of necessity differ both in its topics and its tone from one *ad populum*, and most if not all the differences noted between the two series of Epistles will be explained. Other points of difficulty will be examined in the course of this paper. There are no objections weightier than those just noticed, and they would scarcely have been urged but for the impossibility of finding a place for the Pastoral Letters in the narrative of "the Acts." Admit a sequel to the history, and all is clear. To cut the knot by denying the letters to be genuine, raises greater difficulties than it seeks to solve; for it is impossible to explain how a generation which showed itself so wisely cautious in its admission of alleged apostolic writings—which doubted even the Epistle to the Hebrews, and scarcely allowed to the Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude their place in the canon—should thus undoubtingly and unanimously have received the letters to Timothy and Titus, excepting in full, satisfactory assurance of their having proceeded from the Apostle Paul.

3. There is, further, no ground whatever in the Apostle's recorded history for discrediting his liberation. "I know," he said to the Ephesian elders, "that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." This was no inspired prophecy, but a natural foreboding.[5] Was the foreboding fulfilled? is a question which can only be decided by facts. The words may be set over against those written to the Philippians: "I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith." If the former passage would lead us to believe that the Apostle saw Ephesus no more, the latter would prove with equal force that he again visited Philippi. The language of the Apostle's alternate hopes and fears cannot be taken as determining his subsequent history. So far, indeed, as anything can be gathered from the earlier Epistles of his Roman captivity, liberation appears at least as likely as martyrdom. Throughout, the possibility of release is assumed: and in the four letters[6] there is nothing akin to the words in which the Second Epistle to Timothy declares the Apostle "ready to be offered," and the time of his departure at hand. That St. Luke's narrative does not notice so important and interesting an event in the Apostle's career, proves nothing but that the record was complete before the event took place.

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[1] "There never," says Alford, "was the slightest doubt in the ancient Church that the Epistles to Timothy and Titus were canonical, and written by St. Paul" (*N. T.*, vol. iii., p. 69). They are contained in the earliest versions, are cited by Christian authors from Clement downwards, are included in the ancient catalogues, and are reckoned by Eusebius among the *homologoumena*, or universally confessed canonical writings. Marcion, however, is said to have rejected them from his canon, for doctrinal reasons.

[2] See Alford's reply to the criticisms of Baur and De Wette in particular (*N. T.*, vol. iii., pp. 74—86), and Dr. Davidson's full discussion (*Introduction to the New Testament*, 1857, pp. 100—153).

[3] "If the First Epistle to Timothy exhibits 81 of these peculiarities, and the second 63, the Epistle to the Galatians has 57, that to the Philippians 54, and those to the Colossians and Ephesians together 143." (Davidson, vol. iii., p. 121.)

[4] Dr. Davidson, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 1868, vol. ii., pp. 169, 171.

[5] Canon Birks thinks that the words were actually fulfilled, and that St. Paul gave to Timothy the charge of the Ephesian church, *without himself going thither*. See *Horæ Apostolicæ*, pp. 290—292.

[6] Including that to Philemon.

4. But there is positive evidence, apart from the letters themselves, tending in the same direction. The often quoted language of Clement of Rome, notwithstanding all the attempts made to explain it away, decisively shows the release of St. Paul from his first Roman imprisonment to have been a tradition of the early Church. The Apostle Paul, he says, "having been a herald (of the Gospel) both in the east and west, received the glorious renown due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come *to the extreme west* (τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως), and having borne witness before the rulers. Thus did he depart from the world, and went his way to the holy place."[1] It is plainly impossible that Clement, *writing from Rome*, should have intended by "the extreme west," either the imperial city itself, or any place mentioned in the Acts as the scene of St. Paul's ministrations, all of which lay *east* of Rome. The only explanation is, that as the Apostle had, in writing to the Romans (xv. 24), declared his intention of visiting *Spain*, he is here said by Clement to have carried out his purpose. The Fragment of Muratori (A.D. 170) expressly asserts the same thing.[2] Eusebius mentions it as an historical fact:—"After pleading his cause, Paul is said to have departed again on the ministry of preaching, and after a second visit to the same city, he finished his life with martyrdom."[3] Chronological *data* point in the same direction. We have already seen reason for assigning the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians to the year A.D. 62–3. The Apostle's martyrdom may be placed about A.D. 68. There is then a space of some five years, which, as there is no anterior opposing probability, as the anticipations of the Epistles themselves warrant the supposition, as early Christian authors accredit it, and as the references of the Pastoral Epistles cannot be otherwise explained, we are fully warranted in believing to have been occupied in part by an extended and final apostolic journey.

5. The appeal to the Pastoral Epistles themselves must now be made; a brief citation of passages will suffice. The argument is, first that the references to time and place in these Epistles not only are not supported by the history in the "Acts," but cannot be assigned to any part of it; and secondly, that these references, taken together, perfectly cohere with the supposition of a later journey, followed by a second imprisonment in Rome.

(*a*) When the First Epistle to Timothy was written, he had been commissioned to remain in Ephesus, while St. Paul proceeded to Macedonia (chap. i. 3). Now two occasions are recorded in the history in which the Apostle departed from Ephesus. On the former, he went not to Macedonia, but to *Jerusalem* (Acts xviii. 19—22); on the latter, he went to Macedonia, but Timothy had been *sent on from Ephesus* before him (Acts xx. 1, compared with xix. 21, 22), and was still with St. Paul when the Apostle wrote from Macedonia to the Corinthians. The explanation suggested by Wieseler, who rejects the hypothesis of St. Paul's release, is that the Apostle, during his residence in Ephesus, recorded in Acts xix., temporarily quitted that city for Corinth and Macedonia, leaving Timothy behind. This supposition, Wieseler thinks, will also reconcile Acts xix. 8, "three months," ver. 10, "two years," with xx. 31, "three years." If to the two years and three months mentioned in the history, we add nine months for the Apostle's excursion to Macedonia, we have the "three years" of which he speaks in his address to the elders. The solution is ingenious, and derives some plausibility from the fact that there was undoubtedly a visit paid by the Apostle to *Corinth* during his residence in Ephesus.[4] But it is highly improbable that this hurried visit was part of a lengthened tour, embracing Macedonia; while the care committed to Timothy was of a far more solemn and responsible character than a charge during temporary absence. It may be added that the Apostle writes in chap. iii. 14, 15, of his own possible return, in language quite inconsistent with the supposition that his pastoral home was still at Ephesus. And further, when St. Paul gave his parting charge to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, Timothy was with him (Acts xx. 4). Is it supposable that if Timothy had already been invested with the superintendence of the Church, no reference should have been made to the fact? The reconciliation of the "two years and three months" of one place with the "three years" of another, needs no such violent hypothesis as Wieseler's, the simple explanation being that the Apostle's labours in Ephesus *were not closed* with the "two years" of Acts xix. 10; verse 22 plainly pointing to an additional period; "he himself stayed in Asia for a season." On the whole, then, the only explanation of 1 Tim. i. 3 is in the supposition of a later journey.[5]

(*b*) The Epistle to Titus contains two notices confirmatory of the same conclusion. Titus had been left in Crete (i. 5), as Timothy in Ephesus, for the consolidation of the churches. Now the only occasion in which the history mentions a visit of St. Paul to Crete was in his voyage to Rome as a prisoner, when it is scarcely supposable that Titus was with him, and certain that, if he had been, there would have been no opportunity for the action mentioned in the Epistle. The second point is that, when the letter was written, St. Paul was on his way to winter quarters in Nicopolis, in Epirus;[6] a fact which effectually negatives the supposition of this visit to Crete having been paid during

[1] Clement, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chap. v., where see Canon Lightfoot's note.

[2] The words are, "Profectionem Pauli ab Urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis." See Fragm. in Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 2.

[3] *Eccl. Hist.*, ii. 22. Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theodoret might be quoted to the same effect. Jerome (*d.* A.D. 420) resided some time in Rome as secretary to the bishop Damasus, and would be familiar with the traditions and archives of the city.

[4] See *Introduction* to 2 Corinthians, and 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

[5] For a thorough examination and refutation of Hug's view, that Timothy had returned from Macedonia before St. Paul quitted Ephesus, and was then left behind, rejoining him after a short interval in Macedonia, see Birks' *Horæ Apostolicæ*, p. 285—288.

[6] See *Introduction* to the Epistle to Titus.

one of the voyages between Asia and Europe recorded in the "Acts."[1]

(*c*) The Second Epistle to Timothy, which, as we shall show, was the Apostle's last letter, written from Rome on the eve of his martyrdom, has two sentences (iv. 13, 20), not to mention others, which decisively point in the same direction. "The cloak (or, possibly, manuscript case) which I left at Troas with Carpus, bring with thee, and the books." Now the last visit paid to Troas by St. Paul before his imprisonment in Rome was on his way to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6) several years before his martyrdom, whereas he is evidently speaking to Timothy of a recent occurrence. Again, "Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick." On St. Paul's halt at Miletus (Acts xx. 17), Trophimus was *not* left behind, but accompanied him to Jerusalem (xx. 4; xxi. 29). We are compelled, therefore, to infer a later visit.

(*d*) On the above grounds, therefore, we conclude that after the Apostle's two years' imprisonment at Rome, being liberated by the court before which he was tried, he undertook a journey, including *at least* Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3), Crete (Titus i. 5), Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20), Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20), and Nicopolis (Titus iii. 12).[2] It is at the same time highly probable that in the course of this journey he was enabled to fulfil his desire to visit Philippi (Phil. i. 25—27; ii. 24), Colossæ (Philem. i. 22), and even Jerusalem (Heb. xiii. 23).[3] That he also travelled to Spain is, as we have seen, an early tradition. The probability of the supposition that Nicopolis was the place of his arrest—"the last scene of the Apostle's labours, before his final imprisonment"[4]—will be discussed in our *Introduction* to the Epistle to Titus.

6. At what particular stage in the journey the First Epistle to Timothy was written, we cannot tell. That St. Paul had visited Ephesus, and had passed on to Macedonia, leaving his younger associate behind, is all that appears on the surface of the Epistle. Timothy was invested with the office of an evangelist—a word which in this connection denotes, not a preacher of the Gospel, or missionary, in the wider sense,[5] but an apostolic deputy, with power to superintend the organisation of the churches, especially by "ordaining elders."

To this particular office Timothy had been set apart, or rather he had *grown into* it, through long association, on affectionate and confidential terms, with the Apostle. At the time when we first meet with him in the history he was a very young man. This was at Lystra (Acts xvi. i.), at the outset of St. Paul's second missionary journey. Timothy was at that time already "a disciple;" and as he is called St. Paul's "son in the faith," it is probable that he was converted in the Apostle's first visit to Lystra (Acts xiv. 6, 7). The outbreak of popular fury on that occasion, endangering the life of the Apostle, must have made a lasting impression on the mind of the boyish disciple (2 Tim. iii. 10, 11). On the second visit of St. Paul to Lystra, he determined to associate Timothy with himself as a companion; and, to obviate a Jewish prejudice, "took and circumcised him," as being partly of Jewish parentage.[6] From this time we have continual glimpses of the young evangelist. He remains in Berœa, when Paul is hurried away out of the reach of the Jews; is sent to Thessalonica to "establish" and "comfort" the brethren; rejoins the Apostle at Corinth, where his name is united with St. Paul's in addressing the Thessalonians. He is found with Paul at Ephesus, whence he is sent to Macedonia and Corinth. In Macedonia he is united with the Apostle in the address of the second Corinthian letter; and at Corinth he joins in salutation to the Roman church. In St. Paul's last journey to Asia, before his imprisonment, Timothy is with him; and in Rome again unites with the Apostle in the superscription of the letters to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Philippians. From Rome he is, in all probability, sent to Philippi; rejoining the Apostle at Ephesus, or perhaps accompanying him thither. At Ephesus he is now left in charge of the churches of the district; and St. Paul, having travelled on to Macedonia, addresses to him this letter of counsel.[7]

7. It is observable that Timothy, even at the end of these journeyings and labours, is still addressed as a youth: "Let no man despise thy youth. Flee youthful lusts."[8] The advice has been employed to discredit the later date of the Epistles, even to discredit them altogether. Was Timothy, the youth of Lystra, still a young man when St. Paul was imprisoned in Rome? The answer is simple. Between the circumcision of Timothy and the martyrdom of Paul was an interval of just seventeen years. Supposing him to have been under twenty at the former period, he would be some years short of forty at the latter; and according to the usage of the times, as well as in comparison with "Paul the aged," and considering the responsibilities entrusted to him, Timothy was young.[9] Such, at least, would be

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[1] Matthew Henry and others have imagined a visit to the island during the voyage into Syria recorded in Acts xviii. 18, when St. Paul was on his way to Jerusalem to keep the feast of Pentecost, *i.e.*, in the early summer, after which he spent a considerable time in Syria, Galatia, and Phrygia, passing then through "the inland districts" (xix. 1) to Ephesus, where he remained three years. There is thus absolutely no place here for the wintering in Nicopolis.

[2] Dr. Hackett *on the Acts* (Eng. edit.), vol. ii., p. 279; supplementary Note 1, by S. G. Green. The later date of the Epistle is held, among others, by Neander, Alford, Ellicott, Macknight, Mill, Conybeare and Howson, Canon Lightfoot, Lewin, Dr. Paton Gloag; the earlier, by Grotius, Hammond, Lardner, Burton, Townsend, and Moses Stuart.

[3] See *Introduction* to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

[4] Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 481.

[5] In this sense Philip, one of "the seven," is termed an evangelist (Acts xxi. 8). Different again is the application of the word to the biographers of our Lord—the "four Evangelists."

[6] For St. Paul's different conduct in the case of Titus, and its reason, see *Introduction* to the Epistle to Titus.

[7] For the several points in this paragraph, see Acts xvii. 14; 1 Thess. iii. 2; Acts xviii. 5; 1 Thess. i. 6; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; Acts xix. 22; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10; 2 Cor. i. 1; Rom. xvi. 21; Acts xx. 4; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1; Phil. i. 1; ii. 19.

[8] 1 Tim. iv. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 22.

[9] Paul himself was evidently of venerable age at the close of his life, A.D. 68. His conversion must be dated about 36. Supposing him to have been seventy years old at death, he would be about thirty-four when converted. But at that time he is expressly called "a young man" (Acts vii. 58).

the very natural view of the seniors, over whom he was invested with spiritual authority.

8. The order of the Epistle is by no means formal; the main topics are sufficiently distinct, but there are many digressions on matters personal both to Timothy and to the Apostle himself. A very brief analysis is all that can now be given.

I. SALUTATION.—"Grace, mercy, and peace!" (chap. i. 1. 2.)

II. TIMOTHY'S COMMISSION at Ephesus, especially in the stand he was to take against Judaising error (i. 3—10).

Digression. The contrast of Law and Gospel brings to mind his own exceeding happiness in having "obtained mercy," and being entrusted with the "glad tidings of the glory of the blessed God."

Doxology. (i. 11—17.)

III. THE CHARGE TO TIMOTHY, in many particulars (i. 18—vi. 10.)

(1.) Appeal to him *to be faithful* (dread example from Hymenæus and Alexander[1]) (i. 18—20).

(2.) Injunctions respecting *worship.*

(*a*) Intercession to be made for all. Divine sanction of the law of universal charity (ii. 1—8).

(*b*) Decencies of worship to be observed by women (ii. 9—15).

(3.) Directions concerning the *officers of the churches.*

(*a*) The bishop—his character and qualifications (iii. 1—7).

(*b*) The deacons—their character and qualifications (iii. 8—13).

It is no part of our present purpose to discuss the nature of these ecclesiastical offices. The settled order in the churches which their mention indicates, is a strong argument for the later date of the Epistle. The letter to the Philippians, probably the last, as we have seen, of St. Paul's two years' Roman captivity, is the earliest that speaks of bishops and deacons.

Digression. Renewed appeal to Timothy. In the Apostle's absence[2] he is besought to comport himself worthily of the MYSTERY OF GODLINESS[3] (iii. 14—16).

(4.) Cautions against *asceticism* (iv. 1—11).

(5.) Rules for a faithful and successful *ministry* (iv. 12—16).

(6.) Commands respecting *different classes* in the Church.

(*a*) Pastoral demeanour towards old and young, and the female sex (v. 1, 2).

(*b*) Precepts respecting "widows," supported by the Church, and devoted to works of usefulness (v. 3—16).

(*c*) Elders to be properly supported (v. 17, 18).

(*d*) Care and impartiality to be observed in considering accusations against character (v. 19—21).

(*e*) Caution lest the unworthy should be ordained to the ministry (v. 22, 24, 25).

Digression. Sudden parenthesis caused by considering Timothy's feeble health and many cares (ver. 23).[4]

(*f*) Directions respecting servants, especially Christians, where both master and servant were Christians. Law of subordination (vi. 1—5).

Digression, from the thought of earthly ambitions; how poor they are, especially when they take the form of covetousness! Live above them, and lay hold on eternal life! (vi. 6—12.)

IV. CLOSING APPEAL, doxology and benediction (vi. 13—21).

The reference, after the sublime outburst of praise in vv. 15, 16, to two topics of the preceding discussion, the right use of wealth (vv. 17—19), and the absurdities of a vain philosophy, must, no doubt, be explained by the special circumstances and dangers of the Asiatic churches. The sudden re-introduction of such themes is eminently characteristic of the Apostle, and a striking mark of genuineness.

9. It has often been remarked that the best epistolary compositions as truly reveal the character of the recipient as of the writer. A man may not unfairly be judged by the letters his friends write to him. Applying this test to the character of Timothy, a very distinct portrait rises before us—a weakly, young-looking man, intellectual and speculative, with nobler faculties than he himself was conscious of; too ready to submit to the unfavourable verdict of others, and needing to be aroused, by stimulating, encouraging appeals, to act with a boldness and decision commensurate with his powers. No doubt he needs the warning words which the venerable Apostle, his father in Christ, addresses to him; while in every essential element of character he is worthy not only to be that Apostle's familiar attendant and friend, but to be entrusted with the high responsibility of carrying on the apostolic work alone, amid the peculiar perils which in early days encompassed the "churches of Asia." Were other evidence wanting, the latest letter of St. Paul, as we shall hereafter see, well proves how fully Timothy deserved the great Apostle's confidence and love.

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[1] *Hymenæus,* one of those who taught that the resurrection was already past (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18); *Alexander,* "the coppersmith" (2 Tim. iv. 14), perhaps the same mentioned at Ephesus (Acts xix. 33, 34).

[2] It may be observed that the words in verse 14, "hoping to come unto thee shortly," are an additional disproof of the earlier date; for, as Canon Birks remarks (*H. A.*, p. 295), "When St. Paul entered Macedonia on his second visit, he plainly did not intend to return to Asia until after the winter, an interval of nine months."

[3] The reading in chap. iii. ver. 16 of ΟΣ for ΘΣ (*Who* instead of *God*) is now accepted by almost all critics of the first rank. See, among English expositors, Alford and Ellicott *in loc.* "The Mystery" is the antecedent personified; "The mystery, who;" or "the Mystery—He who was manifested," &c. Different opinions prevail as to the punctuation of the preceding sentences. The phrase "the pillar and ground of the truth" may grammatically refer either to *the Church* (as in E. V.), to *Timothy,* or to *the Mystery.* The question merits more extended examination than can be given here: we incline to the second view.

[4] "Imagine an impostor sitting down to forge an epistle in the name of St. Paul. Is it credible that it should come into his head to give such a direction as this, so remote from everything of doctrine or discipline, everything of public concern to religion or the Church, or to any sect, order, or party in it, and from every purpose for which such an epistle could be written? It seems to me that nothing but reality, that is, the real valetudinary situation of a real person, could have suggested a thought of so domestic a nature." (Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ* on 1 Timothy, § 4; see also the following paragraph.)

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

ORDERS FROM ROSACEÆ TO CUCURBITACEÆ.

BY WILLIAM CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE Rose family (*Rosaceæ*) is one of the best-known orders of plants, as it includes many favourite flowers like the rose, meadow-sweet, and cinque-foil, and numerous valuable fruits, like the apple, cherry, plum, and strawberry. The plants of the order are generally distributed over the world, but are most abundant in the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere. The indigenous flora of Palestine does not contain many representatives of the family; and the species that have been noticed are chiefly met with on the mountains of the north or on the shores of the Mediterranean. The translators of our Authorised Version have rendered *chabatztzeleth* (חֲבַצֶּלֶת) "rose." The word occurs in only two places in the Bible, one where the bride in the Song replies, "I am the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valleys" (Cant. ii. 1); and the other where the prophet, looking forward to the time of Gospel blessing, says, "The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose" (Isa. xxxv. 1). It is unlikely that our best-known and favourite flower is meant, seeing that Palestine has no roses except in the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon ranges in the north, where our common wild dog-rose and three other species occur. The etymology of the Hebrew word (from *betzel*, "a bulb") seems to indicate that the plant referred to had a bulbous root; and this agrees with the interpretation of the LXX., who rendered it in the passage in Isaiah by "lily," while the general word "flower" is employed in the Song of Solomon: "I am the flower of Sharon—the lily of the valley." Some one or more species of the genera *Lilium*, *Crocus*, or *Narcissus* may be the plant referred to.

The "briars" with which Gideon threatened to tear the flesh of the men of Succoth who refused to supply his army with bread when pursuing the Midianites, and with which he "taught them" on his return from victory (Judg. viii. 7, 16), were probably a bramble, perhaps *Rubus discolor*, a species common in our hedges and not rare in Palestine. The "thorns" which, according to the proverb, could pierce the hand of the drunkard (Prov. xxvi. 9), and which is referred to in the description of leviathan in these words, "Canst thou bore his jaw through with a thorn?" must have been of some strength, and may have been the indurated spine of the sloe or the hawthorn, which occur in the hilly regions of Palestine.

The common almond, with two other species of the same genus, grows spontaneously on the Lebanon mountains, and they were, no doubt, extensively cultivated in ancient times in the gardens and the level districts of the Holy Land. In the strange experiments which Jacob performed with the flocks of Laban, he used peeled rods of "green poplar, and of the hazel and chestnut tree" (Gen. xxx. 37). *Luz* (לוּז), here translated "hazel," is the same word as that employed by the Arabs for the almond-tree, and should be thus rendered in this passage. Luz, the Canaanitish name for Bethel, was probably derived from the existence there of a famous almond-tree, or from the extensive cultivation of the almond in that locality.

The word most frequently employed for the almond in the Hebrew Scriptures is *shaked* (שָׁקֵד), a singularly expressive term for this tree, being derived from the verb "to wake," alluding to its being the first tree to wake out of the winter's sleep. In London its bare leafless branches are covered with blossoms in March or April, but in Palestine the tree is white with bloom in January. Both the verb and the name derived from it are used together when the Lord employs the tree as a figure to illustrate the speedy execution of his word. "Jeremiah, what seest thou? and I said, I see a rod of an almond [a wakener] tree. Then said the Lord unto me, Thou hast well seen, for I will hasten [early wake as to] my word to perform it" (Jer. i. 11, 12). This early clothing of the tree with its white blossoms supplies Solomon with a beautiful metaphor of old age. It is the time when "the almond-tree shall flourish" (Eccles. xii. 5). By a kind of microscopic criticism, perhaps natural to lexicographers, this interpretation of the metaphor has been attempted to be set aside, because, it is said, the flower of the almond is not white, but pink. No doubt the individual flower has a pinkish hue, but the general aspect of the tree in bloom fully justifies the comparison between it and the hoary locks of the old man. A further beauty is seen in the illustration, when one recalls the black leafless branches, as if prematurely clothed with their many blossoms, rudely shaken by the yet wintry winds of March.

The fruit of the almond-tree was amongst the precious productions of Canaan which Jacob sent to Egypt that his sons might obtain favour in the eyes of Egypt's ruler (Gen. xliii. 11); and its form supplied a suitable model for the bowls of the golden candlestick.

The only representative of the Myrtle family (*Myrtaceæ*) found in the Holy Land is the common myrtle, a favourite everywhere from the sweet scent of its wild flowers and bruised leaves. It is an abundant plant in the south of Europe, and one with which we are well acquainted as an in-door plant in Britain. It grows spontaneously in the hilly regions in the north of Palestine, but it is no longer found on the Mount of Olives, though Tristram has met with it in many of the glens near Jerusalem. The returned captives, when celebrating their first Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, formed their booths of branches of the palm, olive, pine, and myrtle cut from the Mount of Olives (Neh. viii. 15); and the modern Jew of every land still uses it in his observance of this feast, when he can obtain it. The

myrtle will again abound in the Holy Land, according to that promise of the Lord, "Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle-tree" (Isa. lv. 13); even the desert shall be clothed with the "cedar, the acacia, the myrtle, and the oil-tree" (Isa. xli. 19). The man riding upon the red horse in the vision of Zechariah is represented as standing in a grove of myrtle-trees (Zech. i. 8, &c.).

A plant like the purple loosestrife so common in our marshes, meadows, and by the side of our water-courses, is found on the shores of Palestine. To the same family (*Lythrarieæ*) belongs the dwarf shrub *Lawsonia inermis*, Linn.—the camphire of the Song of Solomon: "My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-gedi" (Cant. i. 14). Camphor and the tree that produces it were unknown to the ancients, and this, therefore, cannot be the plant referred to here. Equally erroneous is the marginal reading of "cypress," a name only applied by us to the coniferous trees or shrubs common in cultivation. The translators of our Authorised Version were no doubt led into this error by the Septuagint version, where the Hebrew *kopher* (כֹּפֶר) is correctly rendered κύπρος, by which the Greeks meant, not the cypress, but the *Lawsonia*. This is the henna of the Arabs, a plant prized for its clusters of small fragrant flowers, but much more as yielding from its bruised leaves a cosmetic dye used in colouring the nails of the fingers and toes, the tips of the fingers, the palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet. The reddish-orange colour thus produced is thought to enhance the beauty of the Oriental lady of to-day, and it was equally valued by the ancient Egyptians, as we learn from the mummy remains of their women.

Nearly related to the henna in a systematic arrangement is the pomegranate (*Punica granatum*, Linn.), so frequently mentioned in the Bible. It is a shrub or low tree, generally with many stems together, producing blood-red flowers, and globular fruit about the size of an apple. This fruit was highly prized by the children of Israel; in their complaint in the wilderness they longed for the pomegranates they knew in Egypt (Numb. xx. 5). With the vine and fig, this was one of the signs of the fruitful land promised by the Lord to His people (Deut. viii. 8); and the spies found it in abundance in their excursion into the land (Numb. xiii. 23). The frequent use of *Rimmon* for towns and villages indicates the abundance of pomegranate vineyards around them.

The beautiful form of the fruit led to its being employed in the ornamentation of the high priest's robe (Exod. xxviii. 33, 34), and to its use in the sculptured capitals of the pillars in the Temple (1 Kings vii. 18).

The delicious and refreshing pulp in which the seeds are embedded makes the pomegranate a highly-prized fruit in all warm countries. The liquid ruby colour of this pulp is alluded to in the figurative description of the beautiful complexion of the bride: "Thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks" (Cant. iv. 3). The "spiced wine of the juice of the pomegranate" (Cant. viii. 2) is made at the present day in the East as it was in the days of Solomon.

The only representative of the Gourd family (*Cucurbitaceæ*) native to England is the wild bryony, whose long, creeping stem and shining heart-shaped leaves abound in the hedges of the south. Two species of bryony are described by Boissier from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and other localities in Palestine. The bitter cucumber or colocynth, known to us from the familiar drug obtained from the spongy pulp in which its seeds are embedded, is an indigenous plant in Palestine. It grows on the shores of the Levant as well as in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. It is probably the wild gourd which was shred into the pot of pottage at Gilgal by one of the sons of the prophets, who apparently mistook it for a good melon. The error of the young man was discovered when the pottage was being consumed; but Elisha delivered those who had partaken of the food by miraculously destroying its injurious qualities (2 Kings iv. 38—41). The squirting cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium*, Linn.) is also found in Palestine. It has more active medical properties than the colocynth, but its small prickly fruit was not likely to have been mistaken by any one for a melon or a gourd. In the narrative it is said that the "wild gourds" were gathered from "a wild vine." This designation is frequently applied to creeping or climbing plants with tendrils, which, except in this habit of growth, differ in all other respects from the true vine. The colocynth is probably also the "vine of Sodom," as Canon Tristram has suggested, which is mentioned in the song of Moses: "Their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter" (Deut. xxxii. 32). It "grows most abundantly on the barren sands near Gilgal, and all round the Dead Sea on the low flats, covering much ground with its tendrils, which reach a prodigious length and bear great quantities of fruit." The nauseous taste of the bitter pulp of the colocynth fruit—bitter as gall—agrees with the description of the "grapes" of this vine of Sodom.

The gourd which covered the booth erected by Jonah on the east side of Nineveh was, there can be little doubt, one of the climbing gourds, whose large leaves would supply the angry prophet with a grateful shade (Jon. iv. 5—9). The sudden destruction of the plant would follow naturally the injury done to its stem by a herbivorous grub or worm. The castor-oil plant or "palmocrist" (*Ricinus communis*, Linn.), suggested in the margin of our Bibles, and at first proposed by Jerome as the gourd of Jonah, though common in the East, is not an arbour plant, and does not agree with the narrative.

Several species of the Gourd family, though perhaps not indigenous to Palestine, have been long cultivated there. The cucumber and melon were well known in Egypt to the Israelites during their bondage, and they were among the good things mourned for in the wilderness (Numb. xi. 5). At the present day the melon, water-melon, and cucumber are largely grown in Palestine and Egypt, and form important articles of food to the people.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

THE COUNTRY EAST OF JORDAN.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

X.—BASHAN, GILEAD, AND MOAB.

THE general character of the country east of Jordan has already been alluded to in general terms as a wide table-land of undulating downs, clothed with rich grass, and dotted with the relics of primeval forests, through which wind the deep ravines of the Yarmuk, the Jabbok, and the Arnon, and we may therefore pass at once to an examination of the three districts of Bashan, Gilead, and Moab, into which it was divided.

BASHAN.

The limits of Bashan are defined in the Bible as being from "the border of Gilead," the river Yarmuk, or Hieromax, on the south, to Mount Hermon on the north, and from the Jordan valley on the west to Salchah (Sulkhad), south-east of Jebel Hauran, and the border of the Geshurites and the Maachathites on the east. It was bestowed on the half-tribe of Manasseh, together with "half Gilead," and after the Captivity was divided into the four provinces of Gaulonitis, Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa, and we may perhaps add Ituræa or Jetur, which was conquered by the children of Manasseh at a later period (1 Chron. v. 19, 23). The oaks of the forests of Bashan, and the wide-spreading plains on which "the strong bulls of Bashan" pastured, appear to have had a proverbial fame, but the country itself has no Biblical history, and its name is found most frequently in connection with that of King Og.

The province of *Ituræa,* over which Philip was tetrarch (Luke iii. 1), lay along the base of Mount Hermon, and is now called Jedur, the Arabic form of the Hebrew Jetur, a name derived from Jetur, the son of Ishmael, who settled there. The country is undulating, and has an extremely rich soil, well watered by the streams which descend from Hermon, as well as by numerous springs; the rock is basalt, broken here into deep chasms, and there rising in jagged rocks of the most fantastic form. The province of *Gaulonitis* is nowhere alluded to in the Bible; but Golan, its chief town, is mentioned as a city of Bashan, in the portion of Manasseh, which was allotted to the Levites, and as one of the cities of refuge east of Bashan. Of the site of Golan nothing is known, but it may have been at a place called Nawa, where there are extensive ruins. The western boundary of Gaulonitis was the Jordan, whence the ground rises abruptly, presenting the appearance, to a spectator on the western heights, of a long ridge running from Hermon towards the mountains of Gilead; it is, however, nothing more than the edge of the plateau, with a few isolated hills not connected with any mountain system. The plateau or table-land now called Jaulan, the Arabic form of the Hebrew Golan, is extremely fertile, and provides abundant pasturage for the Bedawi flocks. It was once covered with thriving towns and villages, but with the exception of some dozen, they now lie waste, and their place is occupied by the black tents of the Bedawin. Amongst these towns were Bethsaida-Julias, Gamala, and Hippos, which we have already noticed when describing the Sea of Galilee, and Apheca, the modern Fik, which may possibly be the Aphek at which Benhadad and his Syrian army were defeated by the Israelites (1 Kings xx. 26—30). The plain of the Jaulan, like Jedur, is of volcanic formation, a vast field of basalt, watered by numerous winter torrents and perennial streams, which form part of the drainage system of the Sheriat el-Mandhur or Yarmuk; and it was formerly traversed by the two Roman roads leading respectively from the Jisr Benat Jakub, above the Sea of Galilee, and from Gadara to Damascus; of these roads large sections remain in an almost perfect state, and one of them must have been the road by which Saul journeyed to Damascus, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord."

The province of *Trachonitis* lay to the south of Damascus and east of Gaulonitis, and included the remarkable district of the Lejah, with part of the western slopes of Jebel Hauran. The Lejah, which has been identified with "the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan," containing sixty great cities, is a wild mass of basaltic rock, some twenty-two miles long by fourteen wide, with a clearly-defined boundary, which has been compared to a "cyclopean wall in ruins." Professor Porter describes it as being "wholly composed of black basaltic rock, which appears to have issued from innumerable pores in the earth, and to have flowed out on every side until the plain was almost covered. Before cooling, it seems to have been tossed like a tempestuous sea, and subsequently to have been shattered and rent by internal convulsions. . . . Deep fissures and yawning chasms with ragged broken sides intersect the whole like a network; while here and there are mounds of rock evidently forced upwards by some mighty agency, and then rent and shattered to their centres. . . . The aspect of the whole when one gains a high point is wild and savage in the extreme." Josephus tells us (*Antiq.* xv. 10, § 1) that the robbers who infested the district lived in caves having narrow entrances "in which but one could come in at a time," whilst the interiors were "incredibly large and made very wide;" and he adds, "the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, for these roads are not straight, but have several revolutions." These descriptions call

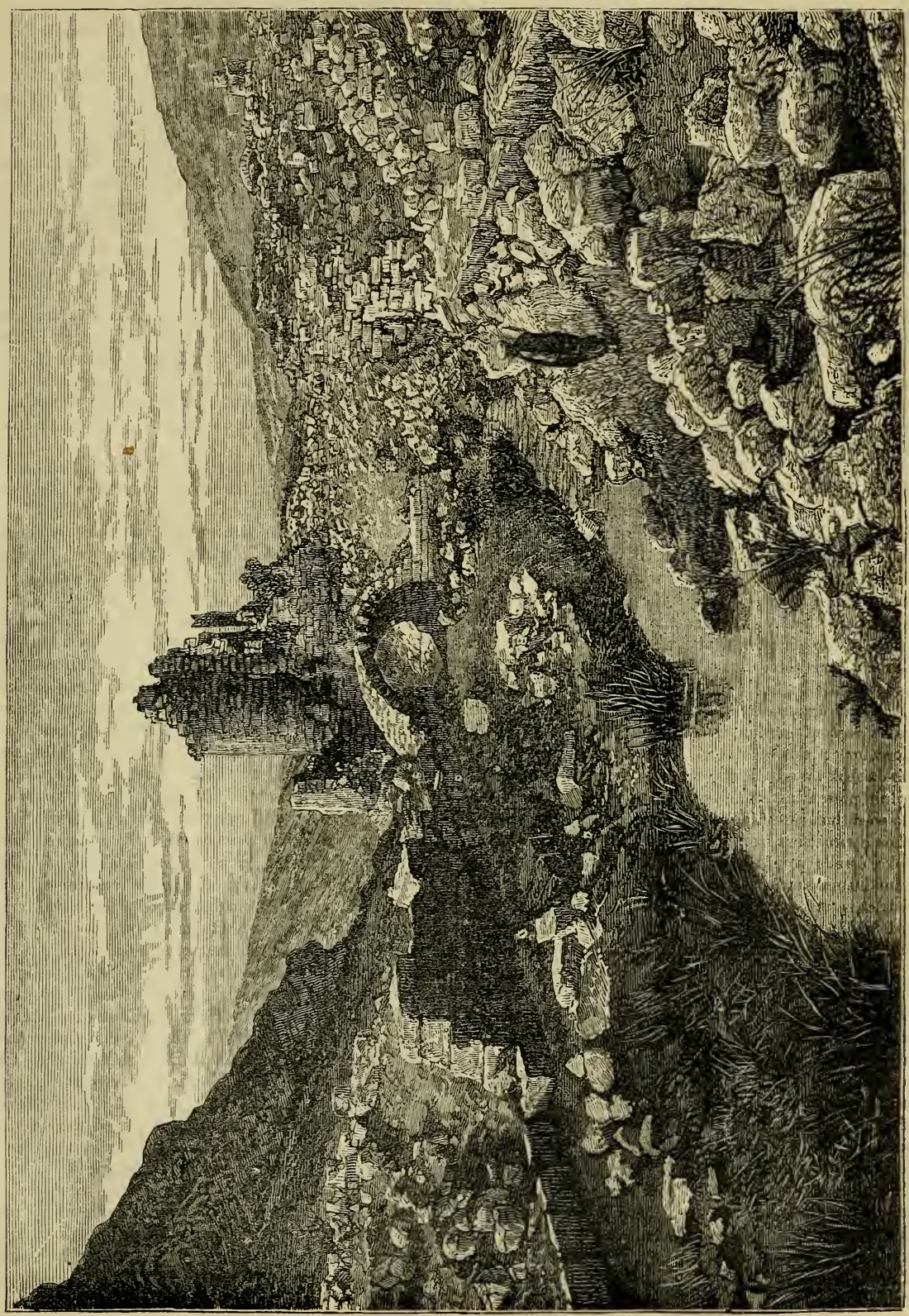
to mind the recent accounts in the newspapers of the lava beds in which Captain Jack and his Modoc warriors were able to hold their own against the trained soldiers of the United States.

Trachonitis is only once mentioned in the Bible, as the region over which Philip was tetrarch (Luke iii. 1), and it is but rarely noticed in history, yet it must formerly have been of some importance, if we may judge from the number of deserted towns; indeed, nothing is more striking than the constant evidences which meet the eye of the traveller that this wild, desolate region was at one time thickly populated. Amongst the more important sites are Musmeih, where the ruins cover a larger area than Jerusalem, and include many large buildings, such as the Doric temple erected during the reign of Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus, which has an inscription of much interest, identifying the place with Phæno, the capital of Trachon; Edhra, which is probably Edrei, the scene of the great battle in which Og, king of Bashan, was killed, "and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him alive" (Numb. xxi. 33—35). Edhra stands on a rocky promontory which projects from the south-west corner of the Lejah. "The site," says Professor Porter, "is a strange one—without water, without access, except over rocks and through defiles which are all but impracticable. Strength and security seem to have been the grand objects in view, and to those all other advantages were sacrificed." Within the walls are the ruins of two Christian churches, one of which, as an inscription informs us, was converted, A.D. 516, from a temple into a church. Kunawat, the Kenath of Numb. xxxii. 42, which Nobah took, with "the villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name," is picturesquely situated on the western slopes of Jebel Hauran, and on the left bank of the wild ravine of Wady Kunawat, a tributary of the Yarmuk. The ruins are extensive, and amongst them are a theatre, hippodrome, a large basilica of the fourth century, temples, and many private houses with stone doors tastefully ornamented with fruit and flowers. Not far from Kunawat is one of the most interesting remains in the country, the temple of Siah, which, according to inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic, was built in honour of Baal Samin, and contained a statue of Herod; its chief interest, however, is derived from the fact that it was erected at the same period as Herod's temple at Jerusalem, and that in its construction it offers many points of resemblance to what we know of that building.

The province of *Batanæa* comprised the mountain-range of Jebel Hauran, except the western slope, which is of volcanic origin, and composed of hills of moderate elevation and easy gradients, covered with wood and cultivation. The name Batanæa still lingers in the small town of Bathaniyeh, on the northern spurs of Jebel Hauran, and Wetzstein has shown that the proper name of the whole range is Ard el-Bathaniyeh. Among the many ancient sites are Suweideh, next to Busrah the most extensive ruins in the country, but of which the history is entirely lost; and Sulkhad (Salchah), mentioned as one of the limits of Bashan. The ruins of the latter place are situated at the south-eastern extremity of Jebel Hauran, and include many important buildings and private houses with their massive stone walls, stone doors, and stone roofs, in an almost perfect state.

The province of *Auranitis*, the Auran mentioned by Ezekiel in defining the north-eastern boundary of the Promised Land, and the modern Hauran, was situated between Gaulonitis and Batanæa. It consisted of the great fertile plain which extends to the west and south of Jebel Hauran, and is now known as En Nukhrah. This plain is perfectly flat, and its soil is extremely rich, whilst over its surface are scattered the ruins of innumerable towns and villages. Under the reigns of the Herods and Agrippas, and under the Roman Empire, the province of Auranitis attained to a considerable degree of prosperity, which was only stopped by the Moslem invasion. Amongst the inscriptions found at Busrah, the chief town, the names of Malichus, the opponent of Herod the Great, and Harethath Philodemus, who held Damascus, and governed it by an ethnarch, at the time of St. Paul's escape, have been found. The most important town of Auranitis was Bostra, the modern Busrah, and perhaps, though it is by no means certain, the Bozrah in the land of Moab mentioned by Jeremiah. The ruins are very extensive, and comprise a triumphal arch, a temple, two Roman gateways, a great mosque, said to have been built by Omar; a church, erected in 513 A.D., a large castle, and other important buildings. Bostra was also the centre from which the roads traversing the country east of Jordan radiated, and the great trunk roads from Arabia to Damascus and the north, and from Palestine to Busrah on the Euphrates, passed through it.

Perhaps the most striking feature in the Hauran, and, indeed, in the whole district comprised in the ancient territory of Bashan, is the almost exclusive use of stone in the buildings, whether basilicas with their lofty galleries, or private houses with their different chambers and outhouses. There is no wood in the country, and the only material available being a hard basalt, the builders were obliged to resort to a combination of arches as a means of covering great spaces. The arches were built in parallel lines, and supported walls, on which large flat slabs were laid, fitting perfectly together, and forming a roof, on which a layer of earth was generally placed. The doors were also of stone—sometimes of a single slab, sometimes with two leaves, but in either case turning easily on socket-hinges. Many of the doors may still be seen swinging on their hinges, and in some of the inscriptions reference is made to the difficulties met with in their construction; the doors of small recesses in the sides of the walls and the shutters of the windows were made of the same material and in a similar manner. The date of these private houses has been matter of some dispute. Some writers are of opinion that they date from the reign of the giant king of Bashan, but this view can scarcely be maintained in the face of recent investigation. It is certainly probable that the old inhabitants of Bashan, having no other



AMMAN (RABBOTH-AMMON). (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

material, built their houses of stone, and there may possibly be remnants of these in the country, but by far the larger number of the private dwelling-places and tombs now standing date from the Christian period; this is proved by inscriptions, and by the fact that most of the pagan inscriptions are not *in situ*, but are generally found in later buildings. Christianity, according to De Vogüe, "penetrated very early into these regions, and it counted numerous adepts, organised in hierarchic order, when Constantine gave it peace; and accordingly, from the second half of the fourth century inscriptions are found pointing out the existence of a strong and active Christian society, building houses, porticoes, cisterns, hostelries, basilicas, churches, tombs, &c., in honour of the Holy Trinity and of the saints who were most widely worshipped."

GILEAD,

sometimes called "Mount Gilead," and "the land of Gilead," extended from the river Yarmuk on the north to the borders of Moab on the south, that is, to the Wady Mojib or Arnon. It would appear that at a very early period the Moabite territory extended far to the north of the Arnon, and embraced the "plain country" or Mishor, and south-eastern portion of the Jordan Valley, but that when the Israelites reached the country the Moabites had been driven out by Sihon, king of the Amorites, who was in possession and living at Heshbon. On the defeat of Sihon at the decisive battle of Jahaz the country fell into the hands of the Israelites, and was afterwards given to Reuben and Gad, but this particular district, the modern "Belka," still retained the distinctive name of "Mishor," or sometimes the "land of Moab," and the plains east of Jordan were also known as the Arboth Moab, or "plains of Moab." Between the Yarmuk and the Jabbok (Wady Zerka) rise the mountains of Jebel Ajlun, presenting a uniform outline when viewed from the west, but assuming a more prominent appearance when approached from the east, a feature on which Dr. Beke dwells particularly in his account of a journey from Damascus to Nablus through the Hauran. This district is "the half of Gilead" over which Og reigned, and which was afterwards given, with all Bashan, to the half-tribe of Manasseh; so, too, it was in this northern Gilead that Laban overtook Jacob where he had "pitched his tent in the mount," possibly not far from the modern Tibneh, and here a heap of stones was thrown up to mark the boundary between the two families, and called Galeed, "the heap of witness," possibly a play on the original name Gilead. To the south of the great chasm of the Jabbok lie the hills of Jebel Jelad (Gilead), the loftiest summit of which, Jebel Osha, overlooks the whole of the Belka, or elevated plain, that extends right down to the Arnon. The hills north and south of the Jabbok are well cultivated, and are in places covered with forests of oak, the descendants of the oaks of Bashan; the country presents some of the most rural scenery in Palestine, open forest glades with luxuriant grass, and a rich variety of wild flowers. The plain of the Belka is bordered on the east by a low chain of hills which separate it from the eastern desert, and on the west rise a series of heights overlooking the deep chasm of the Jordan Valley, whilst its surface is dotted with isolated hills or *tells*, on which the ancient cities were built. In this southern half of Gilead were situated Mount Abarim, Mount Nebo, Pisgah, and Peor, which are mentioned in connection with the approach of the Israelites to the Promised Land and the death of Moses. It was this rich district of Gilead, with its abundant pasturage "a place for cattle," that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben desired for their "very great multitude of cattle," and in which they afterwards led a pastoral life, to which there are several allusions in the Bible. It was at Mahanaim in Gilead that Abner rallied the Israelites after their defeat on Mount Gilboa, and that David took refuge when fleeing from Absalom; in one of the forests of Gilead Absalom was caught in the thick boughs of a terebinth, and through the same country our Lord passed on his last journey to Jerusalem.

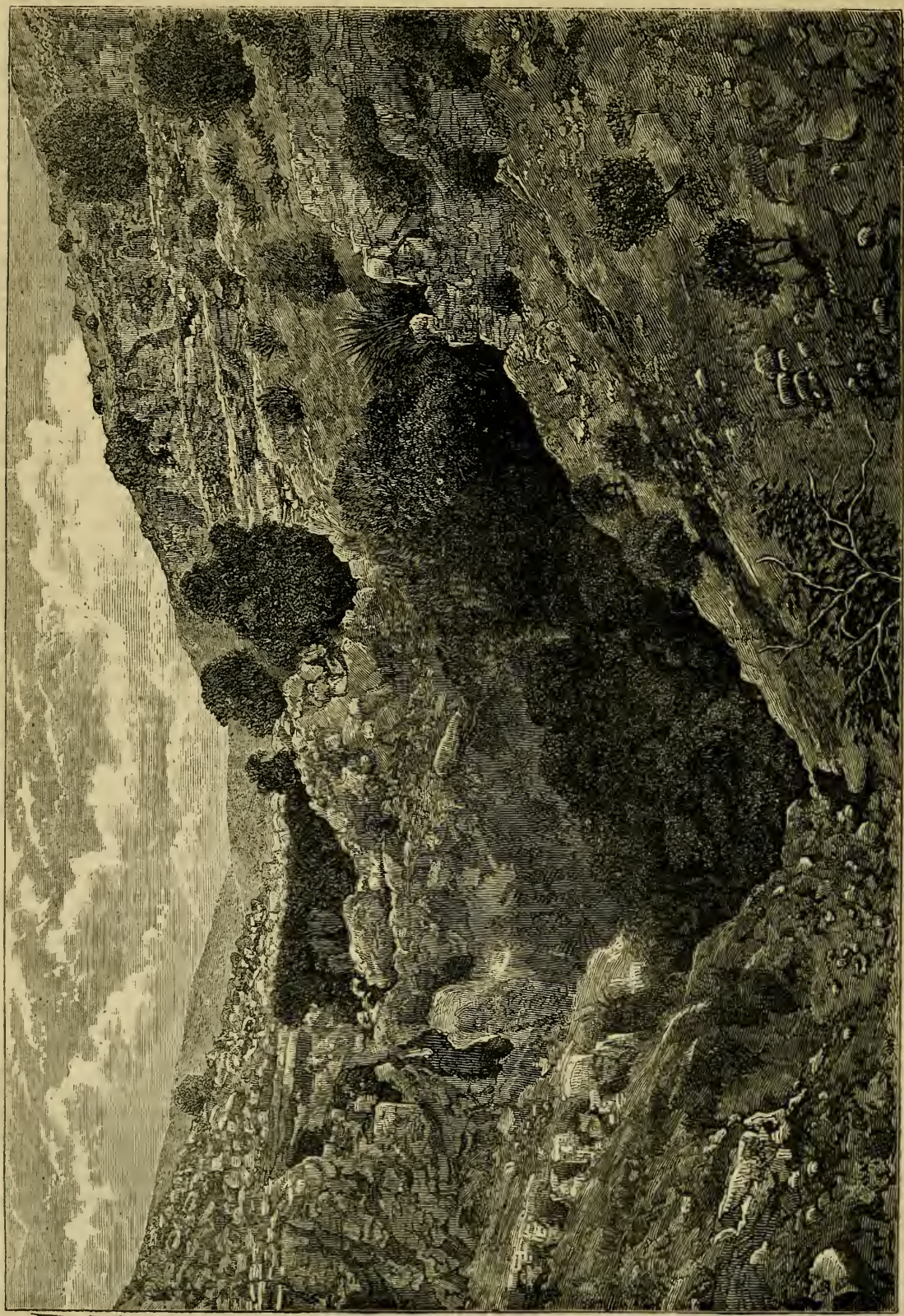
Amongst the more important places in Gilead were Gadara (Umm Keis), which we have already noticed in connection with the Sea of Galilee; Gerasa (Jerash), a large town, on a little stream fringed with oleanders that falls into the Jabbok, which in the time of Jerome gave its name to the country. Gerasa is not alluded to in the Authorised Version of the Bible, but some MSS. read "Gerasenes" for "Gergesenes" in Matt. viii. 28. The town is mentioned by Josephus as having been burned by the Jews during the last war with the Romans, but it afterwards recovered, and during the reigns of the Antonines (138—180 A.D.) was adorned with those magnificent buildings, temples, and palaces, the ruins of which are the most striking and beautiful in Palestine. Amongst these ruins are those of a colonnade which ran through the centre of the city, temples, theatres, and gateways, many still in a good state of preservation. At the foot of Jebel Osha is Es Salt, a large town picturesquely situated on a partially isolated hill, the slopes of which are terraced for the culture of the olive and the vine; the inhabitants, of whom about one-sixth are Christians, are hardy and courageous, and able to hold their own against the marauding Bedawin. Es Salt has generally been identified with Ramoth-gilead, the city of refuge for the tribe of Gad; but its position does not altogether answer the requirements of the Bible narrative, and Jilad, north of Jebel Osha, and Jerash have been proposed as more suitable sites for the great fortress. Ramoth-gilead, being within the limits of Gad, must have been south of the Jabbok or on it, and from the part which it played during the wars between the Israelites and the Syrians we may infer that it occupied an important strategical position, perhaps commanding a pass leading from the Jordan Valley to the plateau; until, however, the country has been properly surveyed, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion. It was at Ramoth-gilead that Ahab lost his life during the joint expedition, with Jehoshaphat, to recover the city which had been seized

by Benhadad in the reign of Omri; a second and successful attempt was made by Joram, who, however, was wounded so severely that he was obliged to retire to Jezreel, leaving Jehu in command of the conquered city. The anointment of Jehu as king over Israel, his rebellion against Joram, and sudden departure from Ramoth-gilead for Jezreel, where the last scene of the successful conspiracy was accomplished, are minutely and graphically described in 2 Kings ix.

South-east of Es Salt are the extensive ruins of Amman, situated on either side of a small stream, which has its source in the old town and flows through it. Amman is the Rabbah or Rabbath-ammon of the Bible, but it afterwards received the name of Philadelphia from Ptolemy Philadelphus. The ruins are amongst the most remarkable in Palestine, and include an immense theatre partly excavated in the rock, a mausoleum, odeum, temples, a church, a citadel and other public buildings, but they date from the Roman period, and no traces have yet been discovered of the presence of the Israelites. The whole place is now desolate, and only visited by wandering Bedawin with their flocks, recalling the prophecy of Ezekiel, "I will make Rabbah a stable for camels, and the Ammonites a couching-place for flocks" (xxv. 5). Rabbah is the only city of the Ammonites mentioned in the Bible, and its chief interest is derived from the long siege which it sustained during the reign of David; at the end, apparently, of about two years the lower town was taken by Joab; but the citadel remained, and the honour of its capture was reserved for David himself. The importance attached to the operations against Rabbah, is attested by the unusual fact of the presence of the ark with the army, and the length of the siege shows that it must have been a place of very great strength. During the period between the Old and New Testaments the town became of great importance, and, as we gather from Josephus, was the scene of several contests.

To the south-west of Amman is Hesban (Heshbon), the royal city of Sihon, king of the Amorites, standing on a hill which rises above the general level of the plateau. The existing ruins are of little interest, but there are numerous cisterns, and a large reservoir, which may call to mind the passage in the Song of Solomon, "Thine eyes are like the fish-pools in Heshbon." The fountain of Hesban, in the valley of the same name, is described by Captain Warren as a "delightful spot, a large volume of water rushing straight out of the side of the rock." In the immediate vicinity of Hesban are the ruins of El Al (Elealeh), Main (Baal-meon), and Medeba (Madaba); but the place of chief interest is, undoubtedly, Jebel Nebbeh, which, in all probability, is the Mount Nebo of the Bible. Mount Nebo is only mentioned twice in Scripture (Deut. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1), but in both these passages its position is so distinctly defined as being "over against Jericho," that it is extraordinary to find its true position unknown until the name was recovered by Mons. de Saulcy, in 1853. Since that date it has been visited by the Duc de Luynes, Dr. Tristram, Captain Warren, and many others, and a complete survey has recently been made of the district by the American Palestine Exploration Fund; unfortunately, this has not yet been published, and we must attempt to reconcile the very discordant accounts of the view from the summit which have been given by different travellers. Jebel Nebbeh is a hill on the edge of the swelling ground at the western extremity of the Belka, and to the south-west of Hesban; its elevation is 2,670 feet above the sea, nearly the same as that of the Mount of Olives; and though the ground to the north-east is some two hundred feet higher, there is no other hill of equal height overlooking the Jordan valley till we come to Jebel Osha on the north, and Jebel Attarus on the south, neither of which can by any possibility be said to be "over against Jericho." The view embraces the whole western range from far south of Hebron to the mountains of Galilee, and the Jordan valley as far as Kurn Surtabeh; to the north the view is obstructed by the mountains of Gilead, but according to Dr. Tristram, the mountains of the Hauran can be seen through a depression in these hills, and he believes that on a clear day the summit of Hermon might be seen rising over the Jordan; to the north-east there is higher ground, and to the south Jebel Attarus closes the landscape. In Deut. xxxiv. 2, "the utmost sea" is mentioned as the limit of Moses' view; this appears to refer to the Mediterranean, and it is just possible, though it has not been accurately ascertained, that under favourable circumstances the sea may be seen through the great depression of the plain of Esdraelon. On the northern slopes of Jebel Nebbeh are the ruins of Nebbeh (Nebo), a town taken possession of and rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben, which is mentioned in connection with Heshbon, Elealeh, and Baal-meon, places that are not far distant from it. Dr. Robinson gives the name in his list of places in the Belka, and indicates the position in which it should be looked for by future travellers. Captain Warren describes the ruins as "a confused heap of stones, 300 yards from east to west, and 100 from north to south." In a ravine forming the northern boundary of Jebel Nebbeh are the springs of Moses, "Ayun Musa," gushing out of the limestone rock, and running down the ravine in a succession of cascades from twenty to thirty feet high; up this ravine Moses may possibly have passed on his way to Mount Nebo, and here too may be the valley "over against Beth-peor" in which he was buried. No traces of the name Pisgah have been found, but it would appear to have been the district or mountain, elsewhere called the mountain of Abarim, of which Nebo was the "head" or culminating point. There is another spot mentioned in connection with Pisgah which has not yet been identified, "the Peor," from whence Balaam "saw Israel abiding according to their tribes;" this may probably be looked for on one of the spurs of the eastern hills to the north of Jebel Nebbeh, which commands a better view of the plain of Jordan (Seisaban) than that obtained from Mount Nebo.

To the south-east of Hesban, Dr. Tristram discovered



AIN NEBBEH (NEBO). (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

the ruins of the important Roman town of Ziza, one of the chief military stations of the province, at which the Dalmatian cavalry were quartered; and to the east of this the remains of the magnificent palace of Mashita, its walls covered with elaborate and beautiful carving, hardly injured by time or man. "Every inch of their surface and all the interstices are carved with fretted work, representing animals, fruit, and foliage, in endless variety." "There are upwards of fifty animals in all sorts of attitudes, but generally drinking together on opposite sides of the same vase. Lions, winged lions, buffaloes, gazelle, panthers, lynx, men; in one case a man with a basket of fruit, in another a man's head with a dog below; peacocks, partridges, parrots, and other birds." This grand palace Mr. Fergusson refers "to the Sassanian dynasty of Persian kings, and to the history of Chosroes II.," fixing the date to be 614 A.D.

Almost due south of Jebel Nebbeh, and overlooking the Dead Sea, is Jebel Attarus, on the slopes of which are the ruins of Attarus, the Ataroth built by the children of Gad in the land of Gilead (Numb. xxxii. 34); and about three miles to the south-east are those of Kureiyat, situated "on sister hillocks, half a mile apart," representing either the Kerioth or Kiriathaim of Jer. xlviii. 23, 24, towns in the plain country named in the denunciations against Moab. Still further to the south-east are the ruins of Dhiban (Dibon), mentioned in Numb. xxxii. 3, 34, and also in Jer. xlviii. 18, "Thou daughter that dost inhabit Dibon, come down from thy glory, and sit in thirst; for the spoiler of Moab shall come upon thee, and he shall destroy thy strongholds." Like so many other Moabite towns, Dibon was built on two adjacent knolls locally called *harith*, a word identical with the Hebrew *haresh* or *haraseth*, which had much puzzled commentators until Professor Palmer found this explanation of the difficulty in the present local idiom of the country. A wall runs round the town, and just within the gateway the famous Moabite stone, containing an inscription of King Mesha, was found. The extreme importance of the Moabite stone cannot be exaggerated, but it will be sufficient to mention here that the inscription gives a brief account of King Mesha and his father, tells of the victorious campaigns of the former, and contains a record of the rebuilding of certain cities in Moab; among the names which appear are Jehovah, Israel, Omri, Chemosh, Dibon, Baal-meon, Horonaim, Kerioth, &c. A short distance south of Dhiban, on the "brink" of the torrent Arnon (Wady Mojib), are the featureless ruins of Araar, the ancient Aroer, the southern point of the territory of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and afterwards of the tribe of Reuben.

MOAB.

The Wady Mojib, or Arnon, which formed the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, and at a later period between Moab and Israel, is a tremendous ravine, more than 2,000 feet deep, which cuts its way through the plateau, and discharges its waters into the Dead Sea. The district south of the Arnon is termed in Ruth i. 1, 2, "the country of Moab," and may be considered as Moab proper; but, as we have previously explained, Moab extended at one period much further to the north, over the district called the "land of Moab" in Deut. i. 5, and embraced the plain of Seisaban, north of the Dead Sea, termed in the Bible Arboth Moab, or the plain of Shittim. On the south, Moab extended to the borders of the Wady Sidiyeh, or Seil Gharabi, down which runs a fine stream, which is probably the brook Zered, that lay between Moab and Edom, and was the proper term of the Israelites' wandering. The character of this portion of the country is very similar to that north of Wady Mojib, an elevated plateau, with a rich soil, providing abundant pasturage for the flocks of the Bedawin, as it formerly did for those of the Moabites, whose pastoral character may be inferred from the fact that the country paid a tribute to Ahab of 100,000 rams, and the same number of wethers with their fleeces. The relations between the Moabites and Israelites appear to have been of a mixed character; the story of Ruth points to a friendly intercourse between the two peoples at that time, and at a later period we find David's father and mother dwelling with the king of Moab "all the while that David was in the hold" (1 Sam. xxii. 4); but with the exception of these instances, the relations were hostile rather than amicable. One Moabite king, Eglon, reigned at Jericho for eighteen years, when he was killed by Ehud (Judg. iii.). Saul at the commencement of his reign made a successful expedition against Moab, and David "smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them to the ground" (2 Sam. viii. 2). We have already, in the article "Judæa," alluded to the Moabite invasion of Judæa during the reign of Jehoshaphat, which ended so disastrously to the invaders; this appears to have been followed by the joint expedition of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and the king of Edom, who, passing round the southern end of the Dead Sea, overran the country, throwing down the walls of the towns, laying waste the land, stopping the wells, and felling all the trees (2 Kings iii. 6—27). In the time of Isaiah, however, Moab seems to have regained its former prosperity, and to have obtained possession of many of the towns which at one time belonged to Reuben.

To the south of Wady Mojib are the ruins of Shihan, in which the name of Sihon is preserved, and perhaps some memory of the great battle on the banks of the Arnon. About ten miles to the south are the ruins of Rabba, the ancient Ar or Ar of Moab, one of the principal places of Moab. The ruins are chiefly of the Roman epoch, but there are also many remains of the old Moabite city. Still further to the south is Kerak, the Kir Moab of Isa. xv. 1, and the Kir-haresh, Hareseth, or Haraseth of other passages in the Bible. The position of Kerak must have marked it out from the earliest times as a suitable site for a great fortress. The platform on which the town stands is triangular in shape, and protected on two sides by great ravines, more than 1,000 feet deep, with steep, rugged sides, whilst on the third it is connected with the en-

circling hills by a narrow neck, which falls away from the walls. The platform was surrounded by strong walls, to which additional protection was given by scarping the rock below, and the only entrances to the town were through two tunnels cut in the rock beneath the wall. The ruins, especially of the great towers erected by the Crusaders, are very striking, and give the impression of great strength; in fact, before the invention of fire-arms the place was quite impregnable. It was to Kir-haraseth that King Mesha retreated before the united forces of the three kings, and here, after a vain attempt to break through the besieging force, "he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering on the wall" (2 Kings iii. 27). During the Crusades Kerak became, under King Fulke, an important station, and in 1183 A.D. successfully withstood an attack by Saladin and his brother.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

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THE place of Esther in the Hebrew Bible is between Ecclesiastes and Daniel, at the head of what may be called the second portion of the Hagiographa.[1] Its ordinary name among the Jews is *megillath Esther*, "the roll of Esther," or, more shortly, *megillah*, "the roll," since it was always written on a separate roll, which was read through at the Feast of Purim.[2] The Greek translators shortened *megillath Esther* into "Esther," and placed the book between Judith and Job. The place in which Esther stands in the English Bible it owes to Luther, who probably regarded it as the latest of the historical books.

The canonicity of Esther has been widely questioned. It does not appear that the Jews had ever any doubt upon the point; on the contrary, they held Esther in peculiar honour, sometimes uniting it with the Pentateuch in their copies, and going so far as to say, by the mouth of one of the most famous of their teachers,[3] that "on the coming of the Messiah the prophetical books and the Hagiographa would pass away, while Esther and the Pentateuch would endure for ever." But in the Christian Church objection was made to Esther at a very early period. Melito of Sardis, in the second century, excluded it from the canon;[4] and his example was followed by Junilius,[5] by Gregory of Nazianzen,[6] by Athanasius (or the author of the *Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ*,[7] which passes under his name), by Nicephorus, by Leontius, by Callistus, and others. At the time of the Reformation Luther expressed himself adverse to the canonicity of the book;[8] and more recently several writers of repute, as Niebuhr, De Wette, Mr. Theodore Parker, and Dr. Davidson, have taken the same side. It is not clear on what grounds the doubt originally rested. Perhaps with some, the fact that the book does not contain the name of God, or any distinctly religious teaching, may have weighed against its claim to be considered a part of God's word; but probably the feeling against it in the ancient Church arose mainly out of the circumstance that the Esther which they had in their hands was not the Hebrew work, but the interpolated Esther of the Septuagint, which was naturally, and in a certain sense rightly, placed upon a par with Tobit, Judith, and other Apocryphal productions. In modern times the feeling has been against the Hebrew Esther, and has been grounded mainly on supposed historical difficulties and improbabilities, which have been thought to show that it could not be an authentic narrative.

It will be, perhaps, best to examine, in the first instance, these latest objections, since, if they can be established, the whole work is invalidated. If they are proved to be unsound, the question will then arise, whether the Hebrew or the Greek book is to be regarded as the true "Esther;" and if the Hebrew book is preferred, we shall have to consider whether the scantiness of the religious element, and the omission of the name of God from it, are sufficient to deprive it of canonicity. If this question be decided in the negative, it will be interesting, in conclusion, to inquire what is the probable date of the work, who was its probable author, what are its most marked characteristics, and how we may account for that which is the most striking feature of all—the complete absence of the name of God, and the almost complete absence of any distinct religious teaching.

The historical objections raised to the Book of Esther are chiefly the following[9]:—(1) The Persian king intended by Ahasuerus seems to be Xerxes. As Esther cannot be identified with Amestris, the daughter of Otanes, who really ruled Xerxes, the whole story of her being made queen, and of her great power and influence, becomes impossible. (2) A Persian king would never have invited his queen to a carousal. (3) The honours

[1] The first portion consists of the poetical books—the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes; the second, of the historical books—Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. Ruth is improperly placed in the Hagiographa by the *later* Jews only.

[2] See Carpzov, *Introductio ad Libros Biblicos*, c. xx., § 1.

[3] Maimonides, quoted by Carpzov, c. xx., § 6, p. 366.

[4] Ap. Euseb., *H. E.* iv. 26.

[5] *De Partibus Divinæ Legis*, vi. 3.

[6] *Op.* vol. ii., p. 98.

[7] Pp. 63 and 133.

[8] *De Servo Arbitrio*, p. 118; *Colloq. Conviv.* i. 30, *b.*

[9] These arguments will be found in the following works:—De Wette, *Einleitung in d. Alt. Test.*, § 198; Theodore Parker, *Translation of De Wette, with Additions*, vol. ii., pp. 340—345; and Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. ii., pp. 157—162.

said to have been paid to Mordecai are excessive. (4) The marriage of Ahasuerus to a Jewess is impossible, since the Persian queens were taken exclusively from the families of the Seven Conspirators. (5) Esther's concealment of her Jewish descent, and Haman's ignorance of her relationship to Mordecai, are highly improbable. (6) The two murderous decrees, the long notice given, and the tameness ascribed to both Jews and Persians, are incredible. (7) The massacre of more than 75,000 Persians by the Jews in a single day, without the loss (so far as appears) of a man, transcends belief, and is an event of such a nature that no amount of historical evidence would render it credible.

The first of these difficulties is perhaps the greatest; for it is true that "profane writers tell us of one wife of Xerxes only, whose name is Amestris, and who is not a Jewess, but the daughter of a great Persian noble, Otanes."[1] It must be remembered, however, that the account which profane writers give us of the domestic history of Xerxes is meagre in the extreme, and, moreover, that it is far from trustworthy. The Greeks knew but little of what took place at the Persian court in Xerxes' time, and revolutions in the seraglio might easily escape their notice. Esther cannot be Amestris, for Amestris was married to Xerxes before he ascended the throne;[2] but she may be a wife, whom Xerxes took and made his queen after his return from Greece, of whom the Greeks knew nothing. Her sway over Xerxes may have been temporary; and Amestris (Vashti ?) may, after a temporary disgrace, have recovered her influence.[3] The most that can be said with truth is, that profane history gives us no corroboration of this portion of the history; it does not, however, contradict it.

With respect to the impossibility, or high improbability, of a Persian king marrying a Jewess, or inviting his queen to a carousal, or assigning to a benefactor excessive honours, or issuing murderous decrees, or tolerating the massacre of many thousands of his subjects, it is to be observed, in the first place, that Oriental despots have often done things equally outrageous; and secondly, that the impulsive, extravagant character assigned by the Greek writers to Xerxes,[4] makes such actions very much less improbable *in him*. As Dr. Davidson himself allows, with respect to several of the points, difficulties of this kind may fairly "be solved by Xerxes' weak, capricious, proud, and madlike disposition. He . . . cannot be judged by the standard of ordinary humanity."[5]

It may be added, that the Persian monarchs, though professing a profound respect for "the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not,"[6] and pertinaciously adhering to it in certain cases, nevertheless often set it at nought when their passions were roused. Cambyses married his full sister,[7] which was as much against the Persian law as marrying a Jewess. Darius Hystaspis sanctioned a general massacre of the priest-caste of the Magi.[8] Xerxes made a subject sit on his throne.[9] Cambyses, again, burnt dead bodies.[10] There was, in fact, nothing which a Persian king, well settled upon his throne, might not do and did not do, if the fancy took him. The very "royal judges" themselves, the guardians of Persian law, declared on one occasion that the unwritten code whereof they were custodians comprised an enactment, "that the king of the Persians might do what he pleased."[11]

Still, it must be allowed that there are, in the history recorded in "Esther," three things which, to Europeans of the nineteenth century, are difficult of belief, even when related of so passionate, so capricious, and so strange a being as Xerxes. These are—(1) the design conceived by Haman, and allowed by Ahasuerus, of destroying all the Jews on a fixed day, announced beforehand; (2) the contrivance by which, when the king wishes the Jews to escape, he effects his purpose, when it would have been (as it seems to moderns) so much easier simply to have revoked his former edict; and (3) the allowance of such a massacre as that recorded in chap. ix. 5—16, according to the Hebrew text, which makes the entire number of persons slain by the Jews to amount to 75,800. If it were true, as has been maintained by some,[12] that the 75,800 were all said to be Persians, men of the ruling race, the fellow-countrymen of the king, the improbability would be much increased, and would amount to a serious difficulty.

But to judge fairly of the narrative before us, we must do two things—first, we must consider it from the Oriental, and not from the European point of view; and secondly, we must not exaggerate its features. To a European of the nineteenth century, a massacre on an appointed day, by permission from the government, of thousands of unoffending persons, seems one of the most monstrous things that can be conceived. We have, indeed, one instance of such a fact in the history with which we are familiar; but the massacre of St. Bartholomew stands by itself in our minds as though it were a solitary case, wholly without a parallel. Acquaintance with Oriental history would make us aware that in the East such terrible doings are not infrequent; that there they excite little horror, and do not appear strange or startling. The destruction of the Mamelukes at Cairo; that of the Janissaries at Constantinople; and the attempted destruction of the Syrian Christians in 1850, are recent examples; the massacre of the Scythians by the Medes;[13] of the Magi by Darius Hystaspis;[14] and

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[1] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 198, *a*.

[2] Since her son, Darius (Ctes., *Exc. Pers.*, § 20), was grown up at the time of the Grecian expedition (Herod. ix. 108).

[3] It is not clear that Amestris had any influence in the later years of Xerxes. It was when her son Artaxerxes succeeded to the throne, and she became queen-mother, that we hear of her as an important personage.

[4] Herod. vii. 35; ix. 108—113; Ctes., *Exc. Pers.* § 27; Plut., *Moral.*, vol. ii., p, 455, *E*.

[5] *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. ii., p. 161.

[6] Dan. vi. 8, 15.

[7] Herod. iii. 31.

[8] *Ibid.* iii. 79.

[9] *Ibid.* vii. 15—17.

[10] *Ibid.* iii. 16.

[11] Ibid. iii. 31. τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιέειν τὸ ἂν βούληται.

[12] Theodore Parker, *Translation of De Wette*, vol. ii., p. 345.

[13] Herod. i. 106; Strab. xi. 8, § 4.

[14] Herod, iii. 79.

of all the Romans in Asia by Mithridates,[1] are earlier instances. To sweep a tribe or petty nation out of his path, was thus no wild or extravagant idea, when entertained by an Oriental statesman, who knew that he had great influence with his sovereign, and could induce him to sign almost any decree that he chose. It is, therefore, by no means improbable that Haman should have obtained from Xerxes the original decree which put the Jews in danger.

When Haman was hanged, and Mordecai made chief minister in his room, a reversal of the decree seems, to the modern European reader, the simple and natural course. But in the East, such a "divinity doth hedge a king," that it is always difficult for him to retract, to acknowledge himself to have decided wrongly, and to unsay what he has said before. Such tergiversation was especially difficult with the Medo-Persians, who prided themselves on the unchangeableness of their laws and edicts. As Darius the Mede could not recede from his decree when he found that it menaced his favourite minister, Daniel;[2] as Xerxes could not recall his word passed to Amostris, though it threatened to make a rebel of his brother;[3] so Ahasuerus was (according to Persian notions) bound by his own act, and could not, without loss of his subjects' respect, annul the edict which he had allowed Haman to issue in his name, and sign with his signet. The simple and direct course being thus regarded as impossible, it was necessary to have recourse to contrivance and artifice. The Jews' enemies must be allowed to set on them; but the Jews might be permitted to defend themselves. That course had not been forbidden by the first edict; it was expressly allowed by the second. And the governors of provinces might be told to favour the Jews,[4] and, if need were, to take their part. In this way the triumph of the Jews would be secured, without the king having to go from his word.

And now a few remarks as to the result. It has been said[5] that the narrative represents the Jews as tamely awaiting destruction in the first instance, without any effort to avoid it, and then as setting with such savageness on their enemies as to kill 75,000! These 75,000 have been represented as Persians;[6] and it has been said that they appear to have tamely submitted to be slaughtered, so that the Jews did not on their side lose a man in the struggle.[7] Now, here the features of the narrative are either misrepresented or exaggerated. The people whom the Jews slaughtered were not, perhaps, in any case, Persians. The standing army of Persians which governed the empire was on the side of the Jews (Esth. ix. 3); their enemies were the idolatrous people of the provinces, conquered races like themselves, for whom the Persians had little regard, and with whom they felt no sympathy. The number, 75,000, is uncertain, for it is replaced by 15,000 in the Septuagint version, and this latter figure is more in harmony with the 800 destroyed at Susa (*ib.* 6 and 15), than the larger number of the present Hebrew text. Further, the "tameness, apathy, and submission" objected to by the critics,[8] are imaginations of their own, founded merely on the *silence* of Scripture, which is always a weak ground, and here has no weight at all. It is the writer's object to set before us, broadly, the great danger of the Jews, their deliverance, and their triumph—not to give us all the details and minor features of the transactions. He does not tell us what the Jews would have done had the original design of Haman been carried out,[9] or what their enemies did when the Jews set upon them. It is quite a gratuitous supposition that there was no fighting, and that none of the Jews perished. A modern critic[10] says, with reason, "The author of the book is wholly intent upon the victory and deliverance of the Jews. The result he relates, . . . but how much it cost to achieve this victory he does not relate. . . . We can scarcely doubt that many Jews were killed or wounded."

It would seem, therefore, that the historical objections taken to the general narrative contained in Esther are untenable. The facts are not antecedently improbable *in an Oriental government, and under such a monarch as Xerxes;* even if they were, the evidence for their truth is overwhelming. No other account has ever been given, or can be given, of the origin of the Feast of Purim,[11] which the Jews keep to this day. Nothing but its historic truth can account for the inclusion of Esther in the canon. The more candid of modern sceptical critics[12] confess it to be "incontestable (*unstreitig*) that the Feast of Purim originated in Persia, and was occasioned by an event similar to that related in Esther." May we not say, having exposed the weakness of the historical objections, that it was occasioned by the events there related, and by none other?

The Book of Esther, like the Book of Daniel, and some others, comes to us in two forms, a longer and a shorter. The longer form is that of the Septuagint version, which was followed by the Old Latin, and

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[1] Merivale, *Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 30. [2] Dan. vi. 14, 15.
[3] Herod. ix. 111. [4] Esth. viii. 9—11; ix. 3.
[5] Th. Parker, vol. ii., p. 345; Davidson, ii., p. 160.
[6] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 198, *a*.
[7] Theodore Parker's *Translation of De Wette*, vol. ii., pp. 340—5.

[8] Theodore Parker, Davidson.

[9] It is quite possible that there would have been a great exodus before the day arrived. That "the book" says nothing of this (Bleek, *Introduction*, vol. i., p. 451) is no evidence to the contrary. It is not the aim of the author to say what might have been, but what was.

[10] Stuart, *Defence of the Old Test. Canon*, § 21, pp. 209, 210.

[11] The latest of the sceptical critics says, "This feast, as it is celebrated, certainly pre-supposes the events of our book. It might, however, be possible that it originally had some other, or a more general signification, something in reference to the freeing of the people out of captivity, or the like; and that a later idea gave it this particular reference to a single deliverance, as related in this book" (Bleek, *Introduction*, vol. i., p. 453). The vague fog of this German criticism may well be contrasted with the strong common sense of the Anglo-American, who says, "The fact that the Feast of Purim has come down to us from time almost immemorial, proves as certainly that the main events related in Esther happened, as the Declaration of Independence, and the celebration of the 4th of July, prove that we (Americans) separated from Great Britain, and became an independent nation" (Stuart, *Defence of the Canon*, § 21, p. 308).

[12] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 198, *b*.

which, since the Council of Trent, has been accepted by the Church of Rome as canonical. The shorter form is that of the Jewish canon, which was preferred by Origen[1] and Jerome,[2] and which the English Church and the Reformed Churches of the Continent represent in their authorised versions of the Old Testament Scriptures, relegating the Greek additions to the Apocrypha. It seems certain that these "additions" formed no part of the original, from which they differ greatly in tone,[3] and which they contradict repeatedly.[4] They cannot have been written until the time of Alexander the Great,[5] and are probably of a considerably later date. They were never accepted by the Jews, and, though translated from the Greek into the Chaldee, the Arabic, and the Samaritan versions, they are found in no Hebrew manuscript or edition; further, they contain numerous expressions which are inappropriate to the persons using them, or otherwise unsuitable.[6] We may, therefore, confidently regard the Hebrew book as the true Esther, and set aside the "additions" as embellishments of a later age, neither authentic nor authorised.

The omission of the name of God, and the slightness of the religious element in the book, which have been mentioned as its most remarkable characteristics, do not deprive it of canonicity. The name of God is not found in Canticles, which has, nevertheless, "all the external marks of canonicity possessed by any other book of the Old Testament not expressly cited in the New."[7] The religious element is lacking from large portions of all the historical books, yet those portions are as much canonical as the parts most penetrated by the religious spirit. The fact is that canonicity, in the case of an historical book, does not necessarily imply more than that the history is true, and the moral bearing of the work such as to accord with the highest religious enlightenment of the time and people for which the work was written.

It is in connection with this last-mentioned point that the canonicity of Esther has been most seriously assailed in recent times. It has been said that the whole book "breathes nothing but a spirit of pride and revenge"[8] —"a very narrow-minded and Jewish spirit of revenge and persecution"[9]—and that thus it is quite unworthy of a place in the canon. To us it seems that this is a gross misrepresentation. Esther, the heroine, is not a Judith, not even a Jael, but a timid, shrinking woman, forced into action by the danger of her near relative and of her nation. What can be more affecting than her words when first required to take an active part—"Go and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day; I also and my maidens will fast likewise; and so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law; *and if I perish, I perish!*"[10] Or what, again, more touching than her exclamation—

> "Oh, how could I endure to see it—the evil which is coming on my people!
> "Oh, how could I endure to see it—the destruction of my kindred!"[11]

So far is she from being revengeful or persecuting, that she declares, apparently from her heart, "If we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen, I had held my tongue" (chap. vii. 4). It is true that both she and Mordecai gave their sanction to a course which issued in the violent death of several thousands of persons; but if the first decree of Ahasuerus could not be reversed, it is difficult to see how otherwise they could have prevented the destruction of the Jewish people. As it was, what they obtained from the king was only that the Jews, *if attacked*, might defend themselves,[12] which is the natural right of every man; and if even 75,000 persons fell in consequence of this permission, it only shows how numerous were the Jews' enemies. Even the second day's slaughter at Susa, which is chiefly objected to, as indicating Esther's "lust for revenge, and thirst for blood,"[13] was on the same conditions as the slaughter of the first day;[14] and Esther's request for its allowance indicates that the anti-Judæan party at Susa was not quelled by the first day's contest, but was prepared, without the protection of an edict, to renew the struggle upon the morrow. Even Mordecai's character, which has been called merely astute and worldly,[15] is not open to serious impeachment. Mordecai refused the customary prostration (chap. iii. 2), as trenching on the reverence due to God, though he must have known that his refusal exposed him to great danger. When he found that his contumacy had endangered his nation, he "rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes, and went out into the midst of the city, and *cried with a loud and bitter cry*" (chap. iv. 1), not, surely, in selfish sorrow, but in profound sympathy with and anxiety for his people. His application to Esther (*ibid.* 8) was, no doubt, prudent, and may be ascribed to "worldly wisdom;" but the manner of it indicated belief in a Divine Providence, and faith in God's promises to the Jews (*ibid.* 14). His character is not, perhaps, one of remarkable elevation, but it has no offensive traits, no faults that deserve a heavy censure.

If it be still said that, whatever be the truth as regards the characters of Esther and Mordecai, yet the book itself breathes the haughty spirit of Jewish

[1] Origen, *Epist. ad Jul. African.*

[2] Hieronym., *Præfat. ad Esther.* Jerome, after separating the "additions" from the rest of the book, appended them to the true "Esther;" and this, consequently, is their position in the Vulgate.

[3] The tone of the "additions" is markedly religious, and it is clear that they were introduced mainly to supply what was thought a defect in the original narrative.

[4] On these contradictions, see the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 473; and compare Gerhard's *Exegesis*, § 202.

[5] Since they represent Haman as a *Macedonian*, who wished to transfer the empire to the Macedonians from the Persians.

[6] See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 473, note 4.

[7] Wright, in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*, vol. i., p. 382.

[8] De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 198, *b*—"So athmet sie doch den Geist der Rachsucht und des Stolzes."

[9] Bleek, *Introduction*, vol. i., p. 450, E. T.

[10] Chap. iv. 16.

[11] Chap. viii. 6 (as rendered by Ewald in his *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, book v., section 2, A 1).

[12] Chap. viii. 11.

[13] Bleek, p. 452, *b*.

[14] "Let it be granted to the Jews which are in Shushan to do to-morrow also *according unto this day's decree*" (chap. ix. 13).

[15] Ewald, Bleek.

exclusiveness, we must ask, Is not this spirit found generally in the Old Testament? Was the Jewish nation ever free from it? Was it not intensified by the Captivity, and is it not more rampant in Ezra and Nehemiah than in Esther? Finally, is not this one of the points in which the earlier is altogether inferior to the later dispensation, and in which it was reserved for Christianity, in the fulness of time, to improve and correct Judaism?

Objections to the canonicity of Esther being thus (it is hoped) removed, it remains to consider—(1) What is the probable date of the work; (2) who was its probable author; (3) what are its most marked characteristics; and (4) how we may account for the most remarkable characteristic of all—the absence of the name of God, and the almost entire absence of any distinct religious teaching.

1. The date of Esther has been much controverted. Ewald argues[1] that the book "cannot have been written earlier than the opening years of the Greek age," *i.e.*, B.C. 330—300. De Wette assigns it vaguely to the time of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ,[2] B.C. 312, at the earliest. Dr. Davidson[3] suggests the reign of Ptolemy Lagi (B.C. 323—283); Bertheau,[4] some part of the third century (B.C. 300—200). On the other hand, Bertholdt, Welte, and Hävernick[5] regard it as written in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 464—425); and Bishop A. Hervey places it even earlier—in the latter portion of the reign of Xerxes (B.C. 473—464). The arguments for an early date are (1) the style, which is very close to that of Ezra and Nehemiah—compositions of the time of Longimanus; and (2) the minuteness of the narrative, and its inclusion of unimportant details,[6] which could only be known to a contemporary. So early a date as B.C. 473—464 is, however, unlikely, since one who wrote under Xerxes could scarcely have thought it necessary to say, "This is Ahasuerus, which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia" (chap. i. 1); or have declared that "all his acts" were already entered in the "book of the chronicles" (chap. x. 2). The reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus suits best with all the phenomena, which, on the whole, may perhaps be said to point to a late period in this reign—say B.C. 444—424.

2. The predominant Jewish and Christian tradition makes the author of the work to be Mordecai,[7] but the tradition is not uniform; Ezra, the high priest Joiakim, and "the men of the Great Synagogue" being respectively declared the authors by important Jewish or Christian writers.[8] Mordecai's claim, which has the balance of authority in its favour, is discredited by the consideration that it has probably originated from a misunderstanding of chap. ix. 20, 32, which has been thought to assert the authorship of Mordecai, but which certainly does not do so. Internal evidence does not point to Mordecai, who would scarcely have spoken of himself as "a certain Jew" (chap. ii. 5), or have expatiated so much on his own greatness (chap. viii. 15; ix. 4; x. 2) and good qualities (chap. x. 3). Even less is to be said in favour of Ezra or Joiakim. The work has none of the characteristics of Ezra's style, which is a sufficiently marked one. It was certainly written by a *Persian* Jew, and therefore not by Joiakim, whose whole life was passed at Jerusalem. The "men of the Great Synagogue" may have received the book into the canon, but could no more have written it than Joiakim, being Palestinian and not Persian Jews. On the whole, it must be said that the author is unknown, but that he was, without doubt, a Persian Jew, one living probably at Susa, which he so well describes (chap. i. 5—7), in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. He had probably been acquainted with Queen Esther and with Mordecai, and wrote in his old age, partly from the royal archives (chap. ii. 23; vi. 1; ix. 32; x. 2), partly from his own experience, and partly from information received from them, an account of the institution of the Feast of Purim.

3. Among the characteristics of Esther are the simplicity and purity of its style, the graphic power which sets distinct pictures before the reader,[9] the skilful delineation of character, and the intimate knowledge exhibited of Persian manners and Persian history during the period of the narrative;[10] but the most marked characteristic is, undoubtedly, the purely historical character of the book, and the almost entire absence from it of any direct religious teaching. It is not only that the name of God does not occur, but from first to last there is the most marked reticence with respect to the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and other practices of the Jewish religion. No mention is made of the Temple, or of Jerusalem, or of the Holy Land, or of the priests or Levites, or of any festival except that of Purim, or of any earlier facts of Jewish history except the Captivity,[11] or of the Law, or of any prophet, or of the Sabbath-day, or even of prayer. The only religious ideas allowed to appear in the book are, first, the efficacy of fasting (chap. iv. 16); secondly, the separateness of the Jews, and the certainty that they would be in some way or other delivered from their enemies (chap. iv. 14); thirdly, the Providential government of the world, and the consequent duty of all persons to make a proper use of their opportunities (*ibid.*); fourthly, the certainty that punishment will fall on those who neglect this duty (*ibid.*); and fifthly, the propriety of celebrating a great deliverance by the establishment of a permanent festival—"a day of gladness

[1] *Geschichte d. Volk. Isr.* vol. v., p. 230, E. T.
[2] *Einleitung*, § 199.
[3] *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. ii., p. 166.
[4] *Exegetisches Handbuch*, vol. iv., p. 288.
[5] As quoted by De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 199, *b*.
[6] See chap. i. 4—8, 10, 14; ii. 8. 9, 14, 16, &c.
[7] Carpzov says, "*Longe plurima pars et Hebræorum et Christianorum Doctorum* Mardochœum scripsisse statuit" (*Introductio*, p. 361).
[8] Ezra, by Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36); Isid. *Orig.*, vi. 2, p. 55, F; the high priest Joiakim, by the pseudo-Philo and the Rabbi Azarias; the men of the Great Synagogue, by the Talmudists (*Baba-bathra*, fol. 15, 1) and others.
[9] See especially chap. i. 5—7; vi. 4—11; vii. 1—8; viii. 15, &c. &c.
[10] Compare the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., pp. 471, 472.
[11] Chap. ii. 6.

and feasting, and of sending portions one to another" (chap. ix. 19). Moreover, where these religious ideas occur, they are (except the last) rather implied than stated. Thus, a studied reticence appears throughout, for it cannot be held that the Jews of the dispersion at any time sank so low as to forget the name of God, or to put fasting in the place of prayer, or to have no priests, or entirely to neglect the Sabbath, or to have no regard for the Temple or for Jerusalem. Reticence, not ignorance, is thus the phenomenon which we have to consider. Why did the author of Esther keep back his religious views so entirely?

4. It has been said by some[1] that, knowing his work would be recited at the Feast of Purim, he guarded against the profanation of holy things at a time of joyous feasting; but the festive joy of the religious Hebrews was not of such a character as to render the reading of ordinary Scripture during its continuance incongruous. Others[2] have conjectured that the intention was to prevent profanation by the Persians; but it is not likely that the Persians would have understood a book written in Hebrew, or, if any did, have cared to study it. To the present writer it seems that the reticence was probably the result, not of an act of will, but of habit. The Jews, bred up among the heathen, and living in constant intercourse with them, learnt by degrees to keep back the expression of their religious convictions, to assimilate themselves externally to their masters, to eliminate from their ordinary discourse all that would mark them for Jews, while they clung internally to their old belief, and practised secretly their old customs. A century and a half of this dissimulation made it so habitual, that it was not laid aside, even where there was no occasion for it. The Jew of the dispersion kept his religion in his heart of hearts, and spoke of it as little as possible.

It may have helped to keep Esther free from the religious element, if it was *in the main* extracted from the Persian archives. We do not know on what scale these were written, but it is quite possible that they contained most of our present Esther. At any rate, if the author took them for his basis, and found them, as he might, altogether secular in tone, he would be naturally led to assimilate to them his own portions of the work.

Finally, it must be granted that the whole difficulty is not overcome by these considerations, and it may well be that other circumstances also, which cannot be particularised, prevented the author from giving expression to the religious feelings and beliefs which he entertained, and which underlie his narrative.

[1] Riehm, *Studien und Kritik*, 1862, p. 407, *f*; Bleek, *Introduction*, p. 450, E. T.

[2] As Aben-Ezra, quoted by Carpzov in his *Introductio*, p. 369.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

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THE name of Titus, companion of St. Paul, and apostolic delegate, does not once occur in the "Acts of the Apostles."[1] He is, however, mentioned, as one well known, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the Epistle to the Galatians; and from the notices there given we gather the following facts:—He was a Gentile by birth—a convert, or "son in the faith," of St. Paul—first introduced to us as accompanying the Apostle from Antioch to Jerusalem to attend the conference recorded in Acts xv. On that occasion certain of the Jews insisted that Titus should be circumcised, to which demand the Apostle maintained a firm refusal. If it be asked why, at a later time, St. Paul himself ordered the circumcision of Timothy, the reason may perhaps be found in the different parentage of the two disciples. Timothy was son of a Jewish mother, though "his father was a Greek" (Acts xvi. 1—3). Titus—probably a native of Antioch—was Greek altogether. But beyond this distinction, the very principle of Christian liberty was involved. In the case of Timothy the action of Paul was voluntary, for the sake of conciliation; in that of Titus there was an absolute requirement. Concession may often be wisely and gracefully made on a point where dictation must be strenuously resisted, and St. Paul would freely yield what no attempted compulsion would ever extort.

After this visit to Jerusalem we find Titus with the Apostle in his third great missionary journey. That the two had been together in the course of the second, at least in Corinth, may be reasonably inferred from the strong affection felt by Titus towards the Corinthians. The third journey began with a visit to Phrygia and Galatia; and since St. Paul mentions Titus to the Galatians as one well known to them, it is probable that the Apostle was there also accompanied by his younger comrade. The next halt was at Ephesus, whence the First Letter to the Corinthians was written, and of the unnamed brethren who conveyed it, it is more than likely that Titus was one.[2] It was part of

[1] Some MSS., in Acts xviii. 7, read "*Titus* Justus" as the name of the Corinthian in whose house St. Paul worshipped; but the reading lacks support, though perhaps testifying to a tradition that Titus was with St. Paul at Corinth. Dean Howson, in Smith's *Dict.*, refers to a theory recently started, that Timothy and Titus were the same person—"ingenious, but quite untenable." Titus was a common Roman *prænomen*.

[2] See Stanley on 1 Cor. xvi. 11; also 2 Cor. xii. 18, referring to the same mission. Titus either conveyed the letter, or was sent immediately afterwards to ascertain its effect, and the former supposition appears the more reasonable.

his commission to ascertain the effect of this epistle; and his return from Corinth was accordingly awaited by St. Paul, with anxious restlessness, at Troas. The suspense continuing, the Apostle crossed over to Europe, and at length met Titus in Macedonia, bearing tidings which, if not entirely satisfactory, yet gladdened his heart, and caused the affectionate glow of the Second Epistle. This epistle also St. Paul sends to the Corinthians by the hands of Titus, who is at the same time commissioned to complete those arrangements for the collection to be made for the impoverished Christians in Jerusalem, which he had commenced on his former visit.[1] From this time we read no more of him until the date of the present epistle; the strong probability is that he attended the Apostle to Jerusalem as bearer of the alms, and eventually followed him to Rome. That the Apostle was liberated for a time we have endeavoured to show in the Introduction to 1 Timothy. In whatever direction his course was first bent, whether westward to Spain, or eastward to Greece and Europe —a question on which we have no *data*—Titus was probably with Paul from the first; and at length we find the former "left behind in Crete," and charged with a commission similar in honour and responsibility to that which had been given to Timothy in Ephesus; yet, as it would seem, of even greater difficulty.

2. The scattered notices of Titus personally, together with the character of the tasks entrusted to him, enable us to form some adequate notion of his character. Trusted and honoured by the Apostle as "a partner and fellow-helper," Titus could well sympathise with him in "inward affection" and in "earnest care" for the spiritual welfare of the churches; his errands of love were spontaneously undertaken, rather than by the direction of a superior, while with this also he would gladly comply; his joy in the success of his errand to the Corinthians was so genuine and hearty that it swelled the tide of the Apostle's own gladness. At the same time a high and scrupulous integrity was as evidently a feature of his character, with a certain fearless justice in dealing with offenders, contrasted, it may be, with the more timid and shrinking nature of Timothy. Titus was the right messenger to be entrusted with the First Letter to the Corinthians, charged as it was with reproof and condemnation. Timothy might himself also arrive; but in prospect of this a special word of warning is added, lest his gentler spirit should be cowed.[2] The Corinthians, moreover, received Titus "with fear and trembling;" while his scrupulous care not to take any personal advantage of his ascendancy over them is specially noted by the Apostle: "Did Titus make a gain of you?"[3] A similar character is apparent from the present epistle. While corresponding in general contents with the Epistles to Timothy, it has not their tone of appeal as to one needing encouragement, possibly lacking energy and decision. Titus was a man to "rebuke sharply" if needed; to carry "authority" in his words and deeds. The intricacies of doctrine find no place in the letter. Titus was of a practical turn; he was set to do rough work among a rough people, and was well adapted for his task.[4] Timothy would have found himself out of place among the "liars, evil beasts, and slothful bellies" of Crete; and Titus might hardly have been at home with the mystical speculators of Ephesus.

3. At what time the churches in Crete (now *Candia*) were formed is altogether uncertain. Among the sojourners in Jerusalem at the time of the Pentecostal descent of the Spirit, were Cretan Jews,[5] and these may have carried to their native island the message of the Gospel. No other mention of Crete occurs in the Acts until the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome;[6] although it is quite possible that during some of his unrecorded travels he may have touched upon its shores. As a prisoner he could scarcely have had any opportunity for missionary labour, although the ship lay windbound for some time in the harbour of "The Fair Havens." It was in the endeavour to proceed along the south coast of Crete to the port of Phœnix,[7] there to winter, that the ship was caught by the Euro-aquilo (E.N.E. gale), and driven before the wind some five hundred miles, to the island of Malta, where she was wrecked. The event would make Crete very memorable to the Apostle, and we are quite prepared to find him visiting the island on his release. He here finds several churches, much in need of consolidation and organisation; and having spent as much time as possible in superintending this work, he leaves it, on his departure, in the hands of Titus, to whom he addresses this epistle.

4. The letter seems to have been written on the approach of winter, and in some stage of the Apostle's journey between Crete and Nicopolis.[8] If this Nicopolis (the "City of Victory," so named from the battle of Actium) was, as generally supposed, the well-known city of that name in Epirus, at the mouth of the Adriatic, opposite the Italian shores (not the "Nicopolis in Macedonia," as in the subscription to the Epistle in the received text), it may be supposed either that Crete was a stage in the Apostle's circuit from Ephesus to Macedonia,[9] or was visited after Macedonia, in which case the route from Crete to Epirus would naturally lead by

[1] The passages from which the foregoing summary has been made are chiefly Titus i. 4, "mine own son in the faith;" Gal. ii. 1, 3—5; Acts xviii. 11, 23; 2 Cor. ii. 13; vii. 6, 13, 14; viii. 16—24.

[2] 1 Cor. xvi. 10.

[3] 2 Cor. vii. 15; xii. 18.

[4] Titus i. 12, 13; ii. 15.

[5] Acts ii. 11. Philo testifies to the large number of Jewish residents in Crete. [It is rather curious that the inhabitants of the island are called, in the Authorised Version, *Cretes* in the above passage, and *Cretians* in Titus i. 12, neither being quite correct. The word should, of course, be *Cretans*.]

[6] Acts xxvii. 7, 21. See Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, chap. ii.

[7] Not *Phenice* as A.V., which is properly the old English form for *Phœnicia* (Acts xi. 19; xv. 3; xxi. 2).

[8] Not *at* Nicopolis (chap. iii. 12), shown by the word *there* (ἐκεῖ). Several cities of the name are enumerated, but it is natural, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, to think of the most celebrated.

[9] 1 Tim. i. 3.

the isthmus of Corinth.[1] On the former supposition, the two Epistles, the First to Timothy, and this to Titus, would be written about the same time, and their similarity in thought and diction make this very probable. If Crete was taken after Macedonia, no place appears likelier than Corinth; but, as there are absolutely no local hints in the letter itself, the place of its composition must be left to conjecture. The winter which followed, and which, as there is no reason to doubt, was passed at Nicopolis, according to the Apostle's plan, was, in all probability, the last that he spent in freedom. When next he speaks of "winter," it is as prisoner again in Rome (2 Tim. iv. 21). Titus had meantime, as it seems, rejoined him in Nicopolis, but had proceeded northward to Dalmatia—a parting which, if we may judge from St. Paul's tone in mentioning it, was not without some element of sadness; although, in all charity, we must conclude that duty had called Titus in that direction.

5. The work which devolved on Titus in Crete was "to set in order the things that were left undone" in the Apostle's visit, and "to ordain elders in every city." To this general commission the details of the Epistle all refer. The order is unstudied, but may be broadly specified as follows:—

I. Address and Greeting (i. 1—5); in which may be noted the unusual solemnity and even stateliness of tone in which St. Paul refers to his own apostolic commission.

II. Qualifications of the Bishops to be ordained (i. 6—9). Here the Apostle repeats in effect the delineation given in 1 Tim. iii. 2—7.

III. Caution against prevailing Evils (i. 10—16). If in Ephesus the teachings of the Judaising party in the church were associated with a false and unhealthy asceticism, the same doctrines were in Crete allied with an unblushing immorality. With great effect the Apostle quotes the Cretan poet Epimenides[2] as giving a true but unflattering picture of his own countrymen,

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

It would be hard work to maintain the purity of the Gospel in such a community, and for their souls' health the minister of Christ must be prepared to employ the weapon of sharp rebuke.

IV. This thought of "healthful" teaching gives tone to the practical directions that follow (ii. 1—10) to the aged and the young of both sexes, and to servants—Titus himself being among them all "a pattern of good works."

V. Every preceding injunction is confirmed by the highest motives (ii. 11—14). Eminently Pauline is the brief majestic description of "the grace of God that bringeth salvation," and at the same time proclaims the law of purity and righteousness.

VI. Teachings and pastoral influence of Titus himself (iii. 1—11). Here, no doubt, the strain of the Apostle's remarks is to be accounted for by the character of this Cretan people. Some would make the new faith a pretext for insubordination. Hence, as St. Paul elsewhere writes to the Christians of Rome, and St. Peter to the scattered Jewish believers of Asia Minor,[3] it was important to inculcate obedience to civil rulers; still more needful was it to urge the obligations of brotherly kindness and "meekness unto all men," in the world as well as in the Church. Here again the Apostle enforces his admonition by appeal to the loftiest truths. In verses 3—7, every clause and expression bespeaks the hand of Paul. The injunctions that follow respecting controverted questions are remarkable from their appeal to the *practical* influence of such discussions. This is in accordance with the tone of the whole Epistle; even the "heretic" is to be rejected because of the evil issues of his false belief and teaching.

VII. Personal (iii. 12—15). That here we have no note of place has been already remarked. All that we learn is that Tychicus the Ephesian is again with St. Paul, having, no doubt, rejoined him in Asia, and is accompanied by Artemas, of whom nothing more is known. Titus would be relieved of his Cretan charge by one or other of these brethren, and would then rejoin the Apostle with Zenas (nowhere else mentioned) and Apollos, whom it is interesting to find, after having disappeared for many years from the record, still actively at work for Christ. Verse 14, in its very abruptness and repetition, shows how full the Apostle's mind was of one topic—Christian purity as the result of Christian faith. "Ours," in this verse, must mean *our brethren in Crete.*

6. The salient points of likeness between this Epistle and the two addressed to Timothy have been already noted. The three have that similarity which would naturally characterise letters written by the same author, on the same general topic and about the same time, and yet that difference which would as naturally be caused by the different characters of the persons addressed, and the special circumstances of each locality. If in many points unlike to the earlier Epistles, the simple explanation is to be found in the diverse circumstances and distant times in which they were written. There are, however, coincidences at least as striking; and, not to mention again resemblances in doctrinal statement, that characteristic which Paley regards as, above all, distinctive of St. Paul's style—the habit of

[1] Another combination is thus given by Paley: "If we may be allowed to suppose that St. Paul, after his liberation from Rome, sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way; that from Asia and from Ephesus, the capital of that country, he proceeded into Macedonia, and crossing the peninsula in his progress, came into the neighbourhood of Nicopolis, we have a route which falls in with everything. It executes the intention expressed by the Apostle of visiting Colossæ and Philippi as soon as he should be set at liberty at Rome. It allows him to leave 'Titus in Crete,' and 'Timothy at Ephesus,' as he went into Macedonia, and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of Greece, and probably the neighbourhood of Nicopolis, thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for the affinity between them, both in subject and language." (*Horæ Paulinæ*, Titus, No. ii.) On this showing the mission of Titus to Crete would precede that of Timothy to Ephesus.

[2] Epimenides, a poet of the sixth century before Christ, in popular estimation inspired; hence the phrase, "a prophet of their own." St. Paul also quotes from heathen poets (Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33).

[3] Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Peter ii. 13.

"going off at a word"—may be illustrated from the Pastoral Epistles as decisively as from any other of his writings.[1] It is certain, at the same time, that the three Epistles stand or fall together. They have been accepted by the Church on the same authority; they bear the impress of one mind; their resemblances and differences are alike beyond the reach of art. To illustrate this would require much detailed comparison. The student may consult the elaborate discussion of Dr. Davidson in his earlier *Introduction to the New Testament*, where the objections raised by De Wette, on internal grounds, against the authenticity of the letter to Titus, are decisively refuted. One peculiarity of these Epistles is the characterisation of true Christian doctrine as "healthful"—an idea not elsewhere found. In the short Epistle to Titus there are no fewer than four instances:—Chap. i. 9, "that he may be able by healthful doctrine both to exhort and to convince;" chap. ii. 1, "Speak thou the things which become the healthful doctrine." So chap. i. 13; ii. 2, believers are described as "being healthy in the faith." The same thought is found in 1 Tim. i. 10; vi. 3; 2 Tim. i. 13; iv. 3 (veiled a little, perhaps, to the English reader by the employment of the word *sound*), constituting a very distinctive peculiarity of the Pastoral Epistles. The contrasted idea of *sickness* and *gangrene*, applied to error, is found in 1 Tim. vi. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 17. Another coincidence is in the recurring phrase, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, "Faithful is the saying," which in the Pastoral Epistles seems to take the place of the Apostle's older formula, "I would not have you to be ignorant," as introducing matters of high importance. The "faithful sayings" of these Epistles are of themselves a most interesting study. See 1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; iv. 8, 9; 2 Tim. ii. 11; and Titus iii. 7, 8, "Faithful is the saying—that being justified by His grace, we (shall) be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life;" words in which again the mind and hand of Paul are manifest. Other peculiarities common to these Epistles are the application of the word *Saviour* to God the Father (1 Tim. i. 1; ii. 3; iv. 10; Titus i. 3; ii. 10); the term for *godliness* (εὐσέβεια), found in these Epistles repeatedly, but nowhere else in St. Paul's writings;[2] the use of the word *epiphany* (ἐπιφάνεια) for the final appearing of Christ (1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. i. 10; iv. 1, 8; Titus ii. 13). It is observable also that in all these letters the salutation at the commencement is, "Grace, mercy, peace," instead of the usual "Grace and peace."[3] A tolerably complete list of such peculiarities will be found in Dr. Davidson's earlier *Introduction*, vol. iii., pp. 119, 120. They are sufficiently numerous to constitute the Epistles into a distinct group, but certainly not sufficiently distinctive to invalidate the Pauline authorship.[4]

7. At the departure of Titus to Dalmatia, he disappears from the history. Whether he continued his evangelistic labours in that region,[5] or returned to Crete, or resumed his attendance upon St. Paul before the Apostle's martyrdom, we know not. Tradition represents him as having remained in Crete, as bishop of the churches, until his death at an advanced age (some authorities say ninety-four). Ancient churches are dedicated to him, and his name is invoked as that of the patron saint of Candia. From the Epistle itself we should gather that the mission of Titus to the island was temporary, and soon completed. He was to ordain "bishops," rather than to himself assume a bishopric. There was other work for him to do; and if we take the more charitable hypothesis of his departure to Dalmatia, we see in his visit to that region but another step in a truly apostolic career, in which Titus, once the representative, became the follower of his master Paul.

[1] See Titus i. 15, 16; ii. 10—14; iii. 3—7; as well as instances in 1 and 2 Timothy. Such phrases may also be noted as the parenthesis, "I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not" (1 Tim. ii. 7); found also in Rom. ix. 1. See further in Introduction to 2 Timothy.

[2] 1 Tim. ii. 2; iii. 16; iv. 7, 8; vi. 3, 5, 6, 11; 2 Tim. iii. 5; Titus i. 1. In 1 Tim. v. 4 the verb is found; and the adverb in 2 Tim. iii. 12; Titus ii. 12.

[3] De Wette, in Davidson's *Introduction*, iii., p. 119. Many modern editors, however, omit the word *mercy* in Titus i. 4. So Tischendorf, not Lachmann.

[4] "What? was the Apostle's stock of words and modes of expression exhausted before he wrote these Epistles? Must he repeat what he had already used? Had he no new ideas to communicate, demanding for their expression new words and combinations of words? So it is virtually maintained by such as dwell upon this particular. But, in doing so, they dishonour Paul in overlooking his mental opulence, &c." (Davidson.)

[5] Dr. Neale remarks that of all the churches in modern Dalmatia not one is dedicated to Titus. (*Ecclesiological Notes on Dalmatia*, quoted by Howson.)

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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THE GREAT BIBLE.

THE current of our history now returns to Coverdale, whom we left in Paris in the year 1538. He had been charged by his patron, Cromwell, with the duty of preparing another Bible, differing in some important respects from the two already in circulation—his own of 1535 and that bearing the name of Thomas Matthew. The excellence of Parisian paper and typography was the cause of the selection of this city for the new work. There was nothing stealthy or secret in the procedure adopted. Cromwell was the patron of this especial undertaking; and through his influence a licence was obtained from the king of France, Francis I., by which Coverdale and Grafton were authorised, in consideration of the liberty which they had received from their own sovereign, to print and transmit to England

the Latin or the English Bible, on condition that there were no private or unlawful opinions in the new work, and that all dues, obligations, &c., were properly discharged. Under this protection Coverdale and Grafton applied themselves with the utmost diligence to the fulfilment of their commission. Letters to Cromwell are still extant, which contain very interesting notes of progress, and also show how deeply Cromwell interested himself in the work. For seven or eight months the two Englishmen and their associate, Regnault, the French printer, seem to have been left unmolested. In December, however, there came a mandate from the Inquisition, which stayed all progress. Happily, a portion of the Bible was safe in England. Many sheets were seized; but even these were in large measure afterwards recovered, "four great dry vats-full" being re-purchased from a haberdasher, to whom they had been sold. The interruption caused a slight delay, but was most beneficial in its results. Cromwell was not the man to be foiled in his purpose: being unable to secure the accomplishment of the work in France, he brought over types, presses, and men to England. In April, 1539, this "Bible of the largest volume," as it was then spoken of, or the first edition of the Great Bible, was issued from the press.

The title-page is so curious that we give a reduced copy of it on page 265. The original measures about fourteen inches by nine; the copy, about eight and a half by five and a half. The design is said to be from the hand of the celebrated Hans Holbein. The highest figure in the engraving represents the Lord Christ in the clouds of heaven. Two labels contain His words. On that which extends towards the left of the engraving we find Isa. lv. 11 (*Verbum meum*, &c.). The other is directed towards the king, who, having laid aside his crown, and kneeling with outstretched hands, receives the declaration, "I have found a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will" (*Inveni*, &c., Acts xiii. 22); and himself exclaims, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet" (Ps. cxix. 105). The king appears again as the most prominent of all the figures. Now he is seated on his throne: the royal arms and motto will be recognised at once. The king hands the Word of God (*Verbum Dei*) to bishops and clergy on his right hand, to Cromwell and others of the laity on his left. To the former he says, *Hæc præcipe et doce* ("These things command and teach," 1 Tim. iv. 11): to the latter, *Quod justum est judicate, ita parvum audietis ut magnum* ("Judge righteously . . . ye shall hear the small as well as the great," Deut. i. 16, 17); and also words taken with slight alteration from Dan. vi. 26, "I make a decree; . . . fear before the living God." Below, on the right, Cromwell appears a second time, pointed out by the device and motto at his feet: he is delivering the Word of God to the laity, admonishing them in the words of Ps. xxxiv. 14. On the other side is Cranmer, clearly indicated by his costume and his arms, placing the sacred volume in the hands of one of his clergy, and solemnly repeating the charge of 1 Peter v. 2. Below stands a preacher, enforcing the duty of prayer and thanksgiving on behalf of kings (1 Tim. ii. 1). The chorus of joy and thankfulness expressed in the attitude of the king's lieges, no less distinctly than in the shouts of "*Vivat Rex*," and "God save the king," needs no comment. Prisoners look wistfully from their cells; but whether they are introduced as wondering at the commotion, or as sharers in the joy, or as affording in their own persons a warning that such punishment awaited all undutiful subjects, it is not easy to decide. Many smaller features of this remarkable composition must be left to our readers to discover. It represents, with great faithfulness, a page of the history of the times. That the precious boon now conferred was the result of no human contrivance, is thankfully acknowledged here, and in the imprint even more clearly still: *A Domino factum est istud* ("This is the Lord's doing") are the translator's pious words, in which the devout student of history will heartily unite. Nor does the engraving exaggerate the liberty granted by the king. An injunction to the clergy, issued by Henry's authority, required them to provide by a certain date, in each parish, "one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English," the cost to be divided between the parson and the parishioners. It was ordained that this Bible should be set up in a convenient place within the church, and that the clergy should "expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same." This injunction, drawn up by Cromwell before the publication of the work, was twice repeated in subsequent years; and no historian fails to relate that Bishop Bonner placed six Bibles in St. Paul's. Another point worth careful notice is the prominence assigned by the artist to Cromwell. This Bible is often called Cranmer's, but without any just reason. All honour is due to the Archbishop for his exertions to promote its circulation, but the undertaking was not his, but Cromwell's; and the Bible is now rightly associated with Cromwell's name. Fifteen months after its publication Cromwell was disgraced and sentenced to death; but, though the circle under his feet is left blank in the title-page of subsequent editions, the figures remain unchanged, and thus all copies of the Great Bible preserve the memorial of Cromwell's zeal.

Most truthful and impressive is the exhibition of national feeling here presented. "It was wonderful," says Strype,[1] "to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word was read; and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the holy Scripture read." The most convincing proof of the accuracy of these statements is the

[1] *Life of Cranmer*, I., p. 92.

rapidity with which successive editions were printed and circulated. Cromwell's Bible, hastily snatched from destruction, was given to the world in April, 1539. There are still extant copies of six editions bearing the date 1540 and 1541. Nor were these mere reprints of Cromwell's Bible. As we shall see, the agreement amongst the seven Bibles is sufficiently great to authorise us in including them in one family and under one designation; but each has peculiarities which distinguish it from the rest. Cranmer's direct connection with the book begins with the second edition. On the 14th of November, 1539. Henry bestowed on Cromwell, for five years, the exclusive right to grant a licence for the printing of the Bible in the English tongue. A letter from Cranmer to Cromwell is extant, bearing the same date, in which the Archbishop conveys the undertaking of the printers to sell the Bibles at a price not exceeding ten shillings, on condition of receiving a monopoly of the publication. In this letter Cranmer asks "the king's pleasure concerning the Preface of the Bible," which had been sent to Cromwell to "oversee." This Bible had been committed by Henry to Gardiner and others among the bishops for their judgment. "After they had kept it long in their hands, and the king was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the king himself, they re-delivered the book; and being demanded by the king what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the king, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, there were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby. 'If there be no heresies,' said the king, 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the king and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which, if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend; but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by his translation."[1] In April, 1540, the Book was published with Cranmer's preface, which henceforth was attached to all editions of the Great Bible. Three months later appeared another edition, which, like the last, bore Cranmer's name on the title-page. In November of the same year the fourth edition was ready for issue, though not published until 1541. It appeared under very strange auspices, as the title will show: "The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted Prynce and Soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henrye the viii., supreme heade of this his Churche and Realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every churche within this his sayd realme accordynge to the tenour of his former Iniunctions geven in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundement of the kynges hyghnes, by the ryghte reverende fathers in God Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme[2] and Nicolas[3] bisshop of Rochester." It is probable that the association of Tunstall and Heath with this edition was little more than nominal. Lest the work in which Cromwell had taken so deep an interest should suffer after his fall, other names, representing widely different tendencies and sympathies, must give it warrant and authority. Three other editions were issued in 1541, one (November) similar to that just described, in its connection with the two bishops; two (May, December) bearing Cranmer's name upon the title-page. We are not told how large were the impressions of the later editions; but as the first edition consisted of 2,500 copies, we may reasonably conclude that the number circulated during these years of liberty was very large.

The liberty was too remarkable to be of long duration. Soon after Cromwell's disgrace the opposite party attempted to avail themselves of Coverdale's scheme for annotations on difficult texts (a scheme never carried into effect), for the purpose of checking altogether the printing of the Bible. Grafton indeed was committed to the Fleet, and bound under a heavy penalty not to print or sell any more Bibles until the king and clergy should agree on a translation. In 1542 Convocation, at the king's instance, arranged a plan for a new translation. The books of the New Testament were allotted to various bishops—St. Matthew, for instance, being taken by Cranmer, St. Luke by Gardiner, the Acts by Heath. The plan soon fell to the ground. When one of the translators (Bishop Gardiner) could propose that ninety-nine words, such as *panis propositionis* (shew-bread), *simulacrum* (image), *hostia* (victim), *ejicere* (to cast out), should, "on account of their genuine and native meaning, and the majesty of the matter signified by them," be presented to the people in this Latin dress, it became very evident that the bishops had no real wish for a vernacular translation. The king now directed that the universities should be entrusted with the work, but the adverse influences had become sufficiently powerful to frustrate this design. About this time Anthony Marler, a haberdasher of London, who had borne the expenses of the earlier editions of the Great Bible, received from Henry a patent, conveying to him the exclusive right of printing the English Bible during four years. In 1543 the reading of the Scriptures was by Act of Parliament placed under very severe restrictions. The use of Tyndale's translations was entirely forbidden, and three years later Coverdale's Testament was placed under the same ban. Permission to read the Bible in English was accorded to certain classes only. Obedience to these injunctions was enforced by many penalties, and was still more effectually promoted by the zeal of the numerous opponents of the Reformation, who spared no pains to crush out the growing love for the Scriptures. On all sides the proscribed Bibles were sought for and destroyed. All the better traditions of earlier years were fast passing into oblivion, when the reaction was suddenly stayed by the death of the king in January, 1547.

We pass to a brief examination of the character of this translation. The principal questions before us are

[1] Fulke, *Defence of English Translations*, p. 98 (Parker Society).
[2] Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham. [3] Nicholas Heath.

FAC-SIMILE (REDUCED) OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE GREAT BIBLE.

these:—In what relation does the Great Bible stand to those previously published by Coverdale and Rogers? What influences may be traced in this new version? How far are we justified in speaking of the seven issues in 1539 and the two following years as editions of the same work? Comparing Numb. xxiv. 15—24, as given in the Great Bible, with the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, we find that in every four places in which these two translators differ, the Great Bible agrees with Tyndale three times, with Coverdale's Bible once. Very rarely do we find any new rendering of importance. The most striking are in verse 16, "and that falleth with open eyes;" verse 18, "and Edom shall be possessed, and Seir shall fall to the possession of their enemies;" verse 22, "the Kenite shall be rooted out;" verse 24, "Italy," in the place of "Chittim." In most of the new renderings the authority followed is Münster's Hebrew-Latin Bible, published in 1534-5. In the early books of the Old Testament the successive editions of the Great Bible appear to be nearly in accord, the work of revision being in the main completed when the book was first published in 1539. If we pass to the prophetical books we meet with a much larger proportion of new matter. In Isa. liii., for example, the Bible of 1539 differs in about forty places from Coverdale's former translation; in the Bible known as Cranmer's we find about twenty additional alterations, some of great importance; in the editions of 1541 hardly any further change was made. The influence of Münster is to be seen in almost every case. We gladly welcome such renderings as "the chastisement of our peace" (1540) in the place of "the pain of our punishment" (1539); and "the Lord hath heaped together upon him the iniquity of us all," is a more adequate representation of the prophet's meaning than "through him the Lord hath pardoned all our sins." We need not examine other passages in detail. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, we see that the term Great Bible represents in the main two revisions (1539, 1540); and that, whilst much use was made of the Vulgate and of the Complutensian Polyglott, Münster's Latin version was the authority to which Coverdale chiefly deferred.

In its general character the New Testament is very similar to the Old. In Luke xv., xvi., for example, the Great Bible almost always agrees either with Tyndale's or with Coverdale's earlier version, but in most instances with Tyndale. What is new is of little value. The impression produced by these chapters is confirmed as we extend our survey. There are, however, some changes of detail which are very important, though they are not always changes for the better. Thus in John iii. 3, "born anew" gives place to "born from above;" in John x. 16, "one fold" is unfortunately substituted for "one flock;" in John xiv. 1, the familiar rendering, "ye believe in God, believe also in me," takes the place of Tyndale's, in which all was exhortation ("believe in God, believe also in me"). In these passages the change is apparently due to the authority of Erasmus. Throughout the New Testament, indeed, the new renderings are mainly derived from Erasmus and the Vulgate. The later editions of the Great Bible sometimes contain valuable emendations, but the amount of variation is apparently not great.

The chief characteristic of the Great Bible is found, not in its translations, but in its text. In one of his letters to Cromwell, Coverdale speaks of the care with which he notes the "diversity of reading among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks, and Latinists." The result is, that on every page of this version we find some additions to the text. The reader may remember that Purvey's version of Proverbs contains several clauses and verses found in the Latin text, but not in the Hebrew (Vol. I., p. 82). Almost all these supplements may be seen in the Great Bible. The same phenomenon meets us in the New Testament. In Luke xvi. 21, for instance, we read of Lazarus, that "no man gave unto him;" at the end of 1 Cor. xvi. 19, we find the words, "with whom also I am lodged;" and it is in this version that Luke xvii. 36 first finds a place. It must be confessed that his unwillingness to give up any portion of the text presented by the Vulgate sometimes (in 1 John ii. 23, for example) led Coverdale to adopt readings which are now recognised as correct; but this good fortune is only occasional. As a rule, the additions found no favour with later editors. These supplements, however, were not presented by Coverdale as part of the text, but were placed within parentheses, printed in a different type, and pointed out to the reader by a special sign. Besides this sign, a hand (☞) is of very frequent occurrence in both text and margin of the Great Bible. It had been Coverdale's intention to supply numerous annotations on difficulties of every description, and great was his regret when the hurry and confusion amidst which the first edition was completed rendered this part of his scheme impracticable. The notes were never published, but in the first three editions the sign remained. Another mark (+) is used in the Old Testament, to point out passages which are "alleged of Christ or of some apostle in the New Testament."

One portion of the Great Bible stands apart from the rest, not indeed in internal character, but in virtue of its subsequent history. A note at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer states that the Psalter therein contained "followeth the division of the Hebrews, and the translation of the great English Bible, set forth and used in the time of King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth." This translation was necessarily adopted in connection with the first Prayer-Book (1549), and obtained a very strong hold upon the people. At the last revision of the Prayer-Book (1662), when the new translation was accepted for the Epistles and Gospels, it proved impossible to change the Psalter. "It was found, it is said, smoother to sing; but this is not a full account of the matter, and it cannot be mere familiarity which gives to the Prayer-Book Psalter, with all its errors and imperfections, an incomparable tenderness and sweetness. Rather we may believe that in it we can yet find the spirit of him whose work it mainly is, full of humility and love, not heroic or

creative, but patient to accomplish by God's help the task which had been set him to do, and therefore best in harmony with the tenour of our own daily lives."[1] The general characteristics of the version are found here also. Every careful reader has been struck with the additional words and clauses found in the Psalter of the Prayer-Book. For example, "him that rideth upon the heavens, *as it were upon an horse*" (Ps. lxviii. 4); "their corn, and wine, *and oil*" (iv. 8); "a moth *fretting a garment*" (xxxix. 12); "God is a righteous Judge, *strong and patient*" (vii. 12); "*even where no fear was*" (xiv. 9); "*neither the temples of my head to take any rest*" (cxxxii. 4). In Ps. xxix. 1, we find a double translation of one clause, "bring young rams unto the Lord," and "ascribe unto the Lord glory and strength." A verse is added to Ps. cxxxvi., and three verses are introduced into Ps. xiv. Canon Westcott gives a list of more than seventy of these additions, some from Münster, but most brought in from the Vulgate. In the Great Bible the word, or clause, or verse, is in almost all cases carefully separated from the context, and marked as an addition; but unfortunately all such distinction has been obliterated in our editions of the Prayer-Book. The titles of the Psalms, and such notes as Selah, omitted in the Prayer-Book, are here given in full. The curious love of variety of rendering, so characteristic of Coverdale, is often observable. The "chief musician" is usually "the chanter," but sometimes "he that excelleth." Michtam of David becomes "the badge or arms of David." Halleluya is retained from the original, but a translation, "Praise the everlasting," is placed by its side. As we might expect, the inscriptions of the Psalms are sometimes enlarged from the Latin. Thus Ps. xxiv. is assigned to "the first day of the Sabbath." It is curious to read at the beginning of Ps. xxvi. "a Psalm of David afore he was embalmed."

[1] Westcott, *History of English Bible*, p. 294.

There is little requiring notice in the arrangement of the Great Bible. It contains no dedication. In the table of contents the word "Hagiographa" (a name designating those books of the Old Testament which are not included under "the Law" and "the Prophets"—such as Job, the Psalms, &c.) strangely takes the place of "Apocrypha." As in the earlier editions of the Great Bible Rogers's preface to the Apocryphal books is retained, we light upon the astonishing statement that "the books are called Hagiographa because they were wont to be read, not openly and in common, but as it were in secret and apart." The preliminary matter resembles that of Matthew's Bible. The Concordance, however, is omitted, and a short prologue is inserted, to explain the marks found in the text and margin. Short headings are usually prefixed to the chapters, but no book has a preface, unless the three or four lines expressing the general meaning of the Song of Solomon can be so considered.

Many copies of the Great Bible have been preserved. Mr. Fry, to whom we owe the most complete and accurate account of the various editions, has examined nearly one hundred and fifty copies; most of these, however, are incomplete, perfect copies being very rare. The library of the British Museum contains every one of the seven editions. At Lambeth Palace may be seen copies of the first two editions which may very possibly have belonged to Cranmer himself. Amongst the treasures of the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, is a splendid copy of Cromwell's Bible, printed on vellum and illuminated; another copy on vellum (April, 1540), presented by Anthony Marler to Henry VIII., is preserved in the British Museum. A useful reprint of the New Testament of 1539 will be found in Bagster's English Hexapla.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. DR. EDERSHEIM.

MARRIAGE AMONG THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

IT is a significant saying, attributed to Rabbi Akiba: "Man and wife who are devout, the Shechinah is between them; if otherwise, fire devours them." There is here a play upon the terms in the original, which it is not difficult to explain. The Hebrew word for *man*—*AISH* (pronounced *Ish*)—has for its middle letter the *I*; and that for *woman*—*AiSHaH* (pronounced *Ishah*)—for its final letter the *H*, which together form the word *Jah* (Jehovah); while if you remove these two letters there remain only *AeSH* (*Esh*), which means fire.[1] The sentence is brief, and sounds peculiarly rabbinical. But like such aphorisms, it throws a flash of light on social matters—the position of woman, the marriage relationship, and family life in the ancient synagogue. Happily, there is here scarcely a dark side to the picture. And to this day Jewish family life may well serve as a model, shaming every other than a genuinely Christian household. Indeed, on no part of his subject can the impartial Jewish historian dwell with more satisfaction than on this. Quotations superficially made, and trite references to the ease with which divorce might be obtained, have produced a false popular impression, for which neither the Scriptures nor the teachings of the Rabbis afford warrant.

[1] The letters printed in capitals are the proper letters; those in small type the vowel-points. The saying is given in the *Pirke R. Elieser* in name of another Rabbi, and the explanation added, that the fire is that of spiritual destruction.

At the outset the reader should bear in mind the

almost immeasurable difference between the position of woman among the Hebrews and among all other Eastern nations. There was, indeed, concession in this, as in other matters, to "the hardness" of men's hearts—for all God's teaching is "little by little"—but comparison will here show a difference not in degree but in kind. Rabbinical sayings on this subject might be multiplied, but we prefer, in the first instance, to take our sketch from the Old Testament. The position of woman seems already implied in the account of her creation. Not only the New Testament (Mark x. 6) but the Rabbis trace back the institution of marriage to the state in Paradise. From the first woman was destined to be man's *ezer*, or help (Gen. ii. 18), and as such she is presented throughout the sacred story. Every one knows the position of equality and influence, sometimes even unduly so, of Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, and Rachel in the families of the patriarchs; how independently they were addressed, spoke, and acted. There is nothing like it in any other Eastern story, nor in the spirit of the times. And to this day the Jews are wont to name "the four mothers" as ancestral saints by the side of "the three fathers." For these many centuries has their reverent mention been repeated at the family service each night of the Paschal supper, till even this would have sufficed to make female equality a traditional household thought.

Of course the reasons of all this reach down to the very root of religious life in Israel. But the social conditions also were such as, on the one hand, to presuppose, and, on the other, to promote the proper position of woman. She was not shut up, as Eastern females are, in a separate part of the house, jealously guarded, but mingled freely with the other sex in the family, and among strangers. She entertained the guests, appeared at the family feasts and at marriages, took part in public festivals, went to the sanctuary—not unfrequently quite alone; in short, enjoyed free social intercourse, so far as at all possible in those times and circumstances. Even the occupations of women, as referred to in Scripture (*e.g.*, Exod. xxxv. 25; 1 Sam. ix. 11; 2 Sam. xiii. 6, 8; Prov. xii. 4; xxxi. 13—24, &c.), show a marked contrast to the idleness of the *harem*. It is quite true that polygamy was not prohibited, and that divorces were possible. But it is well known that in Old and New Testament times monogamy seems, in practice, to have been the rule (compare Prov. xii. 4; xix. 14; xxxi. 10; Tobit i. 9; ii. 11; viii. 4, 13; Sus. 29, 63; Ecclus. xxvi. 1; Matt. xviii. 25; Luke i. 5; Acts v. 1), and that the exceptions chiefly lay with kings, or with the rich and luxurious. The Rabbis, indeed, also allowed a plurality of wives. But the circumstance that they limited their number;[1] that, according to their unanimous opinion, the high priest required to be monogamous; that the law fixed that the claims of the first married woman should take precedence of those of the second, the second of the third, and so on (*Cheth.* x.); and, finally, the provision that in case a man had lived in monogamy and afterwards became polygamous, his first wife might claim to be divorced (*Yeb.* 65, *a*)—all prove that the whole current of feeling was in the direction which we know Jewish life generally took. It has been well remarked, that even the symbolical representation of the union between Jehovah and His people seemed to point to monogamy.

From what has been stated it will be inferred, that ordinarily the choice of a wife must have lain with a youth himself, though no doubt there are even Biblical examples of betrothal on the part of the parents. The Rabbis expressly disapprove of engagements made through messengers, as likely to lead to disappointments. A woman was required to give her express consent, else the marriage was not valid. Of course this applied only to those who were of age. A girl was considered a *minor* up to twelve years and one day; from that time she was of age. While a *minor* her father (but not her mother) could betroth or give her in marriage. But once betrothed or married he lost his power over her, even though she had been divorced or become a widow during her minority. Similarly she might, if she attained majority after betrothal, insist upon divorce. Perhaps for our present purpose it may be best, first, briefly to state what, in the view of the ancient synagogue, should influence *the choice of a wife;* then to describe successively the *rites of betrothal and of marriage*, the *legal enactments* prohibiting or regulating marriage, and those referring to *divorce;* and lastly, to detail what were regarded as the mutual *duties of married life.*

The common proverb, "marriages are made in heaven," is assuredly of Jewish origin (*Ber. Rabba*, 58). The destination of man and wife for each other was supposed to be God's special work, since creation had ended. Indeed, there is a story, that forty days before the birth of a child it is announced in heaven to whom he or she is to be wedded. But in all fairness this language is not that of fatalism; rather of reverent acknowledgment of God in the most important event of life. Quite in accordance with the principles which were to guide in the choice of a wife, it was said, that regard should, in the first place, be had to the family of a girl. For it was thought that daughters generally were like their fathers, and sons to their maternal uncles. If we put it this way: first, learning and piety (for in the Jewish mind the two covered each other), then descent, and lastly money, we have correctly indicated the degrees of a desirable union. If possible, a man should marry the daughter of a sage, or at least of the head of a synagogue, or of a parochial administrator, or of a schoolmaster. As for the unlettered, "they were dead even while living," according to Isa. xxvi. 14, and connection with them was only to be contemplated if the wealth thereby acquired were devoted to assist a sage in his studies.

We have felt ourselves at liberty to gather up the spirit of the Rabbis at different periods, because on

[1] According to some, by the outward circumstances of a man; according to others, no civilian was to have more than four, nor princes more than eighteen wives.

such a subject opinions do not change with dogmatic prejudices.[1] But that similar sentiments were also entertained while the Temple stood, will appear from the subjoined quotation. The story connected with it reads strange, but it rests upon what seems indubitable testimony (*Taan.* iv. 8). It is said, that annually on the afternoon of the Day of Atonement, and on that when the offering of wood for the altar was completed (the 15th Ab), the maidens of Jerusalem were wont to gather in the vineyards close to the city.[2] They all went arrayed in white dresses lent them for the purpose, that there might be no invidious distinctions. Here, as the maidens danced and sang, the youths had an opportunity of choosing their partners. The following fragment of one of their songs which has been preserved, is characteristic:—

> "Around in circles gay, the Hebrew maidens see;
> From them our happy youths their partners choose.
> Remember! beauty soon its charm must lose,
> And seek to win a maid of fair degree.
> When fading youth and beauty low are laid,
> Then praise shall her who fears the Lord await;
> God does bless her handiwork, and in the gate,
> 'Her works do follow her,' it shall be said."

Thus viewed, marriage was considered almost a religious duty,[3] that is, not from lust, nor for beauty, nor yet merely for wealth. For whatever woman was, either for good or bad, she was always superlatively.[4] Stringing together several portions of Scripture, it was argued that an unmarried man was without any *good* (Gen. ii. 18), without *joy* (Deut. xiv. 26), without *blessing* (Ezek. xliv. 30), without *protection* (Jer. xxxi. 22), without *peace* (Job v. 24); indeed, could not properly be called a man (Gen. v. 2). It was a principle, "If thou hast power over a son, give him a wife" (*Kidd.* 30). Some went even so far as to advise, if it were not otherwise attainable to get a daughter married, to liberate a slave and wed her to him! In general, the age at which a young man should marry was stated to be not later than from eighteen to twenty years, early marriages being specially recommended. But the more sober opinion also prevailed, that a man should only take such a step when he had sufficient to provide for wife and family. Anyhow, wedded life must not be allowed to interfere with the prosecution of study, otherwise even celibacy was excusable. Unequal unions, such as that of a very old man with a young girl, were declared an abomination. Of hindrances to marriage by relationship or otherwise, we shall speak in the sequel.

Sufficient has been said to illustrate the general views and feelings of the synagogue. Suppose, then, a proper choice made, and marriage actually in view. Legally speaking, it would be considered duly concluded by any one of two things, done either personally or through messengers, viz., handing a piece of money (to the value of at least a *perutha*, the smallest coin = $\frac{1}{16}$d.), or delivering a written document; or else by cohabitation (*Kidd.* i. 1; ii. 1), the latter mode of marrying being, however, prohibited by the Rabbis as indecent, on pain of stripes. In each case there must be a distinct declaration of purpose of marriage; it must be made before two witnesses, and on the part of the *man*, the woman expressly consenting—that is, if she were of age; otherwise her father acting for her. These practices, no doubt, marked the most ancient customs, and they serve to indicate that the Jewish law, like that of Scotland, really regarded marriage as a civil contract. As usual, the Talmudists discuss at length various questions connected with the validity of marriages contracted under certain conditions. The most important points here are, that if it had been expressly mentioned that the woman was not under a vow, or else that she had not certain bodily defects, and it proved otherwise, the union was invalid (*Chethub.* vii. 7; *Kidd.* ii. 5); if it had been contracted for a future time (say, "Be betrothed to me after thirty days"), then apparently the man, but not the woman, was bound by the contract (comp. *Kidd.* iii. 1—10, which discusses other similar hypothetical cases).

The interval between betrothal and marriage was fixed by the law, as for a maiden from ten months to a year, and for a widow three months. In Biblical times we read that on the day of the marriage the bridegroom, accompanied by his "friends" (Judg. xiv. 10; John iii. 29), went to the house of the bride. From Tobit vii. 13, &c., we learn that there the father led his daughter up to the betrothed with the words, "Take her according to the Law of Moses," a benediction being then spoken, and the *chethubah* read and sealed. Substantially this is the basis of the present Jewish marriage ceremonial. Both in Scripture (Ps. xix. 5; Joel ii. 16) and in the Mishna (*Kidd.* v. 6) we read of the *chuppah*, or baldachino, under which at present Jewish marriages are performed (always in the open air). The veiling of the bride, the ring, and the benedictions (not necessarily said by a Rabbi) are all of ancient origin. The other modern ceremonies are only accessories, chiefly connected with remembrance of Israel's bondage and of their present circumstances. From the Bible we know that in the evening the bride was brought to her new home, surrounded by her maiden "companions" (Ps. xlv. 14), with torches and lamps (Matt. xxv. 1), amid music and dancing (Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9), she herself being richly adorned and veiled (Isa. lxi. 10; Jer. ii. 32). There was a marriage-feast at which bride and bridegroom wore garlands (Song of Sol. iii. 11; Ezek. xvi. 12). This was celebrated with music and dancing (Ps. lxxviii. 63; Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9, &c.), and general merriment. The marriage festivities generally lasted seven days (Judg. xiv. 12).

The accounts given by the Rabbis do not greatly differ from the picture which the Bible presents of this family feast. Before the marriage the most pious fasted, or, at least, abstained from intoxicating drink. In connection with the marriage of Cana (John ii. 1), and

[1] I must take leave to refer the reader who wishes further details to my *History of the Jewish Nation*, chaps. ix. and x.

[2] See my *Temple, its Ministry and Services*, pp. 286, 296.

[3] Except by the sect of the Essenes, who were ascetics.

[4] *Maza* or *Moze?*—"Findeth" or "found?" used to be the pithy Rabbinical inquiry after marriage, the two terms pointing to opposite experiences of woman, according to Prov. xviii. 22 and Eccles. vii. 26.

again, as perhaps illustrating the locality where our Lord spoke the comparisons (Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29), in which He mentioned the children of the bridechamber, and the friends of the bridegroom, it is interesting to know that in Galilee marriages were much more simply conducted than in Judæa proper, and that the practice of having "friends of the bridegroom" was not customary there (*Chethub.* 12). After the destruction of the Temple, bride and bridegroom (also the groomsman) were prohibited wearing, as formerly, garlands of myrtle and of roses. In similar token of mourning, or else to remind all how shortlived was joy, a glass was dashed to pieces, or ashes strewed on the head of the bridegroom, or the bride would even send him a burial-dress. On the way to and from the house of wedding wine and oil were distributed, nuts given to children, seeds scattered, or even a pair of fowls carried before the married couple. The bride wore a peculiar kind of veil, covering the eyes; sometimes her hair hung loosely down, while married women had carefully to cover it up. The evening feast was one of boisterous merriment, almost amounting to rioting. There were regular joke-makers; anything, however false, might be said in praise of a bride; and to make the gravest Rabbi, even the President of the Sanhedrim, sing or dance, seemed a special object of delight. Some of the more serious men protested against these sometimes indecent exhibitions, and it formed a standing complaint by the more strict followers of Shammai against the school of Hillel. But any one was expected to join in a bridal procession, and to do honour to the newly-wedded pair. It was said in praise of King Agrippa I., that whenever he met such a procession he always headed it. More serious utterances, however, are also met with, almost reminding us of the Roman Catholic view of marriage as a sacrament. Thus we read: "To three persons, entrance on their new condition brings the forgiveness of sins—to the bridegroom, the Rabbi, and the President of the Sanhedrim."

A great deal has been written about the ease with which divorce might be obtained in Israel. It is well known that the two rival schools of Shammai and Hillel here differed. Both appealed to the words, "matter of uncleanness" (*ervath davar*, in Deut. xxiv. 1), only that the one rested their opinion on the word *ervath* (uncleanness), the other on *davar* (matter), in the sacred text. The Shammaites accordingly restricted divorce to an iniquitous action; whereas the Hillelites inferred that a divorce was warranted for any matter, even if the wife had only spoiled her husband's dinner. Rabbi Akiba endeavoured farther to prove that a man might lawfully dismiss his wife if he found another more attractive. These, however, are exceptional extravagances. The general view was, that it was lawful to divorce a wife without paying her her settlement, if she had transgressed the law of Moses and of Judah. But it was always first sought to bring about a reconciliation. The letter of divorce had to be signed by witnesses, and it was couched in very express terms. Of the marriage of proselytes, strangers, and slaves we cannot here find space to write.

In general, the husband was bound to love and cherish his wife, to support her in comfort, to redeem her if she had been sold into slavery, and to bury her, on which occasion even the poorest was to provide at least two mourning-fifes and one mourning woman. He was to treat his wife with courtesy, for her tears called down Divine vengeance. He was to spend less than his means warranted for food, up to his means for his own clothing, and beyond them for that of his wife and children. On the other hand, it was the ordinary duty of the wife "to grind the meal, to bake, wash, cook, suckle her children, make her husband's bed, and work in wool." These regulations were modified if she were wealthy. "If she had brought with her one slave, she was not required to grind the meal, bake, or wash; if two slaves, she was free from cooking and suckling the children; if three, she was not required to make the bed nor work in wool; if four (it is added), she might sit in her easy chair" (*Cheth.* v. 5)! However, this indulgence was limited, since idleness was supposed to induce insanity; so that a man was even bound to divorce his wife, if he had rashly vowed that she should not work. The woman should abstain from all appearance of evil, immodesty, or impropriety; she should always meet her husband cheerfully, cleanly, and tidily; receive his friends with politeness and affability; be obedient and respectful, and, above all, encourage her husband in piety and study. Nor is the comparison[1] which St. Paul makes in the Epistle to the Ephesians between the married relationship and the union of Christ with His people altogether without a parallel among the Rabbis. To them also the bridal pair symbolises the union of God with the world, or else of God with Israel; and they speak of the seven days of the marriage festival as emblematical of the seven millenniums during which the world was to last.

We close with a beautiful Rabbinical story which, better than any lengthened statements, will illustrate family life among the sages. On a certain Sabbath Rabbi Meir was engaged in the sacred college. In his absence his two sons had died. To spare her husband some hours of grief, and not to convert the joy of the Sabbath into mourning, the mother repressed her own feelings, and concealed the sad tidings. The Sabbath was past, and its holy exercises ended, when she asked her husband whether it were not duty readily and cheerfully to restore to the rightful owner any property, however pleasant, which had been entrusted for safe keeping. When the astonished Rabbi answered the strange inquiry in the affirmative, his weeping wife led him to the bed on which the lifeless remains of their two children were stretched, reminding him that He whose they rightfully were had only asked back what for a time he had entrusted to their keeping.

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[1] The Talmud also uses exactly the same expression as St. Paul (Eph. v. 28): "He that loveth his wife as his own body." Comp. Weil, *Moïse et le Talm.*, p. 298.

BIBLE WORDS.

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DIVISION II.—WORDS ALTERED IN MEANING.

SECTION I.—WORDS ELEVATED IN MEANING.

THE former papers on Bible words have been devoted to the obsolete words of Holy Scripture. We now, in accordance with the plan stated at the outset, proceed to consider the words that have sustained a change or modification of signification since the publication of the Authorised Version.

We shall direct our attention, in the first place, to those words which have been either improved or deteriorated—elevated or depressed—during the last two-and-a-half centuries. It is a sadly significant fact that the latter class far outnumbers the former; that the list of the words which, originally honourable or innocent, have acquired a low or harmful meaning should be so much larger than that of those which have been purified or ennobled. An instructive homily might be delivered on the evidence thus afforded of man's fallen estate, and how certainly he injures and degrades all that he touches except when under the guiding influences of the Holy Spirit of God. But to do this is not our duty now, and we will content ourselves with directing our readers to Archbishop Trench's admirable lecture on "The Morality of Words."[1] In this department of our subject the mode of treatment will be more condensed, and the illustrations less copious, than was requisite when we were dealing with words that almost or entirely had passed out of use.

Abject. This word is now only used as an adjective, and is seldom heard except in the phrases "abject poverty," "abject circumstances," and the like, carrying with it rather a feeling of pity and compassion than of contempt or disgrace. But its earlier use was very different. In Ps. xxxv. 15, "Yea, the very *abjects* came together against me unawares, making mows at me, and ceased not" (Prayer-Book).[2] It is evident that it is a word of intensest scorn, denoting the lowest and most contemptible rabble. Shakespeare uses it in the same sense when he makes Gloucester speak of "the *abject* people" (2 *Hen. VI.* ii. 4), and complains "We are the queen's *abjects*, and must obey" (*Rich. III.* i. 1). So also Bale (Richardson) describes St. John as exiled for the Gospel preaching, and made a "vile *abject*."

Church (*subst.*), A. S. *cyrice*, adopted from the Greek κυριακή, "belonging to the Lord," κύριος, has so completely asserted its sacred meaning in modern language that it is almost startling to find our translators rendering ἱεροσύλους, "robbers of *churches*" (Acts xix. 37), where the context shows that it is of heathen temples the town-clerk of Ephesus is speaking. But that they were only following the usage of the time, which had not yet restricted the word "church" to a Christian building, is demonstrated by many passages from our earlier literature. Thus Sir John Cheke speaks of the "rending of the veil of the *church*," *i.e.* the Temple at Jerusalem (Matt. xxvii. 51), while "the *church* of Juno" is found in Golding's *Ovid*; "the *church* of Jove" in Marlowe's *Lucar*; and Holland makes Pliny (x. 43) speak of a "young raven hatched in a nest upon the *church* of Castor and Pollux."

Delicately, Deliciously (*adv.*). Neither of these adverbs, as at present used, implies the slightest reproach. On the contrary, in most instances they carry with them the idea of refinement and excellence. But in the A. V. both words bear an unfavourable meaning, being regarded as synonymous with *luxuriously* in its unfavourable sense. Whatever be the real meaning of the much controverted phrase, "Agag came to him *delicately*" (1 Sam. xv. 32), our translators certainly did not intend it to say anything in commendation of the doomed king. The "*delicately* bringing up of a servant from a child" censured (Prov. xxix. 21) is the petting and pampering of a young slave. The word used (Luke vii. 25), "They who live *delicately*," is the same with that rendered "riot" (2 Pet. ii. 13). In the only passage where *deliciously* occurs in the A. V. ("to live *deliciously*," Rev. xviii. 7, 9) the verb is identical in root with that translated "to *wax wanton*" (1 Tim. v. 11). In the translation of Vive's *Instruction of a Christian Woman* (bk. i. chap. 8), "to leade the life *delicately* and *deliciously*" is coupled with "wasting it away riotously," as opposed to "living chastely, sadly, soberly, measurably." Piers Plowman, p. 142, bids his readers

> "Think that Dives for his *delicate* lyf to the devil went,"

of whom also Jeremy Taylor writes, "He went in fine linen and fared *deliciously* every day" (*Serm.* 9, vol. v., p. 528).

Fame (*subst.*), which is now almost universally used of the renown or celebrity derived or anticipated from some great or noble action—

> "The spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> (That last infirmity of noble mind)
> To scorn delights and live laborious days"
> (Milton's *Lysidas*),

was formerly applied in a lower sense to any reports or

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[1] Trench, *Study of Words*, chap. ii.

[2] We have restored the old reading of the "Sealed Book" which the unlicensed despotism of printers has robbed us of, as they have done with *shamefastness* (2 Tim. ii. 9); *sith* (Exod. xxxv. 6); *it* own accord (Lev. xxv. 5); *kill*, or "kiln" (2 Sam. xii. 31; Jer. xliii. 9); and *moe* for "more" (*passim*); and many other noble relics of our ancient mother tongue. We may illustrate the true reading by Helena's words in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. 2:—

> "Make *mows* upon me when I turn my back,
> Wink at each other: hold the sweet jest up."

intelligence, good or bad, like the Greek φήμη and the Latin *fama*. Thus Bacon, in his incomplete *Essay of Fame*, uses it in the plural, where we should now use "reports," inquiring "what are false *fames*, and what are true *fames*; . . . how *fames* may be sown and raised;" and records how "Mucianus undid Vitellius by a *fame* that he scattered," and "Julius Cæsar took Pompey unperceived . . . by a *fame* that he cunningly gave; how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not." We find it in this lower sense in the A. V., as when "the *fame*" of the arrival of Joseph's brethren was spread in Pharaoh's house (Gen. xlv. 16); and 1 Kings x. 7, where the queen of Sheba acknowledges that Solomon's "wisdom and prosperity exceeded the *fame* she had heard." We may add the words of Jeremiah with reference to the Assyrian invasion (Jer. vi. 24), "We have heard the *fame* thereof; our hands wax feeble, anguish hath taken hold of us."

Injurious (*adj.*) is now applied to things that cause harm or detriment, *e.g.*, "*injurious* to the character," "*injurious* to the health," without any trace of the idea originally attaching to it of the harm being unjust or wrongful, and is never used of persons as it is in the only two places where it appears in the A. V.: 1 Tim. i. 13, "Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and *injurious*;" Ecclus. viii. 11, "Rise not up at the presence of an *injurious* person," in both which it is the rendering of ὑβριστής, "a violent, overbearing person, doing harm from insolence." This is Shakespeare's use of the word, *e.g.*, "*injurious* wasps" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i. 2); "*injurious* Hermia" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. 2); "a false traitor and *injurious* villain" (*Rich. II.* i. 1). Bacon couples "injury" with "insolence:" "By occasion of putting down others' *injury* or insolency" (*Adv. of Learn.*, II., xxiii. 30); "Exposed to scorn and *injury*" (*ib.* 32).

Proper (*adj.*) has ascended in the scale from the sense of mere *proprietorship*. 1 Chron. xxix. 3, "I (David) have (given) of my own *proper* good" (*i.e.*, of my own personal property); Acts i. 19, "The field is called in their *proper* tongue Aceldama" (*i.e.*, in their own language); 1 Cor. vii. 7, "Every man hath his *proper* (individual) gift of God;" or of *comeliness*, Heb. xi. 23 (of Moses' parents), "because they saw that he was a *proper* child" (ἀστεῖος, rendered "fair," Acts vii. 20), till it has come to signify what is seemly and fit absolutely, so that we speak of doing things "at a *proper* time," or "in a *proper* way." Both of the older uses may be illustrated from Shakespeare:—

> "The bastard's brains with these my *proper* hands
> Shall I dash out." (*Winter's Tale*, ii. 3.)
>
> "Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
> Myself to be a marvellous *proper* man." (*Rich. III.* i. 2.)
>
> "You are a thousand times a *properer* man
> Than she a woman." (*As You Like It*, iii. 5.)

Religion (*subst.*). This word, which is now used in a wide and elevated sense to denote the whole spiritual life, inward and outward, including the performance of our duty both to God and man, has in the A. V. a much narrower signification, and was confined to the outward alone. In the words of Archbishop Trench, "like θρησκεία, for which it stands (James i. 26, 27; Acts xxvi. 5), it expressed the outer form and embodiment which the inward spirit of a true or a false devotion assumed" (*Select Glossary*, p. 183); and in those of Dr. Arnold, "denoted commonly the outward service, as consisting in rites and ceremonies; and might be, and was, applied to persons who in their lives and hearts scarcely served God at all" (*Sermons*, VI., p. 354). Our translators inherited this use of the words *religion* and *religious* from their mediæval abuse, when *religion* was restricted to a conventual life, and a "religious person" meant simply one who had bound himself by monastic vows. Thus we read in Gower—

> "In black clothes thei them clothe,
> The daughter and the lady both,
> And yolde hem (yielded themselves) to *religion*."
> (*Conf. Am.*, bk. viii.)

In Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, v. 4, the Duke "meeting with an old *religious* man . . . was converted," . . . and "put on a religious life," *i.e.*, as the context shows, deserted the world and lived as an ascetic. The old usage of the words is admirably illustrated in the Sermon of "False Semblaunt" in Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, vv. 6141—59, which well deserves perusal. We quote a few lines:—

> "Good sense maketh the good thought,
> The clothing geveth ne reveth (takes away) nought.
> The good thought and the working
> That maketh the religion flouring,
> There lieth the good *religion*
> After the right ententioun."

With which we may compare Latimer's words, "*Religion*, pure *religion*, I say, standeth not in wearing of a monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well-doing" (*Sermons*, p. 392).

Reward (*verb act.*) in the A. V. signifies to requite or recompense without reference to the good or evil character of the return. Deut. xxxii. 41, "I will *reward* them that hate me;" Matt. xvi. 27, "He shall *reward* every man according to his works;" Rev. xviii. 6, "*Reward* her (Babylon) even as she *rewarded* you." (1 Sam. xxiv. 19; 2 Sam. iii. 39; 2 Chron. xx. 11; Ps. liv. 5; Hos. iv. 9; 2 Tim. iv. 14.) *Reward* is another form of the old French *reguerdon*, *reguerdoner*, to "recompense" or "pay back;" "guerdon" being derived from the Teutonic *widerlon*, A. S. *witherlean* (*wither* = again, *lean* = wages), the *gu* taking the place of the *w*, as in Guillaume, William; Gualtier, Walter; *guêpe*, wasp; *guerre*, war, &c. We find it in its old wide sense in Piers Plowman—

> "After the dede is don one dome (sentence) shal *rewarde*
> Mercy or no mercy, as treuthe wil acorde" (iii. 316)

and in Spenser—

> "Yet not escaped from the dew *reward*
> Of his bad deeds." *F. Q.*, iii. 5 (Richardson).

Success (*subst.*) formerly signified the result or consequence, whether favourable or unfavourable, and like the word "reward" took its character from the qualifying adjective. In the only place where it occurs in the A. V. (Josh. i. 8), "Thou shalt have good *success*," the adjective appears redundant according to modern usage. In the same way Ascham writes of "the good or ill *successe* of the quicke and hardy witte" (*Scholemaster*, bk. ii., Richardson). Bacon speaks of "the *successes* and issues of actions" (*Adv. of Learn.*, II., iv. 2), and of judging "by *successes* and events" (*Ib.*, II., x. 2), where he means the consequences simply, irrespective of their character: while Shakespeare, employing the qualifying adjective, has "*good success*" (3 *Henry VI.*, iii. 3); "*best success*" (*ib.*, ii. 2); "*bad success*" (*ib.*); "*vile success*" (*Othello*, iii. 3); and "*success* of mischief" (2 *Henry IV.*, iv. 2).

Tabernacle (*subst.*). A tabernacle is nothing more than a tent or movable dwelling, from the Latin *tabernaculum*, a diminutive of *taberna*, a "shed" or "hut." Our translators having borrowed this word from the Vulgate as the designation of the sacred tent that sheltered the Ark of the Covenant, it has acquired a quasi-sacred character which has been perpetuated by Whitfield's "Tabernacle" in Moorfields, and its numerous successors. It is much to be regretted that the word should be so often found to the obscuring of the sense, where the simpler "tent" or "booth" would be much more intelligible, and avoid misconception. The tent-life of the patriarchs is much obscured by the rendering (Heb. xi. 9), "dwelling in *tabernacles* with Isaac and Jacob;" nor does the ordinary reader at once perceive that the "*tabernacles* of Israel" in Balaam's blessing (Numb. xxiv. 5), and the "*tabernacles* of Edom and the Ishmaelites" (Ps. lxxxiii. 6), were merely the ordinary tents of these tribes, and had no religious character. Few recognise at once that St. Peter's request on the Mount of Transfiguration, "Let us make three *tabernacles*" (Mark ix. 5), only indicated his wish to construct leafy huts for his Master and His glorified companions from the boughs of the trees that covered the mountain side, similar to those which he had been accustomed to help in fabricating at the annual festivity of the "Feast of *Tabernacles*," or "booths," when the whole Jewish people lived in arbours for a week (Lev. xxiii. 42, 43; Neh. viii. 14—17).

Worship (*verb act.* and *subst.*). A higher signification has been placed on this word by modern usage than it bore originally, or its etymology properly warrants. The noun represents the A. S. *weorthscipe*, "the state or condition of worthiness," the verb implying the outward testimony to the worthiness. Though now restricted to honour and service paid to God, it had a wider sense in the A. V. Thus, Luke xiv. 10, "Thou shalt have *worship* in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee;" Josh. v. 14, "Joshua fell on his face, and did *worship*," *i.e.*, made obeisance by prostration; Matt. xviii. 26, "The servant fell down, and *worshipped* him" (his fellow-servant). We have a familiar example of this use of the word in the marriage service, "With my body I thee worship," and in the title "your *Worship*," addressed to the magistrate on the bench.[1] Spenser's Red Cross Knight started on his adventures "to win him *worship*," *i.e.*, honour (*F. Q.*, I., i. 3); and Sir Guyon is described as—

"Of mickle *worship* in his native land." (*F. Q.*, II., i. 6.)

It had been constantly used by Wicliff in this lower sense in his version of the Bible, *e.g.* Matt. xiii. 57, "A prophete is not withouten *worschip* but in his owne cuntre;" *ib.* xix. 19, "*Worschipe* thi fadir and thi modir;" John xii. 26, "If any man serve me, my fader schel *worschipe* him;" to which we may add a passage from the "Examination of William Thorpe," quoted by Archbishop Trench (*Select Glossary*, p. 239) from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, "Man that was made after the image and likeness of God is full worshipful in his mind; yea, this holy image which is man, God *worshipped*."

Worthy (*adj.*). This adjective, representing the A. S. *weorthe* or *wyrthi*, originally implied no more than general desert, the particular character being defined by the dependent words. Thus, in the A. V. we have, Deut. xxv. 2, "*worthy* to be beaten;" 1 Sam. xxvi. 16, "*worthy* to die;" Luke xii. 48, "things *worthy* of stripes;" Acts xxvi. 31, "*worthy* of death," on the one hand; and 2 Sam. xxii. 4, "*worthy* to be praised;" Matt. x. 10, "the workman is *worthy* of his meat;" Rev. iv. 11, "*worthy* to receive glory," on the other. It also occurs in the A. V. in the modern favourable sense: 1 Kings i. 52, "a *worthy* man;" Matt. x. 13, "if the house be *worthy*;" Acts xxiv. 2, "very *worthy* deeds;" James ii. 7, "that *worthy* name." In Nahum ii. 5, "he shall recount his *worthies*," we have an example of the plural used substantively, in the manner familiar to us in the phrase "the nine *worthies*," *e.g.*, "the Pageant of the Nine *Worthies*"[2] in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, act v.

"The *worthies* nine that were of might,
By travaile won immortal praise."
Paradise of Dainty Devices (Nares).

[1] See Trench, *English Past and Present*, p. 136.

[2] The orthodox list of the "Nine Worthies" included three Gentiles, Hector, Alexander, Cæsar; three Jews, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus; and three Christians, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne. For the last, Guy of Warwick was sometimes substituted. Shakespeare disturbs the just proportion by placing four Gentiles in his list, Hector, Alexander, Pompey, and Hercules.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

BY THE REV. A. BARRY, D.D., PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, AND CANON OF WORCESTER.

"Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ."—1 Cor. ii. 12—16.

THE second chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians contains, perhaps, the most explicit assertion in the New Testament of the supernatural character of the illumination of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Nothing can be more distinct than the contrast drawn between it and the "wisdom of the passing world" (αἰών)—that is, the systematised knowledge, which the "Greeks seek after," gained by the human intellect working in alienation from God, and in fancied independence of Him. Nor is it less notable that this inspiration is declared to be necessary, both for the teaching and the learning of the Gospel.

I. In Gospel teaching St. Paul notes (*a*) (see vv. 7—10) that its *substance* is a revelation of God in Christ, in itself "hidden," or undiscoverable by human reason, but, when revealed, capable of being understood and proclaimed by those who have the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The great Scriptural distinction is preserved throughout, that the revelation itself is in Christ, but the power to understand it and proclaim it is of the Holy Ghost; in accordance with the principle indicated in our Lord's declaration, that the Comforter should "bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever He had said unto them" (John xiv. 26)—a principle fruitful of instructive application to all manifestations of Christ in His Word and His Sacraments. But (*b*) he goes on to declare that the *word*—that is, the formed expression of thought in the message—is equally "taught of the Spirit" (ver. 13); again in accordance with our Lord's promise, "It shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you" (Matt. x. 19, 20).

It is evident that this assertion is made for the Apostles directly and primarily, but, from the nature of the case, not for them alone. The degree in which the illumination may be claimed will depend on the position which the special work of teaching to be done holds in the scheme of Revelation. Clearly the infinitely highest place is due to the apostolic foundation of Christianity, and therefore the plenary apostolic inspiration may not again be looked for. But in various degrees the claim is certainly universal. There is involved no declaration as to what is inaccurately called "verbal inspiration;" no decision between "mechanical" and "dynamical" theories; the one point is that there is a Divine guidance in the utterance, as well as the conception, of the message.

In the close of this declaration comes the remarkable passage in which the true teachers are described as πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες. This passage is explained in two different ways, according as the word πνευματικοῖς is taken to be masculine or neuter. In the former case, it being observed that συγκρίνειν is used for "to interpret" by the LXX. (as in Gen. xl. 8; xli. 12, 15; Dan. v. 12), the passage is rendered "interpreting or explaining spiritual things," that is, things revealed to them by the Spirit, only "to spiritual men," that is, to those enlightened by the same Spirit; and thus is made a transition to the next subject. But against this there is the absence of all indication of a difference of gender between the two words πνευματικὰ and πνευματικοῖς (which is made more significant by the emphatic insertion of the ἄνθρωπος in the next verse, as if to mark here the transition to a new idea), and also the want of any other instance of such usage of συγκρίνειν by St. Paul. The other interpretation, taking πνευματικοῖς as neuter (as in the A. V.), agrees with the proper sense of συγκρίνω and St. Paul's use of it elsewhere (see 2 Cor. x. 12), and falls in better with the scope of the passage. It gives the sense of "combining and comparing spiritual things with spiritual;" and implies that in the whole system of Divine truth there is at once an internal unity, so that one part illustrates another, and a distinctiveness, so that no part of it can be judged of accurately and completely by comparison with earthly analogues. The first principle is recognised everywhere, not only in the comparison of the Old Testament with the New, to which Origen and Chrysostom here refer it, but as an universal canon of Scriptural interpretation. The other, while it does not contradict the great principle of analogy, as worked out by Bishop Butler (which is indeed sanctioned by our Lord's teaching in parables), warns us against pressing analogies between spiritual and temporal truths as if they were absolutely complete—a warning only too clearly illustrated in Sabellian or Arian theories of the Incarnation, and in ultra-"forensic" conceptions of the Atonement.

II. From teaching the Gospel St. Paul passes to speak of the qualification for learning and receiving it; and lays down with equal clearness the necessity of an illumination of the Holy Ghost. He contrasts the "natural man," that is, the man who has in him only the principle of earthly life (ψυχή), with the spiritual man, who has in him, by communion with the Holy Spirit, the principle of the life eternal (πνεῦμα). To the one he denies absolutely the faculty of "receiving the things of the Spirit," of entering into the meaning and the first principles of what must seem "foolishness" unto him, or of judging of special points of teaching, which must be referred to these spiritual principles.

The spiritual man, on the other hand, being raised to a higher level, "judges all things" (perhaps natural as well as spiritual things), and, in respect of the principles of that judgment, is himself judged of no man who has not the same gift.

To support the first assertion of the inability of the natural man to judge the things of the Spirit, St. Paul (just as in Rom. xi. 34) quotes Isa. xl. 13, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord?"—a passage contrasting the infinite nature and providence of God with the puny attempts of man to represent Him by idolatry—and applies it to the corresponding attempt to include His dispensations within finite human conceptions. To support the claim to insight of the spiritual man, he adds, "But we have the mind of Christ," that is, "the mind of God" revealed to us in the Word and Person of Christ, into which the Holy Spirit enables us to enter.

III. It should be observed that, in respect neither of the learning nor of the teaching of the Gospel, is there any contrast here drawn between different actions of the human mind—between, for instance, thoughtful reasoning and instinctive or emotional intuition. The "spiritual mind" is the mind kindled and guided in the action of all its faculties—reason, conscience, imagination, affection—by the Spirit of God; and one or other may predominate, as a matter of fact, in the process of the knowledge of God in each individual life. Nor again, in considering this subject, should we forget St. Paul's declaration that heathens may "show the work of the Law written on their hearts" by the finger of the Spirit (Rom. ii. 15), or our Lord's revelation of the office of the Comforter to "convince the world" (John xvi. 8) of the three great moral truths. But the passage is still a clear assertion of the need of a "special grace" of the Holy Spirit to each soul, as a condition of his being able to understand and believe the Gospel. And this assertion, however it may have been misused or perverted by fanaticism, lies close to the root of that belief in the origination of all things, both in the visible and invisible spheres, from the will of God, which is the foundation of all religion.

DISEASES OF THE BIBLE.

THE DISEASE OF JOB.

BY W. A. GREENHILL, M.D. OXON.

It has been considered an interesting subject of inquiry to attempt to realise the exact nature of the diseases by which some of the great men of antiquity were attacked or carried off; and the same interest attaches to the diseases incidentally mentioned in Holy Scripture, with this additional element of importance, that the investigation, if conducted in a critical and at the same time a reverential spirit, will sometimes help to remove difficulties and apparent absurdities which do not exist in the text itself. But it must be confessed that the subject is beset with peculiar difficulties, which render anything like dogmatism most unseemly and injudicious; and in many cases the particulars mentioned (not, be it remembered, by a physician, but in works intended for ordinary readers) can fairly be applied to diseases of very different characters. Much, therefore, of what is said in these articles is offered with great diffidence, and is only intended to be received as probable till some more plausible explanations are brought forward.

The disease inflicted on Job has given rise to much discussion, but it cannot be said that the subject is positively determined. It is not described in detail in the Book of Job itself, but its nature must be gathered from incidental symptoms mentioned here and there in the passionate and highly poetical complaints wrung from the afflicted patriarch at once by his bodily sufferings and the ill-judged accusations of his friends. Neither Philo nor Josephus give us any information on the subject, but we find from Origen (*Hexapla*) that the שְׁחִין רַע (*shechîn ra'*), with which Job was smitten (ii. 7), was in one ancient Greek version translated, or rather explained, by the word ἐλέφας, or *elephantiasis*. In another place (*Cont. Cels.*, lib. vi. § 43, p. 665, ed. Bened.) he speaks of Job as being afflicted with this disease, which was probably equivalent to the modern leprosy (ἀγρίῳ ἐλέφαντι, τῷ οὕτω καλουμένῳ νοσήματι), but the passage is only introduced incidentally, and must not be considered to intimate that Origen was expressing a formal opinion on the subject formed after due examination, but only the popular notion prevalent in the third century after Christ. We find this opinion repeated in the same incidental manner by Abú-l-fedá about a thousand years later (*Hist. Ante-Islam*, p. 26, ed. Fleischer), and it has continued to be very generally accepted to the present day. And yet perhaps the utmost that can be said in favour of this conjecture as to the nature of Job's disease, is that it is as probable as any of the others that have been proposed;[1] for certainly there are several particulars, both as to what is mentioned and what is omitted, which agree but very imperfectly with the symptoms of elephantiasis or leprosy. Without entering into unnecessary medical

[1] Certainly much more so than the idea that Job was visited with an attack of *small-pox*, against which the two following reasons (among others) appear quite conclusive:—(1) There is no sufficient reason to believe that this disease was known for many centuries after the time of Job; and (2) is it conceivable that a man's friends would have begun a long and abstruse discussion with him while he was suffering from so highly contagious a febrile disease as small-pox? or that he himself would have been in a condition to answer them?

details, it may be mentioned that the whole narrative seems to imply that the disease, though not of an acute febrile character, was not of any very long duration; and that all the circumstances connected with it, both when it was inflicted upon Job, and when it was removed from him, must be considered exceptional. If it be supposed that Job suffered from elephantiasis or leprosy, the expression "sore boils (שְׁחִין רַע, *shechîn ra'*) from the sole of his foot unto his crown" will require some explanation. This same expression occurs in Deut. xxviii. 35, where it is translated "a sore botch," but the words "from head to foot" need not be taken too literally, so as to be inconsistent with Job's scraping (or scratching) himself with a potsherd on account of the intolerable itching (ii. 8). The word שְׁחִין (*shechîn*) occurs thirteen times in the Bible, and is everywhere rendered ἕλκος by the LXX., that is, *ulcer* or *boil;* nor does this sense appear in any instance to be inapplicable to the context, so that in this place we may fairly hesitate before we give to the word (without any absolute necessity) a meaning (viz., *burning, inflammation*) which has been proposed, but which it does not bear in any other passage.

THE DISEASE OF SAUL.

The particulars of Saul's madness need not be given here in detail, but the expression used to indicate the cause or nature of the disease is remarkable. It is said that "an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him" (1 Sam. xvi. 14, 16, 23; xviii. 10; xix. 9). It is interesting to notice that Josephus uses the word δαιμόνια, *demons*, in connection with Saul's illness (*Ant. Jud.*, vi. 8, § 2), but neither he nor the author of the Books of Samuel speaks of it as anything supernatural. This view of the case would appear to have been taken by Saul's courtiers and attendants also, who, when they perceived the nature of his ailment, recommended a sensible plan of treatment, as if for an ordinary case of melancholia. They said unto him, "Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on an harp; and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well" (1 Sam. xvi. 15, 16). The particulars given of Saul's malady would seem to indicate that he was affected with frequent attacks of melancholy, and occasional paroxysms of homicidal mania; and the terms used to express the supposed cause of this lamentable condition (viz., "an evil spirit from God") may perhaps be illustrated by the expression used by the Jews in reference to our Lord, "He hath a devil (*demon*, δαιμόνιον), and is mad" (John x. 20).[1] The soothing effects of music, and its use by the ancients in certain diseases, is abundantly proved by the authorities quoted by Bochart (*Hieroz.*, lib. ii., cap. 34, vol. i., p. 511, &c.; ed. Rosenm.) and Mead (*Of Poisons*, Ess. ii., vol. i., p. 74, &c., in *Works*, ed. 1765).

[1] The following extracts from the Hippocratic Collection may also be quoted. In speaking of the so-called sacred disease, περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς νούσου, the author says: "It is thus with regard to the disease called *sacred:* it appears to me to be nowise more divine nor more sacred than other diseases, but has a natural cause from which it originates, like other affections. . . . But if it is reckoned divine because it is wonderful, instead of one there are many diseases which would be sacred; for, as I will show, there are others no less wonderful and prodigious, which nobody imagines to be sacred. . . . And I see men become *mad and demented* from no manifest cause, and at the same time doing many things out of place," &c. (Adams' Translation, p. 843). And in another place the author (whether the same person as the writer above quoted, or not) says: "To me it appears that such affections are just as much divine as all others are, and that no one disease is either more divine or more human than another, but that all are alike divine; but each has its own nature, and no one arises without a natural cause" (*On Airs, Waters, and Places*, p. 216, Adams' Translation slightly altered).

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

JERUSALEM.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

JERUSALEM is situated in the midst, almost on the water-parting, of the mountain-system of Judæa; it is surrounded on all sides by hills, but not in the sense of its being shut in by higher ground, as many have supposed from a fanciful interpretation of the words of the Psalmist, "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about his people." This is evidently an allusion to the protection afforded to the city by the wild hills cut up by a thousand ravines, which guard it on every side, and render any approach difficult, especially to a large armed force.

The modern city stands at the southern extremity of a small plateau, one thousand acres in extent, which falls gradually towards the south-east, and is isolated from the surrounding hills by two ravines bearing names familiar to us as household words—the valley of the brook Kedron, and the Valley of Hinnom. These valleys are at first little more than shallow depressions in the ground, but as they approach their point of junction near Bir Eyub (Joab's well), the fall is more rapid, and they present the character of deep ravines. The plateau is divided into two unequal halves by a third ravine which passes through the city and joins the Kedron at Siloam; this, or a branch of it, which comes from the west, is the Tyropœon, the valley of the Cheesemongers, or possibly of the Tyrians. A fourth and smaller valley rises on the eastern side of the plateau, and falls into the Kedron near the well-known Golden Gate; it is almost filled with rubbish, and for a long time escaped the notice of travellers. Of the two sections into which the city is divided by the third ravine, the eastern was Mount Moriah, on which stood the temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod, and the palace of Solomon;

whilst the western, which rises to a height of 120 feet above Moriah, was the "Upper City" of Josephus, in which was situated the palace of Herod with its three great towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne.

The city is enclosed by a well-built wall which has flanking towers at certain intervals, and is protected on the north by a rock-hewn ditch; the wall is pierced by ten gates, but only five—the Jaffa gate on the west, the Damascus gate on the north, the St. Stephen's gate on the east, and the Dung and Sion gates on the south—are now open; of the closed gates, four, known as the Golden gate, the single, double, and triple gates, led into the Haram esh Sherif, and one—the Bab es Zahire—into the north-eastern quarter of the city. The surface of Mount Moriah is now occupied by a large enclosure called the Haram esh Sherif, or "noble sanctuary," which is considered by all Moslems as only second in sanctity to the sacred area at Mecca; at the southern end of the enclosure are the Mosque el Aksa, and the buildings from which the Knights Templars took their name; almost in the centre is a raised platform on which stands one of the most beautiful and celebrated of known buildings, the Kubbet es Sakhra, or "Dome of the Rock;" whilst the surface of the area is studded with cypress and olive trees, which harmonise well with the numerous fairy-like shrines and the glistening walls of the larger buildings. Within this Haram esh Sherif once stood the Temple, but its destruction has been so complete—literally, not one stone having been left upon another—that even at the present day its exact position

PLAN OF MODERN JERUSALEM.

is a matter of dispute: all that we now see in the grand mural masonry of the enclosure is but a remnant of the mighty platform on which the real Temple stood.

The western hill is covered with houses, except on the west, where are the large gardens of the Armenian convent; and on the south, where there is an open space without the walls on which is the tomb of David and a Christian cemetery. At the north-west corner is the citadel with its three towers, one of which, the well-known Tower of David, is probably the Phasaelus of Josephus. From the Jaffa gate a street, called David's Street, runs along the brow of the western hill to the "gate of the chain" of the Haram esh Sherif, following in a general way the line of that branch of the Tyropœon valley to which we have already alluded; and to the north of this street lies the Christian quarter, rising gradually to the north-east until it reaches the ruins of Kasr Jalud, which have sometimes been identified with those of the Tower Psephinus of Josephus. Almost in the centre of the Christian quarter is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, covering the reputed sepulchre of our Lord, which we know must have been without the walls at the time of the crucifixion; and one of the most difficult questions in Jerusalem topography is to determine whether the site occupied by the present church was really outside the second wall of the city at that time. North of the Haram esh Sherif again is a fourth quarter of the city, chiefly inhabited by Moslems, and situated on a hill which rises one hundred feet above the level of the Sanctuary; this is probably the hill formerly called Bezetha.

In order to understand many of the details which follow, it will be necessary to bear in mind that the plateau on which Jerusalem stands is composed of limestone built up of strata of varying thickness, which have a uniform slope to the south-east; the upper beds are composed of an extremely hard, compact stone called *missæ*, whilst the lower, termed *malaki*, are soft, friable, and easily worked. This particular geological feature was of great service in one way, as it enabled the Jews to excavate numerous cisterns for the storage of water in the *malaki* with comparative ease, and leave a natural roof of hard rock; most of the tombs in the neighbourhood of the city have been cut in the same soft rock. One of the most striking features in Jerusalem is the vast accumulation of rubbish, which has turned the deep gorge of the Tyropœon into a shallow depression, and has almost concealed from sight the steep, rugged cliffs of the Kedron and Hinnom valleys that constituted those natural defences in which the Jebusites put their trust, when they boasted to King David, "Thou wilt not come in hither; the blind and lame shall drive thee back." It is the same within the city; the Armenian gardens are from forty to fifty feet above those of Herod's palace; the present Via Dolorosa is about the same height above the pavement of the ancient street; the scenes of those events which here some modern house, there some broken column, is said to have witnessed, are buried beneath the accumulations of centuries; whilst the bed of the Kedron, over which our Lord so frequently passed on his way to the Mount of Olives and Bethany, is covered up by thirty-eight feet of rubbish.

The City Walls.—The ancient city was protected on three sides by a wall and the deep ravines mentioned above, and on the north—the only side on which it could be attacked with any chance of success—by at first one, then two, and lastly by three walls. Josephus gives a somewhat detailed account of the course of these ancient walls, but unfortunately the positions of several of the land-marks he mentions have been lost and have not yet been recovered. Any attempt to enter upon a discussion of the disputed points would be beyond the scope of the present paper, and we will confine ourselves to a short description of the present walls, noticing as we proceed some indications which may help to guide us to a right solution of the difficulties. At the Jaffa gate, about the centre of the western wall, is the citadel, containing two towers which correspond to the description given by Josephus of the towers Hippicus and Phasaelus erected by Herod; the dimensions of the latter and its construction agree well with those of the Tower of David—a solid mass of masonry twenty-nine feet high, standing on a substructure which has a sloping escarp faced with large hewn stones equal if not superior in finish to those of the Temple platform. The second tower guards the Jaffa gate, and though not quite so large as Hippicus, is identified with it by the discovery of an aqueduct, twelve feet below the level of the present one, which is in all probability that by which Josephus says water was brought into the tower Hippicus: in this tower we have the starting-point of the first and third walls.

From the remains of ancient foundations it seems quite certain that the old wall followed the line of the present one northwards as far as the north-west angle; but here all traces of a wall disappear, with the exception of two apparent fragments some distance beyond the north wall, and it is doubtful whether the third wall took a wide sweep to the north by these, or followed the course of the present wall. Excavations have been made at Kasr Jalud—the Tancred's tower of the Crusaders—but they have failed to discover anything that would identify it with the octagonal tower of Psephinus. The present north wall is comparatively modern, but it is protected by a rock-hewn ditch, which is supposed to be of ancient date: we know, however, so little of what was done during the numerous reconstructions of the walls that it is impossible to assign a date to it: one thing only is clear, that it was made long after the extensive quarries at the Damascus gate had been worked. At the Damascus gate there is an old gateway almost buried in the rubbish, which some have supposed to be a gateway of the second wall, others of the wall built by Hadrian round Ælia. The east wall, as far as the north-east angle of the Sanctuary, is similar in appearance and construction to the north wall; but we then come to a tower of massive masonry and the eastern wall of the Sanctuary, which will be noticed presently; at the south-east angle of the Sanctuary the

wall turns to the west, and here a certain quarter of the old city which was called Ophel has been shut out of the modern town. Captain Warren made several excavations on this ground, and succeeded in uncovering a large section of the ancient wall of Ophel with its flanking towers, but unfortunately the points at which it turned and crossed the Tyropœon valley were not found. The present wall passes the valley, now almost filled with rubbish, some distance higher up, and then crosses the western hill to the south-west angle of the town, whence it runs in a direct line to the Jaffa gate. The ancient city extended over the southern portion of the western hill far beyond the modern walls, but no clue has yet been found to its limits in this direction; the wall was probably not far down the southern slope, and perhaps included part of the aqueduct which brought water from Solomon's Pools; on the western side there is at one point, the Protestant cemetery, a valuable indication of the course of the wall in a rock cutting which can be followed some distance towards the north, but terminates abruptly on the south at the most interesting point. The rock here presents the appearance of a perpendicular cliff which has been cut to give additional security to the wall built upon it, and at one place there is a narrow rock-hewn flight of steps to enable the inhabitants to reach the valley below. On the accompanying plan (page 277), the approximate course which we suppose the third wall to have followed is indicated.

The first wall ran, according to Josephus, from the Tower Hippicus to the Temple, and there is no doubt that it followed the right bank of the small branch of the Tyropœon previously mentioned, and crossed the central ravine at what is called the Causeway, or Wilson's Arch; its general direction, therefore, would be that of David Street. The second wall is said to have commenced at the gate called Gennath of the first wall, and, circling round to the north, joined the Tower of Antonia. Our own belief is that it passed along the eastern side of the Pool of Hezekiah, and, including the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, turned eastward to the barracks near the Ecce Homo Arch, where M. Ganneau has recently proved the existence of a rock-hewn ditch. Many writers, however, suppose that the second wall commenced at an old arch now called the Gate Gennath, and passed along the line of the bazaars to the east of the church, in which case the reputed Sepulchre would have been without the city walls at the date of the crucifixion. It will be sufficient to state here that no certain trace of the second wall has yet been found, and that Captain Warren's excavations have shown conclusively that the so-called Gennath gate is a comparatively modern structure, unconnected with any masonry of the character of a city wall. The presumed courses of the first and second walls are shown on the map (page 277).

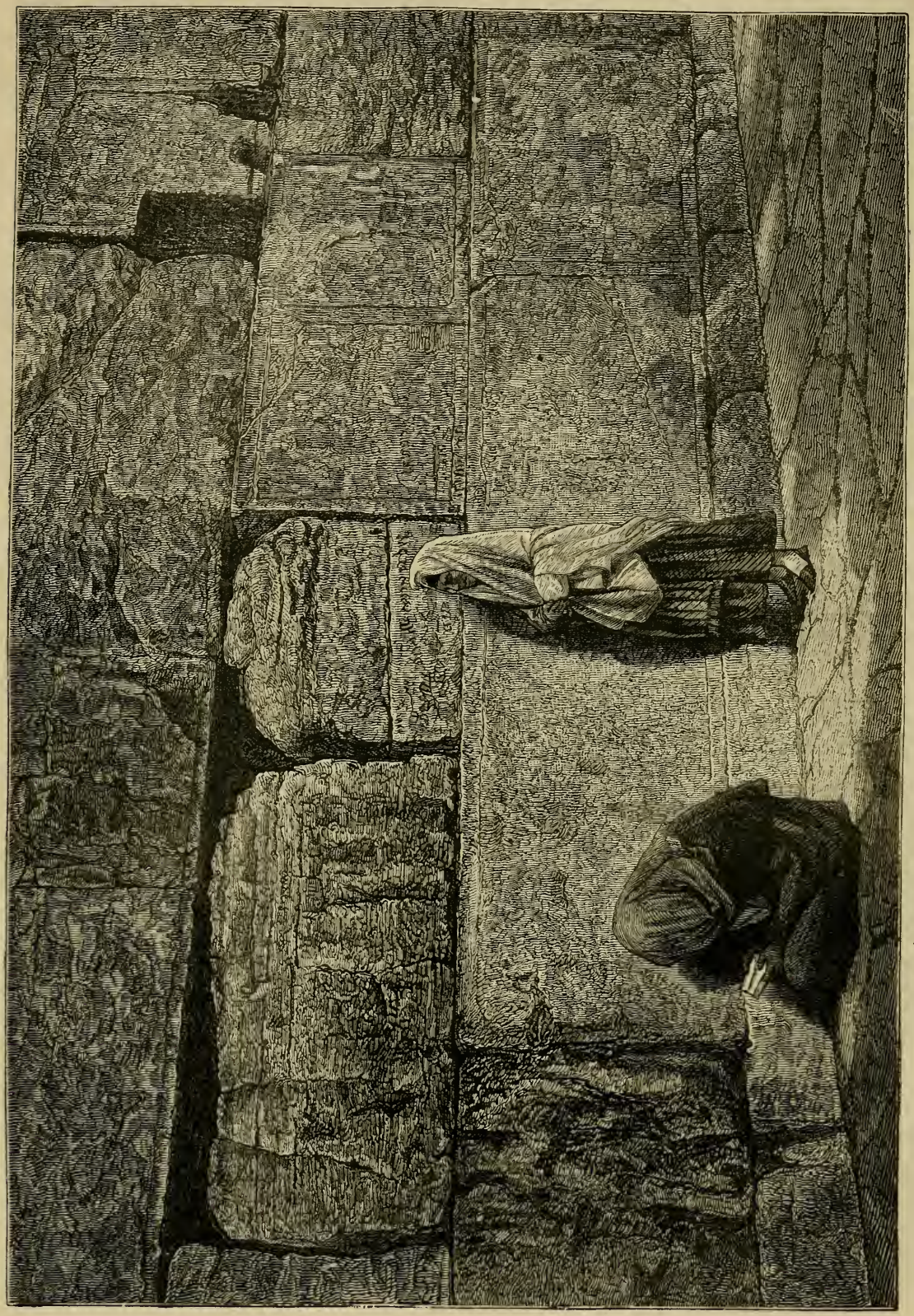
The *Haram esh Sherif* is one of the most sacred and ancient of all holy places; within its area was the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, on which David set up his altar; there, too, were the Temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod, and the fortress of Antonia; and there at the present day is the great mosque which is esteemed so sacred by the followers of Mahomet. The exact positions of the Temple and of its altar are still matter of dispute, but we can at any rate feel that the hill is the same Mount Moriah round which cluster so many memories connected with Jewish history, with the earlier and later years of our Lord's life, and with the ministry of the apostles; and that somewhere on the broad level surface stood the building which excited the admiration and astonishment of the queen of Sheba. The Haram, or Sanctuary, is enclosed by a massive wall, perhaps the finest specimen of mural masonry in the world, which runs very nearly all round it; and before attempting to describe the interior, we will take a survey of the wall itself, commencing at the south-west angle. We may state here that the masonry is of varied character, due to the numerous reconstructions which have taken place at different epochs. The lowest portions, and therefore the oldest, are built of what have been called "bevelled stones," a term which has led to much confusion; the stones really have a "draft" from one quarter to three-eighths of an inch deep, and two to five inches wide, chiselled round their margins, the faces being left rough, finely picked, or chiselled according to the taste of the time or to the labour that could be spared upon them. Above these stones, and often mixed with them, are those used during the first reconstruction, large blocks scarcely inferior in size, but having plain chiselled faces, without a marginal draft; this gradually changes into another style, similar in character, but with a marked difference in the size of the stones, and above are the later Turkish additions. The stones are from three to four feet high, and the largest stone that has yet been noticed is one at the south-west angle, which is 38 feet 9 inches long, 4 feet high, and 10 feet deep; this enormous block is built into the wall at a height of eighty-five feet above the surface of the ground, and when noticing the great quarries at the Damascus gate, we will attempt to give an explanation of the manner in which it was placed in position.

The south-west angle and the wall for some distance on either side contain some of the finest masonry in the enclosure, and it is interesting to notice that this angle is a right angle, whilst the other angles of the enclosure are not, a fact which has an important bearing on the site of the Temple, which is described as being square. Proceeding up the western wall, we find at a distance of thirty-nine feet the remains of an old arch which were first brought to notice by Dr. Robinson, and are now known as "Robinson's Arch;" the arch is fifty feet wide, and has a span of 41 feet 6 inches, and there is no doubt that a road passed over it to the centre aisle of the royal cloisters, "Stoa Basilica," which Herod built along the southern wall of the Temple. Captain Warren's excavations showed that the springing of the arch was forty-two feet above the ground, but whether it was continued westward by a series of arches, or whether there was an ascent by a grand staircase, is not known.

At the same place Captain Warren found a remarkable aqueduct cut in the rock, which is perhaps one of the oldest remains hitherto discovered at Jerusalem, for it was in existence before the great wall was built by Herod the Great, and was cut through in laying the foundations. At 270 feet from the angle we reach an enormous lintel, over a closed entrance now called "Barclay's Gateway;" this gateway formerly gave access to a large vaulted passage, which, after running sixty-nine feet in a direction perpendicular to the west wall, entered a chamber covered by a well-built dome, and then, turning at right angles to the south, ascended by a ramp, or steps, and reached the surface of the Temple area in the Stoa Basilica. Portions of this passage may still be seen in the Mosque of Burak, and in one of the Haram cisterns, and there can be no doubt about its being one of the approaches to the Temple of Herod, which Josephus describes as leading thence to the suburbs.

North of Barclay's Gateway is the fine section of the wall known as the Jews' Wailing Place, from the fact that every Friday, the day before the Sabbath, the Jews come in large numbers to kiss the sacred stones and weep outside the precincts which their rabbis forbid them to enter, lest by any chance they should tread over the spot where the ark is supposed to have been concealed by Jeremiah. Beyond the Wailing Place is "Wilson's Arch," one of the most perfect and magnificent remains in Jerusalem, dating from the same period as the construction of the Haram wall; it has a span of 41 feet 6 inches, exactly the same as that of Robinson's Arch, and formed part of a grand viaduct which crossed the valley towards the palace of Herod on the western hill. In this respect it corresponds exactly with the description given by Josephus of one of the approaches to the Temple, which "led to the king's palace and went to a passage over the intermediate valley." To the west Captain Warren found three additional arches of the viaduct, of smaller size, and an ancient passage running towards the west, which may have been a secret means of communication between Herod's palace and the Temple, as it certainly is the subterranean gallery mentioned by the old Arab writer, Mejr ed Din, "which David caused to be made from the gate of the chain to the citadel," and of which portions were occasionally found in his day. From Wilson's Arch to the north-west corner the ground is so covered by buildings and rubbish that the wall of the Sanctuary cannot be seen; but at one point an old entrance to the area has been found in a cistern, which pierces the massive wall and is perpendicular to it; this may be the second gate mentioned by Josephus as leading to the suburbs.

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES AND GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.
(From a Photograph of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.)



THE JEWS' WAILING PLACE. (*From a Photograph taken for the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.*)

At the north-west angle the rock rises to the surface and there is no wall, but we find traces of the ditch which separated Bezetha from Mount Moriah, and protected the northern face of the enclosure. The presence of this ditch had long been supposed from certain indications in two remarkable subterranean passages, but the verification of its existence is due to the recent labours of M. Ganneau. A fine aqueduct coming from the north, but of which the source has not yet been found, passed through one of the subterranean passages, and entered the area at the north-west angle through a passage cut in the rock, thirty feet high, and covered by large stones laid horizontally across. Nothing can be seen of the north wall of the Sanctuary until we reach the Birket Israil, the traditional Pool of Bethesda, a large reservoir constructed in the bed of the fourth valley, to which we have already alluded; the pool is upwards of eighty feet deep, but filled up to an average height of thirty-five feet by rubbish and sewage. This pool was partially excavated in the rock, and had an overflow to the Kedron valley, which shows that in its original form the reservoir was only twenty-five feet deep, and there are indications that this state of affairs existed during the early Christian period; it follows, therefore, that the north wall of the Sanctuary at this point, which is also the south wall of the pool, is of comparatively recent date, a fact previously inferred from the character of the masonry. No trace has yet been found of the system of conduits by which the reservoir was supplied with water.

Passing out of the city at the St. Stephen's gate, and turning to the south, we reach a large tower at the north-east angle of the Sanctuary, called the Tower of Antonia, which is built of fine massive masonry. The natural rock falls very rapidly here, as the tower stands on the northern slope of the fourth valley, and there is an accumulation of rubbish no less than 110 feet deep; the original height of the wall was 150 feet, and we may remark that the character of the masonry is quite different to that met with at the south-east angle and other portions of the enclosing wall. Proceeding southwards, we reach the Golden Gate, which has been found to stand from thirty to forty feet above the surface of the rock, and to have in front of it a massive wall, which may perhaps have been the retaining wall of a terrace running from north to south above the Kedron valley. The Golden Gate has long been closed, in consequence of a tradition that when the Christians take Jerusalem, they will make their triumphal entry through it. The ground in front is occupied by a Moslem cemetery, making excavation impossible; but when we reach the south-east angle, there is no such difficulty, and here Captain Warren made one of his most interesting excavations. The rubbish has accumulated at this point to a depth of eighty-two feet, and the height of the Sanctuary wall must originally have been as much as 150 feet; the corner-stone was let into the rock about two feet, and carefully dressed with a four-inch marginal "draft;" and in a small hole in the rock near it a little earthenware jar was found which looked as if it had been purposely placed there. On several of the stones in the wall there were characters in red paint apparently put on with a brush, and about five inches high; Mr. Deutsch at once pronounced them to be Phœnician characters, and Captain Warren believes them to be quarry marks put on before the stones were placed *in situ*. If this be the case, the stones must have been dressed before they were brought from the quarry, a curious commentary on the passage in 1 Kings vi. 7, "And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building." At the foot of the wall there is a layer of fat mould from eight to ten feet deep, and on the top of this a layer of broken pottery about two inches thick, with several handles of jars, on two of which Phœnician inscriptions were found, with the royal crest of an eagle; the words on one are "Le Melek Zepha"—belonging to King Zepha. At first sight it would appear that we have here traces of the Phœnician workmen employed by Solomon in the building of the Temple; but the style of the masonry is similar to that of the Herodian period, and we know that the Phœnician character was used for certain purposes quite as late as the reign of Herod, and it may have been retained for masons' marks, potters' stamps, &c.

Turning the south-east angle, we find in the south wall a closed entrance called the Single Gateway, beneath which, at a considerably lower level, Captain Warren discovered a fine passage three feet wide, about sixty feet long, and eighteen feet high, the object of which could not be ascertained. Further west are three closed entrances known as the Triple Gateway, which formerly gave access to three covered passages in the interior of the Sanctuary, and here M. de Saulcy discovered two remarkable rock-hewn passages, which may have had some connection with the overflow from the cisterns of the Temple. At this point the rock rises to the surface, and we are able to ascertain the top of this portion of the ridge of Moriah. Still more to the west is the Double Gateway, which will be more conveniently described when examining the interior; it is sufficient to say here that it is undoubtedly a relic of the Temple of Herod. Not far from it is an inscription of Hadrian built into the wall upside down, which some writers suppose belonged to the statue of Hadrian that was erected in the Temple area. From this gateway to the south-west angle the wall presents no features of particular interest.

The discoveries of Captain Warren have been frequently mentioned, and here we may give in his own words a description of one of the shafts by which he penetrated through the enormous accumulations of rubbish which conceal the foundations of the Temple. "The shaft mouth," he says, "is on the south side of the Sanctuary wall. Near the south-west angle beside it, to the east, is a large mass of rubbish that has been brought up; while over the mouth itself is a triangular

gin of iron with iron wheel attached, with guy for running up the excavated soil. Looking down the shaft, the Haram wall is seen, and a man standing at what appears to be the bottom. An order is given to this man, who repeats it, and then, faintly, is heard a sepulchral voice answering, as it were, from another world. Reaching down to the man who is visible is a thirty-four-feet rope ladder, and on descending by it, one finds he is standing on a ledge which the ladder does not touch by four feet. This ledge is the top of a wall running north and south, and abutting on the Sanctuary wall. On peering down from it, one sees the Sanctuary wall with its projecting courses until they are lost in the darkness below, observing also at the same time that two sides of the shaft are cut through the soil, and are self-supporting. Now, to descend this second drop, the ladder is again required. Accordingly, having told the man at the bottom to get under cover, it is lowered to the ledge, whence it is found that it does not reach the bottom by several feet. It is therefore lowered the required distance, and one has to reach it by climbing down hand over hand for about twelve feet. On passing along, one notes the marvellous joints of the Sanctuary wall-stones, and also probably gets a few blows on skull and knuckles from falling pebbles. On reaching the bottom, one is at a depth of seventy-nine feet from the surface, and from here we commence the exploring of the 'bottomless pit.' After dropping a rope down, we found that it was only six feet deep, though it looked black enough for anything. Climbing down, we found ourselves in a passage running south from the Sanctuary, four feet high by two feet wide."

We may now turn to the interior of the Sanctuary, which presents many points of interest, and is to a certain extent made ground. Hollows have been filled in with rubbish, supporting vaults have been built, and masses of rock cut away, so that now, with the exception of a deep hollow in front of the Golden Gate, a slight rise towards the north-west angle, and the raised platform in the centre, the surface is almost level. As no excavation is allowed within the sacred area, it is difficult to form an idea of the original form of Mount Moriah; but by careful observation of the points at which the rock is visible in cisterns and other places, Captain Warren has been able to make an approximate restoration of the ridge. At the north-east corner, as we have already seen, the fourth valley, in which the Pool of Bethesda lies, runs across the Sanctuary, to fall into the Kedron north of the Golden Gate; and here we are at once struck by the fact that the bed of the ravine is no less than 110 feet below the present surface of the ground, and that all traces of the valley have been completely obliterated. Whether the ravine has been filled with rubbish or arched over by tiers of vaults is still uncertain, but we have a guide to the date of the work in the fact that the Pool of Bethesda was, during the early Christian period, only twenty-five feet deep, and that, for a height of twenty-six feet, the northern side of the Golden Gate is concealed by rubbish: this would indicate that when the Temple was standing the ravine still preserved to a great extent its natural form.

In the north-west corner a large mass of rock has been removed, and the effect of this has been to leave a scarp or perpendicular cliff some twenty-three feet high beneath the barracks on the north wall, and a smaller one of about three feet at the north-west angle of the platform. Between these two places the rock is visible on the surface, except at one point where a ditch has been cut, which would limit the extent of the Temple area in this direction. On the platform stands the great mosque, Kubbet es Sakhrah (Dome of the Rock), which covers the sacred rock whence Mahomet is said to have ascended into heaven. The rock rises 4 feet 9 inches above the platform, and much has been written on its isolated position; but if the ground were restored to its original form, we should see nothing remarkable, the sacred rock being on the line of greatest elevation or back-bone of the ridge of Moriah. At the south-east corner the floor of the area is supported by a series of vaults known as Solomon's Stables, the age of which has been matter of some dispute: in their present state they are certainly a re-construction; but whether an earlier system of vaults existed, is not known. The floor of the vaults is 107 feet above the rock, and the manner in which this space is filled up is still a matter of speculation. The south-west corner is also made ground, but here we have no indication of its character.

The principal buildings in the Sanctuary are the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el Aksa; the former is a very beautiful, octagonal building, ornamented with rich stained-glass windows, mosaics of varied pattern, marble, and tiles. According to Mr. Fergusson, it is the church built by Constantine over the sepulchre of our Lord, which he places in this position, but according to other writers it was erected by Abd-el-Melik, 684 A.D.; by the Crusaders, who used it as a church, it was called the Templum Domini. The Mosque el Aksa, at the south end of the Sanctuary, is not so remarkable for the beauty of its architectural details, but it is interesting as being the Templum Solomonis of the Crusaders, from which the Templars derived their name, and the façade dates from the period of the Christian occupation of the city. Beneath the mosque is a double passage leading up to the area from the Double Gateway mentioned above as being certainly a portion of Herod's Temple, and the character of the masonry of the passage, and of the vestibule within the gateway, fully bears out this view; it has generally been identified with the "Huldah" gate of the Temple.

So much water was used in the ceremonies connected with the Temple service, that we should naturally expect to find some special arrangements for its storage, and these, in fact, exist at the present day in a series of rock-hewn cisterns, varying from twenty-five to fifty feet in height, and of peculiar form. One of these cisterns, called "the great sea," would hold more than 2,000,000 gallons, so that the whole series would contain about 12,000,000 gallons. The older ones have been formed by, so to speak, mining out the soft rock (*malaki*), and

leaving a natural roof of hard (*missæ*) rock. These cisterns were supplied partly by the collection of the rainfall and partly by water brought in by an aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, which enters the Sanctuary at Wilson's Arch; and it may be noticed that the main duct leads to a place now called El Kas, "the cup," near the spot at which Mr. Fergusson places the altar of the Temple.

The sketch of the Sanctuary given above will, it is hoped, enable the reader to understand some of the difficulties which have been experienced by those writers who have attempted to solve the question of the site of the Temple. The following are the principal theories which have been advanced:—First, that the Temple courts occupied the whole Sanctuary; second, that they occupied a square of 950 feet at the northern end of the Sanctuary; third, that they occupied a square of 925 feet at the southern end; fourth, that they occupied a square of 600 feet nearly coincident with the present platform in the centre of the Sanctuary; and fifth, that they occupied a square of 600 feet at the south-west angle. Of these theories we are most inclined to adopt the latter, but there are some objections even to this, and the question will probably never be decided until excavation is allowed in the Sanctuary itself. The actual Temple was a comparatively small building, but it was surrounded by extensive courts, to which various dimensions are assigned, according to the different interpretation of the data given by Josephus and the Talmud. One thing is certain, that the Temple enclosure was a square, and the only right angle we find in the Sanctuary wall is at the south-west corner. Leaving the question of the exact site of the Temple, we may take a glance at its probable appearance, supposing it to have occupied only a square of 600 feet at the south-west angle; and we may best do this in Mr. Fergusson's own words: "In order to try and realise the whole, fancy a building like the nave of Lincoln, raised on a lofty terrace, and standing in a court surrounded by cloisters and porches. Fancy these courts approached by ten great gateways, each in itself a work of great magnificence; and again this group surrounded by another court on a lower level, one side of which is occupied by a building longer and higher than York Cathedral, and the other three sides by cloisters more magnificent than any we know of; and all this supported by terrace-walls of such magnificence of masonry, that even at this day, in their ruined state, they affect the traveller as much, perhaps, as any building of the ancient world." Captain Warren's excavations have shown that the terrace-walls attained the enormous height of 180 feet, and the effect of this mass of masonry when fresh from the builders' hands, composed as it was of huge blocks of white stone, must have been grand and impressive in the extreme; and we can easily realise the feelings with which the astonished Jews, as they looked on these walls, replied to our Lord, "Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"

Within the walls of the City there is no place of equal importance with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; here, too, all is vague, all is doubtful, and two questions rise at once. Did Constantine really discover the tomb "wherein never man before was laid?" and is the site now shown that which was uncovered in the fourth century, and believed at that time to be the sepulchre of our Lord? The first question will perhaps never be answered; as far as we know, the early Christians attached no importance to the tomb itself, and the indications in the Bible are far too vague to enable us to fix upon any particular spot. The second question can be settled by excavation, as there are only two theories —that of Mr. Fergusson, who maintains that the Dome of the Rock is the church of Constantine; and that of his opponents, who maintain the authenticity of the present site. Our space will not allow us to enter upon this vexed question, and we will confine ourselves to a brief description of the great church, which, whether it cover the sepulchre of our Lord or not, must always possess undying interest as the resting-place of Godfrey and Baldwin, and the moving cause of some of the most momentous events in the history of the world. The great fire of 1808 destroyed a large portion of the church, which was afterwards rebuilt by a Greek architect; but many of the older parts still remain, and amongst these are the southern entrance, the only one now open, which presents an interesting example of Norman architecture, and the lower portion of the massive campanile. Entering the church, we have immediately in front of us the Stone of Unction, on which our Lord's body is said to have been laid for anointing when taken down from the cross, and on the right hand the chapels of Golgotha and Adam; the former is about fifteen feet above the floor of the church; the latter, in which the natural rock is visible, is on a level with it, and under the Chapel of Golgotha. Turning to the left from the Stone of Unction, we reach the "Rotunda," in the centre of which is the building that covers the Holy Sepulchre: there are two chambers, one called the Chapel of the Angels, in which the angel is said to have sat on the stone that was rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre; the other, approached by a low doorway, containing the tomb itself, a raised bench covered with a slab of white marble. There has been some dispute as to whether any portion of the inner chamber is composed of natural rock, the surface being now covered with marble. Of this, we think, there can be no doubt. To the west of the Rotunda there is a chamber containing several receptacles for bodies, similar to those seen without the city. In the Chapel of Adam the natural rock is also visible, and taking this into consideration with the character of the ground on which Jerusalem is built, it is quite certain that the rock must have been largely cut away to obtain a level flooring for the Rotunda, and it is quite possible that beneath the slab which covers the tomb an isolated mass of rock may have been left. To the east of the Rotunda is the Greek Church, ninety-eight feet long and forty feet wide, surrounded by an aisle, from which open out various chapels commemorative of several events connected

with our Lord's passion and resurrection. At the eastern end of the church a flight of steps leads down to the Chapel of Helena, and thence there is another descent to a chamber hewn in the rock, in which the three crosses and the superscription are said to have been found. Without the church are many remains of the old convents and other buildings which were attached to it, and in these, too, several Scriptural events are localised. Whatever opinion may be formed of the genuineness of the various sites which are pointed out, no one can visit the church without feelings of solemnity not unmixed with sadness that it should be connected with some of the darkest superstitions of the age.

Amongst these, that connected with the ceremony of the holy fire at the Greek Easter is the most remarkable, for the mass of pilgrims then assembled in the church believe in the actual presence of the Holy Spirit and the descent of the fire from heaven. Perhaps the following account of the ceremony, contained in a letter written shortly after witnessing it, may be of interest to those who have not had an opportunity of being present:—"Having last year seen the ceremony from a little gallery in front of the Sepulchre, I determined this time to join the crowd, and see what the pressure was like when the struggle to catch the fire took place. On entering the door I was invited by the Turkish guardians to take a seat on their divan, and for a long time watched the endless stream pouring inwards, a wonderful mixture of faces and dresses from all parts of the world—Russian women from the wilds of Siberia, Copts from Egypt, Greeks, Armenians, Arab women, wrapped in their snow-white sheets, and travellers from the far West. The Pacha soon came in and took his seat beside me, and after watching the entry of the Greek and Armenian bishops with their trains, we adjourned to the Greek Convent, near the Chapel of Golgotha, where we were served with sweets, lemonade, coffee, and cigarettes. We then went round to see the arrangements for preserving order; the Rotunda was densely crowded, and we had some trouble in forcing our way through the narrow space which the Turkish soldiers were keeping clear for the procession which was to move round the Sepulchre. Here we had our first scrimmage; a sudden movement of the pilgrims pushed in the soldiers, and for a few moments there was a great uproar; the Pacha had to use his stick, and some of the officers drew their swords—more, however, for show than use, as order was soon restored. The soldiers behaved admirably, and though some of them had their heads broken, I never saw one lose his temper during the ceremony. We now proceeded to the Latin Convent, where more sweetmeats and cigarettes were consumed; but we soon heard the chanting commence, and again forced our way to the Rotunda. Here the Pacha and his staff turned off to the Greek altar, whilst M—— and I remained amongst the pilgrims. At last the procession comes down and moves slowly round the Sepulchre; hundreds of voices pour out wild curses on the Jews; the excitement increases, the mass of upturned faces glow with a divine frenzy, and one seems to catch something of the strange enthusiasm. And now the procession has completed its third round, the bishop enters the Sepulchre, the door is locked behind him, and the moment has arrived. A sudden silence falls on all, so intense that you might hear a pin drop; every face is rigid with awe; every eye has that strange light which tells of deep inward feeling, and no wonder, for the actual presence of the Holy Spirit is expected; in a few moments a light is seen to glimmer through a hole in the mausoleum, and then the great bells roll out a solemn peal, whilst the whole multitude sends forth a loud roar, almost a groan, of relief after the suppressed excitement. The fire was caught by the nearest pilgrims and passed to others, and so rapidly that in less than five minutes the whole church was covered by a sea of fire, rising and falling with the surging crowd, and throwing a lurid glare over the strange eager faces. The time had now come for the bishop to carry the fire to the altar, and the Pacha did a very foolish thing, for, half stifled by the smoke of the torches, he attempted to get away by the same path up which the bishop was advancing; at the same time the pilgrims made a rush, the line of soldiers was broken through in a moment, and all order was lost; the Pacha was carried past me like a whirlwind, and I had to use my arms and short stick freely to keep my place. M—— was less fortunate, for he was caught in the stream, and when I last saw him he was being carried helplessly along in the crowd. I was only a dozen paces from the door of the Sepulchre, and yet before he reached me the poor bishop had lost his hat, and his robes were half torn from his back, in the frantic rush to light candles from the one that he carried. The pilgrims say the fire only burns heretics, so I suppose I must count myself as one, for I was half roasted, and my head covered with melted wax. It was a strange sight to see many of the pilgrims washing, so to speak, their hands and faces in the fire, and in one corner I noticed a mother passing the lighted taper under her baby, a curious reminiscence of the days when children were 'passed through the fire to Baal.' Half an hour afterwards the church was empty, and the fire on its way to kindle lamps in many a distant church."

There are many interesting remains of churches and convents within the city, amongst others those of the Church and Hospital of the Knights of St. John, opposite to the entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where extensive excavations have lately been made by the German Government: we have, however, only space to notice those connected with the ancient water-supply. The large number of tanks and cisterns show that Jerusalem must always have depended for its water-supply on the collection of the rainfall and on water brought in from a distance. We have in a previous paper noticed the pools and aqueducts at Urtas, from which the chief supply was derived; one of these aqueducts has been repaired, and delivers water in the Sanctuary; but the point at which the "high-level aqueduct" entered the city has not yet been ascertained.

To the north-west of the city a large pool, the Birket Mamilla, collects the surface drainage of the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom, and an aqueduct conveys the water to Hezekiah's pool within the city. Lower down the Valley of Hinnom is another large pool, the Birket es Sultan, but at so low a level that the water could never have been brought into the city. At the head of the Kedron valley there is also a large pool, which may have fed the Pool of Bethesda; but no aqueduct has yet been found in connection with it. Lower down the Kedron valley, at the foot of the eastern slope of Ophel, is the Fountain of the Virgin, an intermittent spring, the water of which runs down through a remarkable rock-hewn passage to the Pool of Siloam; here Captain Warren discovered a branch passage which carried the water of the fountain within the wall of Ophel, so that on the approach of a besieging force the ordinary opening to the spring might be closed, and the whole supply of water be reserved for the use of those within the walls. A short distance below the junction of the Kedron and Hinnom valleys is the deep well of Bir Eyub, whence many of the poorer inhabitants derive their principal supply of water during the summer.

The ground in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem is one vast cemetery; the sides of the Valley of Hinnom are almost everywhere perforated with rock-hewn tombs, and so is the left bank of the Kedron, where are the curious monoliths so well known from photographs and drawings; whilst to the north of the city is the "tomb of the kings," and the great necropolis gathered round the "tomb of the judges." These rock-hewn tombs vary much in the detail of their arrangement, but the general character of the larger places of burial is almost the same throughout: a vestibule, with a low door which leads into an ante-chamber, whence the several tomb-chambers, containing the "loculi," in which the bodies were deposited, open out. M. Ganneau has recently found many sarcophagi in the tombs, on which are short inscriptions, or rather names, in Hebrew and Greek. South of the city, round the tomb of David, is a large Protestant cemetery, and near it the English burial-ground. On the north-west, round the Birket Mamilla; on the north, outside the Damascus gate; and on the east, along the Sanctuary wall, are large Moslem cemeteries; and the slopes of Olivet are almost paved with Jewish tombstones.

A short distance east of the Damascus gate is the great subterranean quarry from which, it is supposed, a large proportion of the stone used in building the Temple was taken; the excavations are very extensive, and in many places there are traces of the presence of the old quarry men; some of the blocks are half detached from the rock, and there are numerous niches for the reception of lamps. The original entrance to the quarries appears to have been at the point where the rock-hewn ditch, east of the Damascus gate, commences, a position which would make the process of moving the stones down to the Temple wall a comparatively easy one; they were not improbably run along the side of the central or Tyropœon valley on rollers, and brought to their exact position in the wall, so that there would be no occasion to lift them, a matter of some difficulty with such heavy weights.

There are two places of great interest without the city which require a few words in conclusion, Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives. The former is a small enclosure surrounded by a high white wall, within which are a few old olive-trees and some flower-beds, carefully tended by a Latin monk. A very old tradition, apparently as early as the commencement of the fourth century, identifies this spot with the garden to which Jesus ofttimes resorted with his disciples, and there seems no reason why the tradition in this case should not be correct, though we might wish that the taste for *holy places* had not led to the localisation within the walls of the garden of every incident connected with that last memorable evening. Close to the garden is the curious subterranean tomb and chapel of the Virgin, which, however, has no such claims to authenticity as Gethsemane; and between these two places passes the road which runs up the Mount of Olives. An early tradition connects the summit of Olivet with the Ascension of our Lord, and here a noble church, of which all traces have been swept away, was erected by the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine; but Dean Stanley has shown that the scene of the Ascension was possibly on the lower road to Bethany, which follows the line of the Roman road to that place and Jericho. The view from the Mount of Olives, whether for its intrinsic beauty or its high interest, is one of the most remarkable in any part of the world; on the one hand are the bright blue waters of the Dead Sea, lying in their deep depression at the foot of the mountains of Moab, and on the other the grey walls of the ancient city, standing out in sharp contrast to the green vegetation and red soil around it. In the city itself all is vague and uncertain, whilst on the Mount of Olives there is a feeling of reality in all around; at least, the natural features are the same as those upon which our Saviour and his disciples often gazed, and looking down on Jerusalem itself we can realise the feelings which prompted Keble to write—

"One heart-ennobling hour! It may not be:
The unearthly thoughts have pass'd from earth away,
And fast as evening sunbeams from the sea,
Thy footsteps all, in Sion's deep decay,
Were blotted from the holy ground. Yet dear
Is every stone of hers, for Thou wert surely here."

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

DAVID (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. WILLIAM LEE, D.D., PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

THAT the death of Saul and his three eldest sons opened the way for the succession of David himself to the throne, could hardly fail to be generally recognised. To say nothing of his consecration by Samuel many years before—a fact which, as already said, was not at the time (if it ever was) made known to the nation—and later intimations of the Divine purpose, which appear to have been more publicly given (2 Sam. v. 2), he had almost from the moment that he entered on public life recommended himself to the whole of Israel as worthy of the sovereignty (2 Sam. v. 2). Then, especially of late, many of the chief men, not only of his own tribe, but of all the nation generally, had—in some cases accompanied by numerous followers—already openly thrown off their allegiance to Saul, and betaking themselves to what they regarded as the rival camp at Ziklag, become the avowed supporters of his claims. And, once more, the number and experience of the forces under his command, no less than his own military genius, gave him an advantage in any struggle for the succession to the throne, with which no other man could in the existing circumstances of the country hope to compete. His selection, accordingly, as Saul's successor appears to have followed the disaster at Gilboa, without, at least for the time, any opposition whatever.

For the first seven years and six months of his reign the actual dominion of the new king was confined to the territory of Judah. At the moment of his accession (Ewald, *Hist.* iii. 109; cf. Milman, i. 288) it was only in Judah that he could hope to maintain a government at all. The rest of the country, at least to the west of the Jordan, was in the hands of the victorious Philistines, while the trans-Jordanic provinces were at this time without unity among themselves. By and by another cause emerged for this temporary limitation of his kingdom. At what precise date the event occurred is not stated; but some time in the earlier years of David's reign at Hebron, Ishbosheth, a younger son of Saul, was brought forward as a new claimant for royal honours in Israel. He was yet a youth—the age assigned to him in the extant text (2 Sam. ii. 10) is evidently a corrupt reading (*Speaker's Commentary*, in loc.)—a youth, too, of feeble character and little capacity, whose only hope, indeed, of success depended on the support he received from his kinsman, Abner, already well known as the former commander-in-chief of the army of Saul. Establishing the headquarters of Ishbosheth at Mahanaim beyond the Jordan, Abner proceeded to take steps with a view to his recovering the kingdom, which seemed by his father's death to have been hopelessly lost to his house. Abner was a soldier of consummate ability—David afterwards, on the occasion of his death, paid his memory a generous tribute as "a great man, and a prince in Israel"—and he not only succeeded in securing the acknowledgment of the authority of his *protégé* in Gilead, but, wresting successively "Gilead, Jezreel, Ephraim, Benjamin, and [with the exception of Judah] all Israel" (2 Sam. ii. 9; cf. Ewald, *Hist.* iii. 112) from the Philistines, he raised him at last to a position which, if Ishbosheth himself had had any capacity, would have rendered him a formidable rival to David. As it was, the two competitors for the monarchy now came into direct collision. "There was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David," the only result, however, being that "David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul weaker and weaker" (2 Sam. iii. 1). At length, deserted by Abner, with whom he had been foolish enough to quarrel, the feeble representative of an unhappy dynasty fell a victim, by assassination, to the contempt of his own faction, leaving the territories over which he had nominally reigned for about two years to pass without a struggle into the stronger hands of his rival.

Of the history of the re-united empire in the most stirring and glorious period of the reign of David, when most of the work was done on which his claims to the character of a great and powerful king, and a wise and far-seeing statesman, as well as a successful warrior, must always rest, it is beyond the scope of the present paper to speak at length. (1.) One of the first, and not one of the least difficult, tasks which lay before him at the commencement of his reign was the selection of a more suitable capital city; and his prescience in fixing upon Jerusalem, an ancient stronghold, which at that time still was, as it had always from before the Conquest been, in the hands of a tribe of aboriginal Canaanites, has been dwelt upon by all his biographers. It was (as its past history, and the history of its capture by David himself alone proved) a place of great natural strength, and must have been already well fortified; but the new king had no sooner obtained possession of it than, aided by the military capacity and experience of Joab, recently elevated to the rank of captain of the host, he proceeded to surround it with new lines of fortification (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Chron. xi. 8). He himself took up his residence in the citadel, a quarter of Jerusalem which he distinguished by the name of "the city of David;" and there in the course of time, with the assistance of materials and skilled workmen, obtained from his neighbour the king of Tyre, he constructed a magnificent palace of cedar (2 Sam. v. 11), with probably other accommodations, on a scale commensurate with the numbers of his ministers and retinue, and appropriate to the habits of Oriental luxury and ostentation which, at least within the precincts of the court, had already begun to be introduced in Israel. (2.) It is uncertain how long it was—

it could not be very long—after Jerusalem had become the royal residence, that the important step was resolved upon of constituting the seat of government the centre also of the religious worship of Israel. No greater event signalised the reign of David than the removal of the ark of the covenant from the place of its exile in Kirjath-jearim to what was henceforth to become not only the "royal" but the "holy" city. The religious revival, of which the establishment in the metropolis of the symbol of the Divine presence formed the indispensable basis, but which embraced the re-organisation of the whole institutions of religion, now for so long suffered to share in the general confusion and disorder of evil times, and in some particulars their first settlement on a permanent footing, was not fully carried into effect by David himself. But in its entirety—including even the building of the Temple, for which he made vast preparations—that great work must be claimed as pre-eminently due to the genius, and above all to the piety, of the "man after God's own heart." The day in which the new Tabernacle at Jerusalem received the ark was probably, what Dean Stanley (*Jewish Ch.*, ii. 83) calls it, "the greatest day in David's life." He was careful to enlist the sympathies of the nation in that day's proceedings, by consulting beforehand the chiefs and elders of the people, and by admitting them to a large share in the ceremonial. He arranged, too, that vast numbers of priests and Levites, brought together from all parts of the country, should take part in the sacred pageant, and give the sanction of religion to a work which it would have been unlawful to carry out by the simple authority of the king. But that work was, as already said, David's own. According to one interpretation of Ps. cxxxii. 6 (cf. *Speaker's Comm.*, in loc.), its future accomplishment had even been a dream of his youth, while he was yet a shepherd boy at Bethlehem. And not only in its aims, but in the splendour and solemnity with which it was carried out, he appears to have taken the deepest interest. Several of the Davidic psalms were composed by him for the use of the Levites on this occasion. He could not refrain from even giving public expression to the intensity of his emotions in a way which seemed, not perhaps without some reason, unsuitable to his position. As the procession drew near to Mount Zion, the king, casting aside his royal robe (2 Sam. vi. 20), himself joined the Levitical singers, and wearing only (like them) a linen ephod, personally took part in their exuberant demonstrations, "playing" on the harp, and "leaping" and "dancing before the Lord with all his might" (2 Sam. vi. 14, 16; 1 Chron. xv. 29). (3.) It was probably in these years also that alike the civil and the military organisation of the kingdom—as both continued in force till the end of David's reign, and are found, in most particulars, to have been adopted by his successors—were first introduced (see Ewald and Stanley). (4.) To the same period belong most of the wars by which David not only first reduced to subjection the hereditary enemies of Israel, but extended its boundaries, for the first time, to the furthest limits which had ever been assigned to the Land of Promise. His conquests at this time are thus summarised by Milman:—"He defeated the Philistines, and took Gath and a great part of their dominion. He conquered and established garrisons in the whole territory of Edom. . . . He treated the Moabites with still greater severity, putting to the sword a great part of the population. He overthrew the Syrians of Zobah, . . . a country lying between the trans-Jordanic tribes and the Euphrates. . . . The Syrians of Damascus marched to the defence of their kindred, but retreated, having suffered the loss of 22,000 men. The kingdom of Hamath entered into a strict alliance with the conqueror. Thus the Euphrates became the eastern boundary of the Hebrew kingdom; the northern was secured by the occupation of the fortresses in the kingdom of Damascus, and by the friendly state of Tyre; the southern by the ruin of the Philistines and the military possession of Edom (*Hist. of Jews*, i. 295).

The close of the great wars of conquest just referred to brings us to the fiftieth year of David's age and the twentieth of his reign. It brings us also to the saddest and the most deplorable event in his history. The period of David's greatest worldly prosperity seems not to have been by any means one of corresponding prosperity as regarded his spiritual condition. Probably worldly success had itself been a snare to him. Whatever the true cause, it is evident there was a general falling away of spirituality and conscientiousness in the service of God on the part of David about this period. He had been led into other unauthorised, or rather expressly prohibited, compliances, of a less aggravated character, with the manners of the heathen—as, for example, in the introduction into his court of an extensive harem after the fashion of other Eastern kings—long before he was guilty of the crime, or rather series of crimes, which, besides bringing upon himself a terrible retribution, has left so deep and indelible a stain on his character, and given in all ages, as it did in his own day (2 Sam. xii. 14), so "great occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme."

The period of David's great fall is clearly defined. The war against Ammon was still unfinished, and its capital, Rabbah, which had hitherto obstinately resisted every attack, was at the moment invested by the Israelite army under Joab; but David himself—who had now learned to prefer, if not the ease and luxury, at least the more peaceful duties of royalty in his own court to the hardships of the camp (2 Sam. xii. 28)—"tarried still at Jerusalem" (xi. 1). Nor is the serious character of his transgression less distinctly marked. From first to last the whole story is a miserable one. Whatever toleration might by ancient usage be given to polygamy, adultery was by the Jewish law regarded as a sin of the deepest dye, and was punishable by death. Then, the offence committed by David in corrupting the virtue of Bathsheba acquired if possible increased enormity from the fact that the victim of his unhappy passion was known by him to be the wife of one of his own friends and servants, who also, as an officer in the army, was at the

time absent on duty, having a command at the siege of Rabbah. But the fact of David's adultery with Bathsheba does not stand alone. The history of his wretched expedients, not to repair the evil he had done, but to secure himself against its consequences, ending in the treacherous, no less than deliberate, steps taken by him to remove by death the man whom he had so deeply wronged, implies much deeper degradation than is necessarily involved in what might have been a momentary consent to a sudden temptation, no sooner yielded to than repented of. Nor must it be forgotten that nearly a whole year elapsed not only before any evidence was afforded of the agonising remorse and profound contrition to which he was at length awakened by the reproofs and denunciations of the prophet Nathan, but even before he showed any disturbance of conscience whatever.

The general question as to the relation of this dark page in David's history to the character which is claimed for him as "a man after God's own heart," or as a man of eminent righteousness and piety, is one, in some respects, not without difficulty. That his religious character is not fatally impeached by his conduct on this occasion, appears to be assumed everywhere in the Scriptures. It is not possible, certainly, to extenuate the sins of which he was on this occasion guilty.

It is in immediate connection with what was thus the most heinous of the sins of David that we have an account of the most terrible of the calamities to which he was exposed in his strangely diversified life; and there is good reason for this. They had a direct relation to each other. For the secondary causes of the rebellion of Absalom we must go back to agencies which had been in operation for many years before. His own excessive and often inconsiderate indulgence to his family, and the jealousies and rivalry among the different members of it, inseparably connected with the institution of polygamy, must especially be taken into account. But whatever might be its secondary causes, the rebellion of Absalom, with all its bitter accompaniments, was primarily a Divine judgment, inflicted on account of David's conduct to Uriah; a judgment meant to mark the Divine displeasure against a sin which was regarded as so heinous as to cast into the shade all his other errors (Ps. li., &c.). Rather let us say, it was the continuation of many judgments which that sin brought upon David. It was preceded by the death of Bathsheba's first-born child, the child of shame; by the rape of Tamar; and by the treacherous murder of Amnon—in all of which domestic tragedies, affecting his own household, as well as in Absalom's revolt, we find one feature in common, namely, that the unhappy king was wounded in those of his feelings in which he appears to have been the most sensitive to suffering—his family affections; in all of them, consequently, the sentence was carried out which denounced "evil against David out of his own house" (2 Sam. xii. 11). Nay, some of the very means by which the rebellion of Absalom was rendered possible, and so far successful, had a direct connection with the sin of which it is declared to have been the retribution. Ahithophel the Gilonite was Absalom's mainstay in his attempted usurpation; and Ahithophel the Gilonite was the grandfather of Bathsheba, the woman whom David had so deeply wronged, and appears to have been prompted to the course he took, with results so calamitous to David, by a sense of the reproach thus brought upon his family.[1]

The conduct of David when the news reached him in Jerusalem that the standard of rebellion had actually been raised by Absalom at Hebron, and that "the hearts of the people of Israel" were with the usurper, was altogether worthy of him. Among the minor incidents of the flight from the capital on which he immediately resolved, and which presents to us throughout one of the most touching scenes in all history, while the description of it in 2 Sam. xv. and xvi. is, for graphic power and pathos, unsurpassed in all literature, may be recalled a characteristic instance of David's consideration for others, and of the strong attachment which he inspired in his followers. A Philistine named Ittai appears to have recently joined the "Gittites"—a force of six hundred men originally formed by David when an exile in Gath, and to have had the command of that nucleus of a standing army in Israel. As the Gittites passed on before the king with those of his servants who came forth from the capital to accompany him in his flight, this man caught his eye. "Then said the king to Ittai the Gittite, Wherefore goest thou also with us? Return to thy place, and abide with the king; for thou art a stranger, and also an exile. Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee go up and down with us? seeing I go whither I may. Return thou, and take back thy brethren; mercy and truth be with thee. And Ittai answered the king, and said, As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be" (2 Sam. xv. 19—21).

Nothing, however, is more memorable in the history of the flight—when, descending the path from the city, the king and his faithful followers crossed the Kidron, and ascending Mount Olivet, took their way towards

[1] "The chief instrument in the conspiracy was Ahithophel. No sooner had Absalom determined upon his daring deed, than he looks to Ahithophel for help. He appears, for some reason or other not mentioned, to have quite reckoned upon him as well affected to his cause; and he did not find himself mistaken. 'Absalom,' I read, 'sent for Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's counsellor, from his city, even from Giloh, while he offered sacrifices. And the conspiracy' (it is forthwith added, as though Ahithophel was a host in himself) 'was strong; for the people increased continually with Absalom.' David, upon this, takes alarm, and makes it his earnest prayer to God that he would 'turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness.' Nor is this to be wondered at, when we are told in another place that 'the counsel of Ahithophel, which he counselled in those days, was as if a man had enquired at the oracle of God; so was all the counsel of Ahithophel both with David and with Absalom.' He, therefore, was the sinews of Absalom's cause. . . . I look upon it to be so probable as almost to amount to certainty, that Uriah had married the granddaughter of Ahithophel. I feel that I now have the key to the conduct of this leading conspirator. . . . When David murdered Uriah, he murdered Ahithophel's grandson by marriage; and when he corrupted Bathsheba, he corrupted his granddaughter by blood." (Blunt, *Coincidences*, p. 135.)

the wilderness on their route to the Jordan and Gilead, David himself, weeping as he went, with his head covered and his feet bare, in token of the deep sorrow which overwhelmed him, and all the people, likewise covered, sharing in his grief, or in the history of what followed—than the evidence everywhere afforded of his clear recognition of the hand of God in his bitter humiliation, and his pious resignation to the Divine. will. He was not prostrated by unmanly fear, nor did he abandon his hope in God. His presence of mind never forsook him. He took all prudent means to arrest, if possible, the threatened danger to which his rule and even his life were exposed. But his whole conduct showed that his "sin was ever before him," and that he was deeply conscious that it was the visitation of God which was now upon him. Zadok, one of the high priests, with the Levites bearing the ark, had accompanied him to the brook Kidron; but he sent them back, saying, "Carry back the ark of God into the city; if I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, He will bring me again, and show me both it and his habitation. But if He thus say, I have no delight in thee: behold, here am I, let Him do to me as seemeth good unto Him" (xv. 25, 26). So, also, when, as he approached Bahurim, Shimei, a Benjamite, connected, as already noticed, with the family of Saul, came forth from his house, and running along "on the hill's side, over against" the path taken by the king, cursed him, and threw stones and dust at him, loading him, too, with every term of vituperation; and Abishai asked leave to cross the intervening gorge and put Shimei to death, David answered, "Let him curse, because the Lord hath said unto him, Curse David; who then shall say, Wherefore hast thou done so" (xvi. 10). The same recognition of the hand of God may probably be traced in David's conduct on a memorable occasion afterwards. The passionate burst of grief with which, after the battle in the "forest of Ephraim," near Mahanaim in Gilead, David, who had been dissuaded from accompanying his army to the field, and awaited the tidings of the result in the gate of the city, received the report of Absalom's death—a burst of grief in the agony of which he was not only indifferent to the great deliverance he had secured, but to their indignation (2 Sam. xix: 5)—forgetful of the debt of gratitude he owed to his victorious soldiers, is not easily explained at first sight. We have, it is sometimes said, a striking illustration of that intense affectionateness of feeling by which David was always characterised. Was there not, however, more than evidence of the strength of his affections for those to whom he was attached? Mere warmth of affection could hardly, in the circumstances, account for the manner in which he mourned for a son who had done so much to forfeit his regard. Was there not also the consciousness that for Absalom's sin and death he himself was not without direct responsibility? When he said, weeping, "O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom, would God I had died for thee! O Absalom, my son, my son!" did not remorse mingle with love, and was there not the feeling that at once the guilt and the punishment of the son ought in strict justice to have been borne by the father?

After his return to Jerusalem, it may be inferred (Ewald, iii. 196) that the remaining years of David's rule were devoted almost exclusively to the internal improvement of the country. We know little, however, of the national history in these years, and still less of the personal life of David himself. On the latter subject, however, we find evidence, especially in his conduct on the occasion of the pestilence which one of his not unfrequent errors brought on the land, that the lofty faith and devout submission to the will of God which always distinguished him, had not ceased to retain their place in his heart. The last of his inspired songs is preserved in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, and gives beautiful expression to the firm trust and perfect confidence in God, in which, at least before his mind was enfeebled by bodily infirmity, he passed the last days of his great and, as a whole, saintly life.

Of the Psalms of David we do not here speak. The subject has already been exhaustively treated under another head in the third volume of this work.

His character has been often portrayed; never, perhaps, more powerfully than in Mr. Maurice's *Kings and Prophets of Israel.* Edward Irving's estimate of it is even more favourable, but probably not less just. "There never," says that eloquent writer, "was a specimen of manhood so rich and ennobled as David the son of Jesse. Other saints haply may have equalled him in single features of his character; but such a combination of manly, heroic qualities—such a flush of generous, godlike excellences hath never yet been embodied in a single man. His psalms do place him in the highest rank of lyrical poets. . . . And where are there such expressions of the varied conditions into which human nature is cast by the accidents of Providence—such delineations of deep affliction and inconsolable anguish, and anon such joy, such rapture, such revelry of emotion, in the worship of the living God! . . . But it is not the writings of the man which strike us with such wonder as the actions and events of his wonderful history. He was a hero without a peer, bold in battle, and generous in victory; by distress or by triumph never overcome. . . . He was a man extreme in all his excellences—a man of the highest strain, whether for counsel, for expression, or for action, in peace and in war, in exile and on the throne. . . . The force of his character was vast, and the scope of his life was immense. His harp was full-stringed, and every angel of joy and of sorrow swept over the chords as he passed; but the melody always breathed of heaven."

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

BY THE REV. A. BARRY, D.D., PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, AND CANON OF WORCESTER.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

"For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire."—1 Cor. iii. 11—15.

THE general idea of the passage presents little difficulty, although some details may require elucidation. But the last verse is famous, as having been (somewhat violently) pressed into the service of the doctrine of Purgatory; and, in order to judge of its true interpretation, it is necessary to glance at the passage as a whole.

The teaching of the whole chapter is directed to a divided and uneasy condition of the Corinthian church, marked by the growth of parties, or perhaps what we should call "schools of thought," of which the more Gentile sections assumed the names of Paul and Apollos, while the more Judaic delighted in the name of Cephas, and even arrogated to themselves the name of Christ. But although the first obvious purpose of the Apostle is to rebuke this party spirit and its habit of "boasting in men," by recalling their minds to God, as the beginner and finisher of every good work, it seems that he was also anxious to repress rash and unsound developments of the Gospel, prompted in all probability by that desire of completeness of system, which is characteristic of the "wisdom of this world" (referred to in the earlier chapters), in its impatience of mystery. Thus, from the metaphor of the seed which he had "planted and Apollos watered," but of which "God alone had given the increase"—a metaphor fully sufficient for his first purpose—he passes, in the words "ye are God's building," to another metaphor, which allows the actual workmanship of man to be more strongly marked. In the light of this latter metaphor, he, as the first evangelist of Corinth, is the "skilful architect," "laying the one sole foundation," in the person of Jesus Christ; all that come after are building after their own manner upon that one foundation. His solemn warning is, "Let each take heed how he buildeth thereon."

The workmanship of some is compared to gold, silver, and precious stones—*i.e.*, costly stones, such as those of the Temple of Jerusalem (Mark xiii. 1), or those described in the imagery of the Apocalypse (see Rev. xxi. 19, &c.); that of others to planks, dried grass (for the interstices of the walls), and straw (for the thatching of the roof). The first is the workmanship of those who build slowly and for posterity, the other of those who rear up hastily buildings only to last for a day. But the test is not left to the lapse of time (for the interpretation which explains "the day" as, like the Latin *dies*, signifying that lapse of time, will not bear criticism); "the day" "revealed in fire" will apply a short, sharp test. Now this phrase clearly signifies especially the *dies illa*, the day of judgment; but remembering the view of the Last Judgment in Holy Scripture as the completion and irrevocable fixing of a process already begun in this world, we shall hardly be wrong in extending it to the general sense of the "days of trial" (of "fiery trial," as in 1 Pet. iv. 12)—the critical seasons of individual and collective history, which culminate in the great day. The fire shall try the work of each builder. The gold, silver, and costly stones, worthy of a temple, shall stand; the wood, dried grass, and straw, worthy only of a hovel, shall be burnt up.

It has been disputed whether the superstructure so tested is moral, doctrinal, or spiritual. But the discussion is probably an idle one. The superstructure is the Christianity of the converts; all elements which form part of that Christianity—morality, doctrine, devotion—must be, though perhaps in different proportions, included in the building which is to be tried; and all are actually tried, whether in the various "days of the Son of Man" in this life, or in the great "day of the Lord" at last.

"If a man's workmanship abide, he shall receive reward; if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss," or "shall be mulcted" (ζημιωθήσεται). The principle enunciated is universal; its fulfilments are various in time and character. The reward and penalty may be subjective, in the joy or sorrow of knowing that we have helped or hindered the work of God, and have been instrumental of good or evil to human souls; they may be "objective," in results coming upon us from without or from above, and actually bringing upon us either positive suffering or negative loss of spiritual bliss; they may consist simply in the attainment, or the failure of attainment, of a degree of spiritual perfection. This is matter of detail; the essential point is that, in one way or another, the solemn responsibility of teaching is clenched by the certainty of a future retribution.

"But he himself shall be saved," provided (that is) that, however unsound his workmanship, his work has been done, and his life lived, in sincerity of faith. "Yet so as by fire," or rather, "through fire" (διὰ πυρός), escaping, but barely escaping, from imminent destruction. So in Ps. lxvi. 12 we read, "We went through fire and water, and Thou broughtest us out;" and in Jude 23, "Others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire." The metaphor, itself common enough, is suggested here by all that has gone before, and the sense of it would have appeared sufficiently obvious, if it had not been read by the light of preconceived ideas.

The first serious application of the whole passage to

a fire, half-testing and half-purgatorial, to be revealed at the day of judgment, is due to Origen, translating, contrary perhaps to his wont, what is plainly metaphor into literal reality. But it is clear that in the passage itself the words "through fire" in the last verse must be interpreted by the fire spoken of in the previous verses, and that in those verses there is no idea of purgation, but simply of discrimination between the sound and the unsound. Even if "the day" be the day of judgment only, St. Paul's words give no support whatever to the idea, whencesoever derived, of a purgatorial fire, still less to the peculiar conception of such a fire which has been excogitated by Romanist divines. The whole passage, on the simple interpretation given above, hangs together; the notion interpolated into it would break up its simplicity by the introduction of a wholly different idea. It would be difficult to maintain the purgatorial interpretation, if the verse stood alone. But taking the whole context, it is seen to be absolutely untenable.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

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ANTHROPODA.

OF the four classes which compose the sub-kingdom *Anthropoda* of modern zoologists—the *Insecta*, *Myriopoda*, *Arachnida*, and *Crustacea*—there are distinct Bible notices only of the first and third.

The following insects are mentioned in the sacred writings—lice, fleas, beetles, locusts, ants, hornets, bees, moths, flies, and the cochineal insect, rendered in our version by "crimson" or "scarlet."

Of the class *Arachnida*, the scorpion and spider are definitely mentioned.

INSECTA.

Lice, under the Hebrew term *kinnîm*, or *kinnâm*, are noticed only in reference to the third great plague of Egypt (see Exod. viii. 16—18; and Ps. cv. 31). Much difference of opinion has at various times been expressed as to the real meaning of the Hebrew word. Many commentators, following the Septuagint, or rather the interpretation of the Greek word (σκνίφες, or σκνίπες) as given by Philo (*De Vit. Mos.*, ii. 97) and Origen (Hom. iii. *in Exodum*), think that gnats or mosquitoes are intended. The Greek word σκνίψ, or κνίψ, is used by ancient authors in an extended sense to signify either "a gnat," "a plant-louse," or "worm-like larva," or "worm," &c., and must not be supposed to mean only "a gnat." Etymologically, the word *chinnâh*, as suggested by Gesenius, points to some "biting" creature; hence apparently the LXX. expressed the same idea by the Greek word κνίψ, from κνάω, "I bite." By some, however, the word *chinnîm* is referred to an Egyptian root, *ken*, in the sense of force and abundance, or in that of plague and calamity. The Coptic has *gne*, "percussit." A certain determinative associates the plague with a bad smell and corruption. Brugsch quotes a passage which points to a periodic visitation: "The year did not bring the plague (*ken*) at the usual time." The word is identified by Brugsch with the Egyptian *chenemms*, a mosquito (see Canon Cook's "Essay on Egyptian Words," in *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i., pp. 489, 490). Zoologically, the evidence is strongly in favour of lice, or rather ticks, and not gnats; for the former vermin may spring out of the dust ("Stretch out thy rod, and smite the *dust* of the land that it may become lice," viii. 16), but gnats are always produced from the water, where the eggs are laid and hatched.

The *flea* is mentioned only in 1 Sam. xxiv. 14: "After whom is the king of Israel come out? after whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog, after a flea;" and in xxvi. 20. There is no doubt about the Hebrew word *par'ôsh*, which is probably derived from a root meaning "to spring." Fleas are extremely common in Eastern countries, absolutely swarming in some localities.

COLEOPTERA.

BEETLES.—The beetle is mentioned in our version as one of the flying creeping things allowed for food; the Hebrew word is *chargol*, and clearly must denote some species of locust, and not a beetle, as is evident from the only passage (Lev. xi. 21—23) where the word occurs. The expression, "which have [upper joints] legs above their feet, to leap withal," refers to the saltatorial locusts, and not to any coleopterous insects, which, however, are well represented in Palestine, upwards of 400 species having been described. Some of the large flower-beetles (*Buprestidæ*), with brilliant metallic colouring, are very beautiful.

ORTHOPTERA.

The order *Orthoptera* (*i.e.*, "straight wings") contains all those insects whose posterior wings, which are generally large and strongly reticulated, are longitudinally folded when at rest. The metamorphosis is incomplete, both larva and pupa being active and resembling the perfect insect, except that the former has no wings and the latter only rudiments. The *Orthoptera* are divided into two large sections, viz., the *Cursoria* (runners) and the *Saltatoria* (leapers). In the former, the legs are formed for running, as in the cockroaches; in the latter, for leaping, as in crickets, grasshoppers, and locusts: it is with this latter division that we have to do.

Under various names, represented in our English version by "cankerworm," "caterpillar," "grasshopper," "palmerworm," "locust," and "bald-locust," various species of locusts, or various stages of their existence, are denoted. When we bear in mind the frightful

damages which these insects do to vegetation in various parts of the East—Egypt, Palestine, and the Bible lands generally being no exception to the rule—we shall not be surprised that the Biblical allusions to locusts are very numerous. There are some nine or ten Hebrew words which appear to denote either some species of locust, or a stage in its existence; they are the following: *arbeh, sol'âm, khargôl* (wrongly rendered "beetle" in the A. V.), *khâgâb, gôb, gâzâm, yelek, khâsîl,* and *tselâtsâl.* These we must briefly notice.

Arbeh is the most general name for a locust; it is derived from a root meaning "to multiply," and is very applicable to the countless hosts. The *arbeh* is the locust of the Egyptian plague (Exod. x.), and wherever the word occurs there is almost always a reference to its destructive or multiplying powers (Deut. xxviii. 38; 1 Kings viii. 37; Ps. cv. 34; Judg. vi. 5, &c. &c.). It was one of the kinds of saltatorial *Orthoptera* allowed as food (Lev. xi. 22). The species most destructive and most dreaded are the migratory locust (*Œdipoda migratoria*) and the *Acridium peregrinum;* and *arbeh,* while perhaps used in a wide sense to signify a locust generally, may more definitely refer to one or other of these two eminently destructive species, which in modern times as in ancient continue to devastate Palestine and the Bible lands. The *Œdipoda migratoria* has at different times invaded Europe; in 1748, the army of Charles XII., then in Bessarabia, was stopped in its course, and even England did not escape. In Shropshire and Staffordshire they attacked the blossoms of the apple-trees and the leaves of the oak, making the trees look as bare as at Christmas. The other species, the *Acridium peregrinum,* is found in Arabia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Palestine. From the swarms which devastated the Holy Land in the year 1865, Dr. Tristram obtained specimens of the *Œdipoda migratoria* and the *Acridium peregrinum,* the latter species appearing to predominate.

Sol'âm, translated "bald-locust," occurs only in Lev. xi. 22, as one of the insects allowed for food. The Hebrew word means "a devourer." The *sol'âm* in the Talmud is said to have a "smooth head," and has been referred with some degree of probability to some species of *Truxalis,* of which several kinds occur in Palestine. These locusts have a long smooth head and projecting antennæ. The Truxalidæ, like other locusts, feed on plants, and not on animals, as has been supposed by some writers.

Khargôl occurs only in Lev. xi. 22, as another edible locust; it cannot be a beetle, as was shown above by the context where the word occurs; moreover, beetles would be excluded from food by verse 23.[1] It is impossible even to conjecture what the *khargôl* may denote.

Khâgâb is another edible locust; it is rendered "grasshopper" and "locust" in our version. From 2 Chron. vii. 13 compared with Lev. xi. 22 some devastating locust is intended; from Numb. xiii. 33, "There we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, . . . and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers" (*khagâbim*), compared with Eccles. xii. 5, "The grasshopper (*khagâb*) shall be a burden," and Isa. xl. 22, "He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof as grasshoppers," some small species of saltatorial orthopterous insect appears to be signified, probably some kind of grasshopper, *locusta,* of which genus there are several species in Palestine. Some kinds are prettily marked, and sought after by young Jewish children as playthings. Lewysohn (*Zool. des Talm.,* § 384, p. 292) says that a regular traffic used to be carried on with these grasshoppers; numbers were caught and, after sprinkling with wine, were sold; the Israelites were not allowed to buy them before the dealer had thus prepared them.

Gôb occurs in Isa. xxxiii. 4, "As the running to and fro of locusts shall he run upon them;" in Amos vii. 1, "Behold, he formed grasshoppers [margin, 'green worms'] in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth;" and in Nahum (iii. 17), "Thy crowned are as the locusts (*arbeh*), and thy captains as the great grasshoppers [*gôb,* Heb., 'locust of locusts'] which camp in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are." There is nothing here to tell us whether any particular species is intended. Both the larvæ and imago halt at night, encamping under the hedges. The prophet is declaiming against Nineveh, and especially her multitudinous armies (compare verses 15, 16), which he aptly compares to swarms of locusts. According to Fürst, *gôb* is from an unused root signifying to "bring or crowd together;" and this idea of multitudes is expressed in the Hebrew, *gôb gobai, i.e.,* locusts upon locusts; consequently this part of the passage, "Thy captains as the many grasshoppers," may be merely a repetition of the former part of the verse, "Thy crowned ones are as the locusts, and thy captains as the swarmers."

Gâzâm, which the LXX. and the Vulgate render by κάμπη, and *eruca, i.e.* "a caterpillar," occurs in Joel i. 4; ii. 25; and Amos iv. 9. Our version translates *gâzâm* by "palmerworm." Whatever creature the word signifies, it was evidently some destructive insect, whether in its perfect or imago state, which caused great destruction to olive-trees and fig-trees, as mentioned by the prophet Amos. From the expression in Joel, "That which the *gâzâm* hath left, hath the *arbeh* eaten," it has been thought that the larvæ—preceding the perfect insects in their ravages—either of the *Œdipoda migratoria* or the *Acridium peregrinum* are intended. Our English "palmerworm" is applied loosely to various "hairy caterpillars." The "black and red palmer" of the fly-fisherman represents the larvæ of the large tiger-moth (*Arctia caja*) familiar to every stroller in the country in the autumn and spring, popularly known as woolly-bears. From the habit of this caterpillar wandering far away from its food

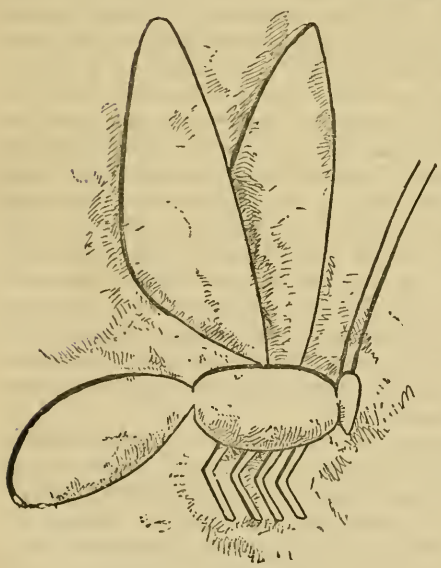
[1] It is worthy of remark that locusts and other insects are stated to possess "four feet"—six, of course, being the right number.

before it spins its cocoon, it has received the name of *palmer*. Halliwell (*Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, s. v.) gives the meaning of "wood-louse," and quotes Hollybrand's *Dictionarie*, 1593, as defining "palmer" to mean "a worme having a great many feet." We suspect the word originally was given to the tiger-moth larva from its erratic habits, and that subsequently it was employed in a wider sense. The palmer-caterpillars feed chiefly on the dead nettle, often on the hollyhock, though they do not restrict themselves to any particular kind of plants. In no sense, however, can they be said to be injurious to crops. Westwood refers the word palmer to a Low German word, *palme*, "bud," "catkin of willow," &c., and says, "The buds of eyes of the vine are called palmer in Germany; whence may be explained by palmer-worm, a grub or worm destroying the buds of plants" (*Dict. of Engl. Etymol.*, 1st Ed.).

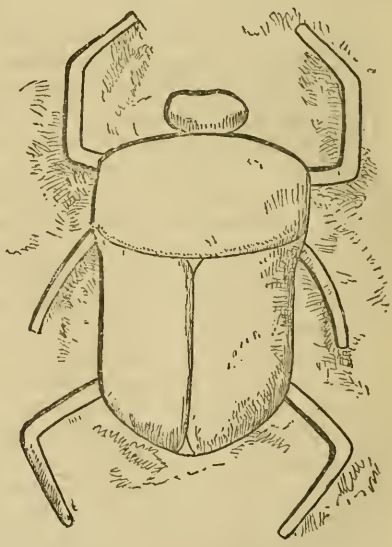
Yelek, rendered by "caterpillar" and "cankerworm" in our version, occurs in Joel i. 4; ii. 25; Nah. iii. 15, 16; Ps. cv. 34; Jer. li. 14, 27: some destructive insect appearing in immense numbers is evidently denoted. The work *yelek* means "the licker" or "cropper," in allusion to its destructive properties (compare Numb. xxii. 4, "Now shall this company lick up all that are round about us"); the word, probably, does not denote any particular species of locust, but is used in a wide and general sense to signify a locust in any stage of its life-history. The prophet Jeremiah (li. 27) compares the cavalry of the Babylonish army to "the rough *yelek*;" he refers to the "bristling spears and lances," and compares the army to a locust, the tibiæ of whose legs in all the species are much aculeated.

Khâzil, variously rendered by the LXX. and Vulgate to mean "locust," "wingless locust," "mildew," "rust," is translated "caterpillar" in our version. The word

I. LOCUST.



II. BEE (EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS).



III. SACRED BEETLE OF THE EGYPTIANS.

occurs in 1 Kings viii. 37; 2 Chron. vi. 28; Ps. lxxviii. 46; Isa. xxxiii. 4; and Joel i. 4. The Hebrew word signifies "a consumer," and perhaps a locust in its larva and pupa stage may be intended.

Tselâtsâl is found only in the sense of a stridulous insect in Deut. xxviii. 42, "All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the *tselâtsâl* consume;" the word is from *tsâlal*, "to tinkle," "to clink;" hence it denotes "a cymbal." Here, no doubt, it is onomatopoetic to express a stridulous locust.

We have stated above that the two or perhaps three pre-eminently devouring species of locust that are known to occur in the Bible lands are the *Œdipoda migratoria, Acridium peregrinum*, and *A. lineola*; consequently the Biblical allusions must relate more to these species than to others. Of the numerous Hebrew names some may be synonyms, others the larvæ or nymphæ of the species just mentioned. The grandest Bible description of the ravages of locusts, and of the fear and dismay caused thereby amongst the inhabitants of the land, occurs in the second chapter of the prophet Joel, where, according to the opinion of some commentators, under the figure of desolation by locusts, an Assyrian invasion of Palestine is spoken of. We agree with those writers who understand the description in a literal sense. The objection to the literal view, that locusts generally invade Palestine from the south, whereas the scourge is by the prophet called "a northern army," cannot stand, for as Oedman has said, "locusts come and go with all winds;" their home is not confined to the Arabian deserts; they have been met with in the Syrian desert, from whence they could easily be driven by a north or north-east wind into Palestine. Serville, in his monograph (*Histoire Naturelle des Insectes*, Orthoptères, p. 738), says that the *Œdipoda migratoria* is believed to have had its birthplace in Tartary.

We thus summarise the Scriptural references to locusts:—

(1.) They occur in enormous numbers, and sometimes obscure the sun (Exod. x. 15; Jer. xlvi. 23; Joel ii. 10, &c.).

(2.) They are extremely voracious (Exod. x. 12, 15; Joel i. 4, 7, 12; ii. 3; Ps. lxxviii. 46; Isa. xxxiii. 4, &c.).

(3.) They are compared to horses (Joel ii. 4; Rev. ix. 9): with this may be compared the words of the naturalist, Ray, "Caput oblongum, equi instar prona spectans."

(4). They make a fearful sound in flight (Joel ii. 5; Rev. ix. 9).

(5.) They have no king (Prov. xxx. 27).

(6.) Their onward march is irresistible (Joel ii. 8, 9).

(7.) They enter houses and devour even the woodwork (Exód. x. 6; Joel ii.).

(8.) They do not fly during the night time (Nah. iii. 17).

(9.) The greater number are destroyed by the sea (Exod. x. 19; Joel ii. 20).

(10.) Their dead bodies taint the air (Joel ii. 20).

(11.) They are used as food (Lev. xi. 21, 22; Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6).

All these characteristics are strictly true of locusts, and have been corroborated by several travellers. The Arabs in Sinai do not eat locusts, but they are eaten by Arabs near Mecca, in Beyrout, and on the east of Jordan. Tristram found that locusts were eaten by the Jehalin, a tribe in the south-east of Judæa, by most of the tribes in the Jordan valley, and by the Beni-Hassan in Gilead; and we have the personal testimony of the same traveller as to their good qualities. "I found them very good," he says, "when eaten after the Arab fashion, stewed with butter. They tasted somewhat like shrimps, but with less favour." Dr. Kitto also compares their flavour to that of shrimps. There are different ways of preparing them for food: ground and pounded, and then mixed with flour and water, they are made into cakes; or they are simply salted and eaten; or boiled, stewed, or fried with butter.

"How idle then," to quote the words of Kirby and Spence, "was the controversy concerning the locusts which formed part of the sustenance of John the Baptist, ... and how apt are even learned men to perplex a plain question from ignorance of the customs of other countries" (*Entom.* i. p. 305). The Baptist's "locusts" were the insects of that name, and not, as by many maintained, the long sweet pods of the locust-tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*), called *Johannis brodt*, or St. John's bread, by the monks of Palestine.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE PROPHETS:—MICAH.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE history of Micah contains several points of very great interest. In the first place, if, as we believe, the opening chapter of Isaiah is a preface prefixed by the prophet to his writings when he collected them into one volume, and put them forth for the abiding use of the Church, it was with a quotation from Micah that he began his labours. For we entirely agree with Dr. Pusey that the words in Isa. ii. 2—4 were originally spoken by Micah, and that the time when the warning note was first struck by both prophets was the early part of the reign of Jotham. The arguments alleged to prove that Isaiah wrote the prophecy contained in chaps. ii.—iv. at a still earlier date in Uzziah's time are unconvincing, and at variance with the fact that Isaiah was not called to the prophetic office until the end of

that monarch's reign. In Micah the words form an integral part of a connected prophecy, from which they are inseparable; in Isaiah they are but the text, and were prefixed by the prophet to his discourse to give authority to it, and also that he might add his testimony to the startling words of the village seer.

For though Micah did not begin to prophesy till the reign of Jotham, he was probably the older man, and had gradually gained high reputation at home before he took up his abode at Jerusalem. Moresheth, his birthplace, was but a little village on the maritime lowland, and so unimportant that the name of the neighbouring town of Gath had to be added to it, that people might understand where it was. The villages near his birthplace, Aphrah and Saphir and Zaanan, and others equally unknown to fame, are mentioned by him in the first section of his Prophecy; and possibly he had long exercised the office of preacher among them before the providence of God summoned him to rebuke sin at Samaria and Jerusalem, the fountain-head.

With this agrees the duration of Micah's more full exercise of prophetic powers, which is expressly limited to the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. It was during this period that he wore the black dress of camel's hair girt about the loins with a leathern girdle, which was the prophet's garb; and as there is nothing in his prophecy later than the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, he was probably removed then by death, not, however, without seeing the fruit of his labours. For we read in the Book of Jeremiah, "Micah the Morasthite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Zion shall be ploughed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest. Did Hezekiah and all Judah put him at all to death? Did he not fear the Lord, and besought the Lord, and the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them?" (Jer. xxvi. 18, 19.)

The elders then of Judah expressly say that the words —which verbally agree, excepting a slight difference of spelling, with the present text of Micah—are not Isaiah's, but Micah's. Nor could they be mistaken as to the authorship of words which produced a public reformation, and apparently formed the turning point in Hezekiah's religious life. But we find them ascribed, not to the time of Jotham, but to that of his grandson; and how can this discrepancy be explained? Dr. Pusey's opinion is that Micah renewed his prophecy at the beginning of Hezekiah's reign. "The prophets," he says, "did not heed repeating themselves." And in fact this was inevitable. The inspired message they had to deliver was often as short and summary, and had as constantly to be repeated, as the Baptist's cry, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." But in reading the Book of Micah it is impossible not to feel that the state of things described in it belongs to the last days of the reign of Ahaz; and it is thus in exact accord with the words of the elders in Jeremiah. Hezekiah was fresh upon his throne. No change had yet been made. At the very nick of time Micah came forward with the terrifying announcement that Zion should be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem become heaps of ruins. The young king's heart was touched; he determined to do all he could to stem the increasing tide of sin, and the national ruin was for the time averted.

But Isaiah quotes the words so literally that he too must have had before him our present text. Did the prophets then publish from time to time their separate prophecies, and years afterwards collect them into a volume? Nothing is more probable; but this is not, we imagine, the true explanation. The veriest tyro in criticism must feel that the first chapter of Isaiah was penned late in the reign of Hezekiah. Our view is that it was written when Isaiah published in one connected volume the first thirty-nine chapters of our present book, and consequently after the embassy of Merodach-baladan in B.C. 712; or even nine years later, as he mentions in chap. xxxvii. 38 the accession of Esarhaddon to the throne of Assyria. The Book of Micah, who had been at that time long dead, was doubtless well known to the prophets, and especially to one like Isaiah, who was so famous a scribe that in his very youth he had been chosen to compile the official record of Uzziah's acts (2 Chron. xxvi. 22). It would be a matter of religious feeling with him to transcribe Micah's exact words; and he does it so carefully as not even to omit the opening conjunction *and*, which in Isaiah has no meaning, while in Micah it couples the quoted words with what precedes. And thus Isaiah, of whom there can be no doubt that he held the very highest rank among the prophets of Jerusalem, prefixed to his prophecy on republishing it the cry of the simple villager of Moresheth-gath.

Another point of great interest which the book sets before us is the growing corruption of the prophetic order. In Samaria we see the beginning of its decline in the days of another Micah, or Micaiah, the son of Imlah. Four hundred prophets of Jehovah were base enough to promise Ahab victory at Ramoth-gilead, while withholding the fact that it would be bought at the price of his life. In Micah's time they had sunk even in Judah to a still lower level. In his sad picture of the general immorality then prevalent, he says that "Zion was built with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money" (chap. iii. 10, 11). The men who ought to have brought a message from God to men's souls were prostituting their powers to mere fortune-telling for gain. He even accuses them of exercising a sort of terrorism over men's minds, in order to compel them to give them bribes: "He that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him" (*ibid.* 5). The prophets must have attained to great power before this was possible, and must have begun to use their power for private greed. And so Isaiah, the contemporary of Micah, bearing his independent witness to the decay of his order, stigmatises "the prophet that teacheth lies" as the very tail

and lowest of all bad men (Isa. ix. 15). Priest and prophet, elsewhere he says, were erring through strong drink (chap. xxviii. 7), and were ready when the people bade them to prophesy smooth things (chap. xxx. 10).

Now it was not till this time that there is a word of rebuke for the prophets. Here and there individuals had fallen below the level of their office, but as a class they were men who feared God and truthfully spake His word. From Micah's time the false prophet is ever foremost among the agents working actively for Judah's ruin, till in Jeremiah's days men who drew their inspiration from Baal (Jer. ii. 8) were so numerous and influential, that the true prophet found himself confronted by a confederacy too powerful to resist. "A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?" (Jer. v. 30, 31.)

To such the very name of Micah was a rebuke. Fully written it is Micaiah, or Micaihu (*Who is like unto Jah!*); and the prophet himself in forcible words calls attention to its meaning in his noble description of the Divine mercy with which he closes his book (chap. vii. 18—20), and which we have quoted below.

Now it has often been remarked that though elaborately finished as a poem, yet the prophecy of Micah reads like a collection of extracts, or rather as if it were the condensation of all that he had been teaching during long years of active toil. And this is even more striking in the original, because our translators have introduced inferential particles, *but, then, therefore, notwithstanding,* where the Hebrew has only *and.* From the vigour of these short telling sentences it is plain that Micah was an orator of no common eloquence; but the book itself we believe to be a poem, containing the substance of the great sermon preached by Micah soon after Hezekiah's accession to the throne. For, though in form disjointed, there is an essential unity in the matter; while the rhythm is not merely exact, but elaborated with the most rigid care. The whole divides itself into three sections: the first (chaps. i. and ii.) beginning with, "*Hear, all ye people;*" the second (chaps. iii.—v.) beginning with, "*Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob;*" the third (chaps. vi. and vii.) beginning with, "*Hear ye now what the Lord saith.*" In these there is not merely a reference from time to time to what has preceded, but a progress of thought. In the first part the corruption alike of Israel and Judah is traced to the capitals, Samaria and Jerusalem (chap. i. 5); and judgment is therefore to begin at Samaria, the very stones of which are to be poured down into the valley. But it will not stop there, but will sweep up to the very gate of God's people, even to Jerusalem (vv. 6—9). As Samaria was destroyed in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, and the siege of it began three years previously, we cannot be far wrong in concluding that the Book of Micah was written very soon after the death of Ahaz.

In the second section the capture and destruction of Jerusalem are foretold with increased energy. It is in this portion that we find the prediction which wrought so powerfully upon the mind of the king, and his princes and also of Isaiah, the great counsellor of Hezekiah's reign. But Micah does not rest content with general denunciations; he predicts that not Nineveh, the then dominant power, but Babylon should be the place of Judah's captivity (chap. iv. 10), thus forestalling in a remarkable way Isaiah's prophecy spoken after the visit of Merodach-baladan's ambassadors. Yet everywhere else it is the Assyrian who is described as Judah's enemy (chap. v. 5, 6; vii. 12), just as we should expect in Hezekiah's reign. Lastly, in the third part, the prophet turns to exhortation, in which threatenings and promises alternate with extraordinary vividness and force.

And so, too, as regards the promises. The first section ends with a general prediction of future happiness: "I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel." They are to be carefully folded as the sheep of Bozrah, the strong defences of which suggest their safety; while the hum of their multitudes bespeaks their prosperity and wealth. There is even a prophecy of the Messiah, but in covert terms. He is described as the "Breaker" chap. ii. 13), who should break through all hindrances, and prepare for them a way by which they may pass onwards with their King, Jehovah, at their hea But the second section is full of the most direct Messianic predictions. The mountain of the Lord's house is to be established as the centre to which all the world shall flock (chap. iv. 1). The law is to go out from Zion, that it may be the possession of the Gentiles (*ibid.* 2). Universal peace is to prevail (*ibid.* 3). Zion is to thresh all nations, that the wheat may be gathered in for God (*ibid.* 13). Bethlehem Ephratah is mentioned by name as the birthplace of Him whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting (chap. v. 2); and the remnant of Jacob is to be as dew for sweetness and gentleness in preaching the Gospel, but as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, to tear down the strongholds of wickedness, and to trample the licentiousness of heathenism and its false gods under foot (*ibid.* 7, 8).

In the last section the prophet speaks chiefly of the peaceable fruits of the religion of Christ. If men wish to be accepted they must come unto God, not with Jewish sacrifices; still less with those blood-stained Moloch rites, in which men gave their firstborn for their transgression, the fruit of the body for the sin the soul. God must now be sought by doing justly, by loving mercy, and by walking humbly with Him (chap. vi. 6—8). The penitent soul must now look to Jehovah, and wait for the God of its salvation (chap. vii. 7). So will it raise the anthem of praise saying, "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue

our iniquities; thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea" (*ibid.* 18, 19).

It remains only to add that the style of Micah is very strongly marked. He is bold and lofty in thought like Isaiah, rich in metaphor, lively and animated, but withal simple and chaste in his mode of expression. But what chiefly characterise him are his rapid transitions. Persons, genders, numbers, are suddenly changed; questions are interposed—often even dialogues, which must be carefully noted, if we would not miss the sense; promises and threatenings follow close upon one another, and upbraidings are mingled with words of mercy. Everything denotes a man of quick impetuous feelings, of intense energy, of a mind whose active workings presented him at once with the full aspect of all the varied bearings of each separate truth. No wonder that Dr. Pusey speaks of him as "the mighty prophet, who wrought a repentance greater than his great contemporary Isaiah;" and yet, as the same authority has with great labour proved, the Book of Micah is a finished poem, smooth and measured in the flow of its words, and with every cadence carefully attended to. To the Hebrew, whose ear could take in the exquisite beauty of these studied tones, the whole must have been as the "very lovely song of one that had a pleasant voice, and could play well upon an instrument" (Ezek. xxxiii. 32). But even more noble is the prophet's moral teaching. No book of the Old Testament strikes deeper chords in our nature, or strikes them with a more masterly hand than that of Micah the villager, but withal the meet partner of Isaiah in revealing to mankind the richness of evangelic truth.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THIS book, with which the canon of the New Testament closes, stands in very striking contrast with all that have gone before it. Its glowing and gorgeous imagery, its symbolic visions of the coming history of the world, are, as far as that volume is concerned, absolutely unique. And yet if the method of education which had been begun under the old covenant was to reach its completion in the new, if men were to have stamped with divine authority what their yearning expectations might otherwise fashion for themselves, it was to be expected, *à priori*, that it would not close without embracing that aspect of the truth which took the form of an apocalypse. The later prophets of the Old Testament, Ezekiel and Daniel, in some measure even Isaiah and Jeremiah, had seen such visions, shadowing forth the history of the great kingdoms of the world, and the coming of the Messiah. One whose thoughts had been specially turned to their prophetic writings, to the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven (Dan. vii. 13; Matt. xxvi. 64), to "the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet" (Dan. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 15), would be led, we may well believe, to desire earnestly that he too might be blest with like manifestations of the Divine glory, with like foreshadowings of the future triumphs of the Divine kingdom. The Pentecostal gift itself was connected with seeing visions and dreaming dreams (Acts ii. 17). St. Peter, his friend and companion, had been taught by a vision the great truth that he was to call no man common or unclean. St. Paul, though he wrote no Book of Revelation, had yet been the recipient of "visions and revelations of the Lord" without number, and had been caught up to the third heaven, and to the paradise of God (2 Cor. xii. 1—4). In the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, in both the Epistles to the Thessalonians, especially in 2 Thess. ii., we come across the traces of a mystery which had evidently passed before his mental eye in some trance or vision of the night. To the prophets of the New Testament whose names have passed away unrecorded, were revealed the things which eye had not seen, nor ear heard, which God had prepared for them that love Him (1 Cor. ii. 9). It was, if one may so speak, the natural and fitting consummation of these scattered teachings that one, at least, of the great leaders of the Church should be called to receive and to transmit an apocalypse of this nature: and if Divine gifts are adapted, according to the wisdom of the Eternal Spirit, to the character and powers of those to whom they are given, we may be bold to say that there was no one on whom this gift was so likely to be bestowed as on the beloved disciple, who had shared the secrets of his Master's heart; who had been able to receive and record the higher teaching, which transcended the power of the earlier Evangelists. The idealising mystic temperament which lives in what to others seem abstract terms, light and darkness, life and death, love and wrath, is also that which is most readily led to clothe its thoughts in symbols, and to shadow forth the future, not in the form of an anticipated chronicle of things to come, but in mysterious visions and things hard to be understood. It was fit that the beloved disciple should be taught in the same way as Daniel, the "man greatly beloved," had been of old, and that he whose sense of the love of God and Christ was clearer and deeper than that of most others, should see that love revealed, both in the clear light of unmingled truth, and in the rainbow hues that encircled the everlasting Throne.

In writing thus I have assumed that the writer of the Apocalypse was one and the same with the Evangelist. That identity has been questioned, however, both in

ancient and modern times, and in singularly opposite directions. Writers of the early Church had not the slightest doubt about the Gospel of St. John, but they classed the Revelation with the *Antilegomena*, or doubtful books (Euseb., *H. E.* vii. 25), partly because it was not universally received, partly with a method which almost anticipates the "higher criticism" of our own time, on account of internal differences of phrase and style.[1] The tendency of not a few recent writers, on the other hand, has been to assign the Revelation to the Apostle, and the Gospel to an unknown writer of the second century, writing under Gnostic influences. The authorship of the Gospel has been discussed in its proper place (BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. IV., page 163), and I have brought together in previous papers (Vol. I., pages 27 and 97), a sufficient number of coincidences of thought and language between the two books to balance, and more than balance, the alleged difference of style. The hesitation of writers of the second and third centuries to receive the book is traceable to the fact that its mysterious character excluded it, as it has done largely since, from the public reading of the Church, and therefore it was not found in the earliest versions. The existence of many spurious Revelations, one of which retains a place in our Apocrypha, under the title of the Second Book of Esdras, had probably something to do with the hesitation which was shown in receiving a book stamped with an apocalyptic character. The fact that the hesitation was overcome shows that inquiry of some sort was met by evidence that was thought sufficient—by the testimony, for example, of the Muratorian fragment (A.D. 170), of Irenæus (A.D. 195), of Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen; and we may rest, I believe, in the conviction that the tradition of the Church has, in this case, not been mistaken.

Assuming St. John's authorship, we have to determine, as far as is possible, the period of his life to which the Revelation belonged. The general belief of the early Fathers who mention the book at all, beginning with Irenæus, assigned it to the persecution under Domitian (A.D. 95—97), when, it is said, the Apostle was banished to Patmos; and that is still the date adopted by the majority of commentators. I am constrained, however, to follow Ewald, Renan, and other critics in connecting it, not with the persecution of Domitian, but with that of Nero. The entire absence of any reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, the assumption that it is still waiting for its judgment (Rev. xi. 8), seem conclusive on this point. To the argument, on which Alford and others lay stress, that the Nero persecution did not extend beyond Rome itself, it may be replied that the Pastoral Epistles, and those of St. Peter, show that the Asiatic Christians also were exposed at that period to a severe persecution (see BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. IV., p. 130), and that the wild outburst of popular, as well as imperial, fury in the capital was sure to be followed by a like excitement in the provinces, especially in that which had been for many years the chief seat of Christian propagandism. It was, we may add, precisely at that time, when Rome was reproducing the cruelties, as well as the vices, of the older Babylon, that the name of the city on the Euphrates was likely to present itself as the symbol of the great city which represented the world's power as on the side of evil; that men would come to think of it as "drunken with the blood of saints," and as "the mother of harlots" (Rev. xvii. 5). The persecution of Domitian was comparatively limited in its extent, and did not present, as that of Nero did, the horrors that stir the blood, and make men look for judgment from above.

It would be out of place here to enter in any detail into the interpretation of the book. The number and variety of the schemes by which men have endeavoured to make it fit in with the history of the world down to the nineteenth century are enough to show that its mysteries are yet unsolved, that as yet perhaps we are hardly on the right track to the solution. Briefly it may be noted that on the one side there are those who hold that the range of the visions of the book did not extend very far beyond the horizon of the Apostle's own time, that it was in relation to the events and fears and hopes of that age that he was led to declare to men the things that "must shortly come to pass." For such interpreters days are literally days, and not years. Babylon is imperial Rome; the great judgment that falls upon Babylon is the desolation that came upon Rome, the loss of her majesty and power in the invasion of the barbarians. The vision of the new Jerusalem is the triumph of the Church of Christ. As believing, in this way, that the visions of the future which passed before the seer of Patmos have already received an adequate, though not a literal, fulfilment, this has been called the *Præterist* school of interpretation, and is mainly represented by Grotius, Hammond, Bossuet, Herder, Ewald, Lee, and Maurice, names sufficiently wide apart from each other to show that the method of interpretation is not necessarily connected with the teaching of any church or sect. At the opposite extreme are those who hold that, as no series of events, either in the history of the Roman Empire or in that of modern Europe, corresponds closely to the series of prophetic visions, while yet those visions, being inspired, must of necessity receive a literal fulfilment, the whole book, with the exception of the messages to the Seven Churches, belongs to a time even now future, and leads men to be on the watch for the signs of that which, on this assumption, will be the beginning of the end. In this view Babylon is neither Imperial, nor, strictly speaking, Papal Rome—as she has been, or is—but the same great city in some new and as yet undeveloped phase, as allied with all forms of superstition and ungodliness, and brought into an open antagonism to the Church of God. When that

[1] Thus Dionysius of Alexandria is led to doubt the authorship, (1) because the writer of the Revelation names himself, and that of the Gospel and Epistles does not; (2) because the Gospel and Epistles agree in their style and language, in their use of "light," "darkness," "life," "truth," "love," and differ from the Revelation; (3) because the Epistles do not even contain an incidental reference to the Revelation, such as we find St. Paul making in 2 Cor. xii. 1. (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 25.)

conflict shall come the world will see (so the advocates of this *Futurist* system tell us) a wonderful and literal fulfilment of the portents and visions of the Apocalypse. This school of interpretation is less numerous than the other, but it has found able representatives among ourselves in Dr. J. H. Todd, Dr. S. Maitland, Mr. Isaac Williams, and others.

Between the two there is a third school—always the most numerous, and, from the nature of the case, attracting more popular interest—which maintains that, though the final consummation of the kingdom of God, as set forth in the closing chapters of the book, is still future, the visions from chap. iv. onwards to the end present a continuous history of the Church and of the world in their spiritual aspects, corresponding to that of mediæval and modern Europe. Under this scheme the days of the prophetic visions (xii. 6; xiii. 5) are equivalent to years, and, as such, serve as the basis of a chronological arrangement of events. We are led on to think of our own time as on the threshold of a great catastrophe. As Imperial Rome has passed away, men have found in Papal Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse. She, too, is "drunken with the blood of the saints," and is the "mother of abominations." It cannot be wondered at that this method of interpretation should at all times have been popular. It appeals to that desire to pierce the secrets of the future which is more or less strong in all men; it tempts the subtle and the imaginative to exercise their ingenuity on the enigmas which have baffled others. Each thinks that his scheme will be more coherent and convincing than those that have gone before it. The drawback upon its claims is that the interpreters are almost hopelessly at variance; that history has too often to be written afresh to make it fit in with their schemes of interpretation; that small things become great, and great small, as seen in a perspective which is quite other than that of the ordinary historian. Each generation from the tenth century onward has thought of itself as standing near the end of all things, and the triumph of the saints, and the reign of Christ for a thousand years, and has heard the footfall of the coming Antichrist. The broad distinction between those who hold a pre-millennial or a post-millennial Advent does but represent a rough classification, within which there are endless diversities of detail.

I do not pretend to have succeeded where so many have failed, and I confess myself unable to accept any one of these methods as leading by itself to satisfactory results. All that I can suggest to the reader is the probability that each of them is true, so long as it is not looked on as adequate and exhaustive; that each becomes false when it is pushed beyond that limit. The visions were meant to guide the Apostle, and those for whom he wrote, in the midst of the terrors and confusions of their own time—the things that were "shortly to come to pass;" to comfort them with the thought of the triumph of God's righteous kingdom, and of the destruction even of the greatest world-power that was opposed to it. So far, we may seek the first clue to their interpretation in the historical succession of events after the time of Nero. But that triumph did not come in its fulness, and seems yet far off. The old antagonism between the kingdoms of light and darkness continues, and the issue, when it comes, must, to all appearance, be brought about by a more tremendous conflict, issuing in more entire victory. But "Prophecy," in Bacon's pregnant words, "hath springing and germinant accomplishments," and in the interval between the first struggle and the last there may be many such fulfilments, many conflicts and triumphs, many "days of the Lord," precursors of the last great day. If this should seem to render the prophecies of the Book of Revelation too vague and elastic, it must be remembered that this is precisely the way in which we have learnt to interpret the language of the older prophets. The vision of Isaiah (say, *e.g.* chap. xl.) speaks unmistakably of the return from Babylon, but is not exhausted by it; it passes from that to the coming of the Messiah, and received, as we believe, a fulfilment in the coming of our Lord; but neither did that exhaust it. It goes beyond any glory which the Church of Christ has as yet attained on earth, to the time of the new heaven and the new earth, and the restitution of all things. So, too, to take a yet higher example, our Lord's prophetic teaching in Matt. xxiv. obviously draws all its imagery from the circumstances and incidents of the time, and finds a fulfilment in the destruction of Jerusalem, and, as obviously, is not exhausted by that destruction, but looks forward to a far-off Divine event.

From this point of view, then, we may hold that those are not wrong who study the book in close connection with the early struggles of the Christian Church, nor those who look forward to a glory yet to be revealed, nor those, again, who in each succeeding age have felt that it had a message of hope and warning even for them. Even the darker, more perplexing enigmas of the book find in some measure a solution which fits in with this wider method of study. The earliest and most generally received explanation of the mysterious number of the Beast, which sees in the Greek arithmetical value of the letters of the word *Lateinos* an equivalent to *six hundred and sixty-six*, has had, it is clear, an application both to Imperial and Papal Rome; and, so far as we may read the signs of the times, the part of Rome in this world's history is not yet extinct, and some future Armageddon may see the Latin races of Europe arrayed under her leadership on the side of antagonism to the truth.

Yet the chief value of the book practically is, after all, independent of its predictive element. It has enriched the devotion and the poetry of Christendom with the most glowing imagery, with symbols of profoundest meaning. All that is noblest and most beautiful in the writings of Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, in the ritual of Tabernacle and Temple, is brought together by the writer into what has well been called a gorgeous "mosaic" of gems, in which all that was most precious sparkles as with a new radiance. No book in the Bible has so helped to raise the thoughts and imaginations of the

poor above their common life, and to make them, more or less, unconscious poets. The hymns of Christendom would lose a large portion of their beauty and their power if we were to strike out from them all that flows directly and indirectly from the Revelation of St. John.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

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THE authenticity of this Epistle has been accepted invariably from the earliest ages of the Church, though some persons referred to by St. Jerome,[1] regarding its subject-matter as of only private interest, questioned its place as one of the Canonical Scriptures. The Epistle was written during the Apostle's imprisonment in Rome, which is referred to in verses 9, 10, and was addressed to Philemon, who was a convert of St. Paul's (ver. 19), and a personal friend (ver. 13), and who, after his conversion to Christianity, had exerted himself in deeds of active Christian work. From the Epistle itself we discover the circumstances under which it was written. A slave named Onesimus had run away from his master, Philemon, having apparently first robbed him. This slave came to Rome, and was there converted by St. Paul. Having remained with the Apostle for some time, he is at last sent back by St. Paul to Philemon; and he takes with him this letter, in which the Apostle asks Philemon to receive him back, and to forgive his offence. The delicacy, the tact, the Christian love with which St. Paul does this are apparent in every verse of the Epistle.

The Epistle opens by reminding the one to whom it is addressed that the writer is "a prisoner" of Jesus Christ, and so at once awakens the reader's sympathy. It is addressed also to Apphia, the wife of Philemon, as well as to Philemon himself, and Archippus, who was connected with the Church at Colossæ,[2] the residence of Philemon, and probably some near relation of his.[3] The first seven verses are composed of this address, and of expressions of joyous recollection of, and sympathy with, Philemon; and then, with exquisite delicacy and pathetic power, the writer at last introduces the object of his letter: "Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to *enjoin* thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake I rather *beseech* thee." He reminds him—so as to melt his heart, before the object, the doubtless hated object, of this petition is even mentioned—who is the petitioner, "such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ." Who could refuse a request from such an one as that? Even after that with what pathos the name is introduced: "I beseech thee for *my son* Onesimus, whom I *have begotten in my bonds.*" The writer feels that the mention of the name of the runaway and defrauding slave, even though introduced so delicately, will stir up the old resentment of the master; and St. Paul may have felt also that possibly Philemon may have thought that he did not know how badly Onesimus had treated his master—that if he had known that he had robbed him, as well as deserted him, Paul might not have so entirely forgiven him; and yet it is a difficult thing to send a letter by a man's own hand containing an expression of your knowledge that he is a thief. The very name of the runaway (Ὀνήσιμος), which signifies "profitable," suggests a pleasant way of showing the writer's knowledge of the extent of his wrong, and yet doing it in a manner which can scarcely hurt the bearer of the letter, and which by its pleasantry and wit could stir up no angry feeling (but rather provoke a smile) in the reader, so he writes, "I beseech thee for my son *Profitable*, who in time past was *unprofitable* to thee, but is now *profitable* to thee and to me." Then the Apostle, to show his estimate of the value of this servant, and at the same time his respect for his master, states that he would gladly have kept Onesimus for his own servant, but that he would not do so without knowing the wishes of Philemon (vv. 13, 14). With equal pleasantry and tenderness he speaks of the slave's having run away (ver. 15): "For perhaps for this reason *he was separated* [not as in A.V., "*he departed*," throwing any blame on him] from thee *for a season*, that thou shouldest receive him *for ever*." In fact, St. Paul, with great pathetic pleasantry of expression, suggests that Philemon is to be a great gainer—"unprofitable" goes back as profitable; he was removed temporarily that he may return "permanently;" he left as a slave—he returns as "a brother." Read in the light of the preceding, there is scarce need for comment on the following (vv. 18, 19): "If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account. I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay thee: not that I would remind you that *you* owe *me* your own self." I cannot but think that, finally, in verse 22, there is a "gentle reminder" to Philemon, that Paul hopes to see in person the result of this Epistle; and that so, Philemon must not act harshly, thinking that Paul will never know it: "At the same time, prepare me a lodging; for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you"—*i.e.*, "shall come to you."

[1] *Proœm.* in Philem. 3—7.
[2] Col. iv. 17.
[3] Philemon's son (Olshausen), or only an intimate friend (Chrysostom—ἕτερίν τινα ἴσως φίλον).

This exquisite Epistle is of inestimable value in showing the practical manner in which St. Paul dealt with the difficult and dangerous question of slavery. No Roman opponent could, after this letter was written, pretend that the teaching of Paul encouraged servile revolt; and yet no timid or interested Christian could point to St. Paul as sanctioning those features of servitude which were essentially bad. To have sent back the runaway slave disarmed hostility on the one side; to make him be received as "a brother beloved" took away all the sting of slavery on the other. This Epistle, brief and particular as it is, is also of surpassing interest to all admirers of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, as giving us a larger glimpse of that side of his character which occasionally shows itself elsewhere[1]—exhibiting to us the eloquent polemic, and the enthusiastic apostle, as possessed of a heart as tender as a woman's, and a love profoundly earnest, and intensely selfless. Here also we see how St. Paul applied to the ordinary actions of personal life the same great Christian principles by which he sought to guide the Christian Church.

[1] Especially in the Epistles to the Corinthians.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

SYRIA.

THE term "Syria" is used in the New Testament to denote the country lying between the Taurus mountains on the north, and the province of Galilee on the south, and which was bounded on the west by Phœnicia and the Mediterranean, and on the east by the desert. In the Old Testament Syria, or Aram, appears to have extended to the Euphrates, and perhaps beyond; and several of the local divisions of the country are mentioned:—Aram-naharaim ("Syria of the two rivers"), called Mesopotamia in the Authorised Version (Gen. xxiv. 10); Padan, or Padan-aram ("the plain Syria, or the cultivated Syria"), apparently another name for the district of Aram-naharaim; Aram-dammesek ("Syria of Damascus"), in 2 Sam. viii. 5; Aram-zobah ("Syria of Zobah"), Aram Beth-rehob ("Syria of Beth-rehob"), in 2 Sam. x. 6; Aram-maachah ("Syria-maachah"), in 1 Chron. xix. 6; and perhaps Geshur in Syria (2 Sam. xv. 8). Aram-naharaim has generally been identified with that portion of the Greek Mesopotamia which lies between the great bend of the Euphrates and the upper Tigris; but there are several passages in the Bible—especially those relating to Jacob's flight from Haran—that are difficult of explanation on this supposition; and we are almost inclined to adopt the view of Dr. Beke, that the Aram-naharaim, or Padan-aram, in which Haran was situated, lay to the east of Damascus, between the rivers Barada and Awaj. Syria of Damascus was of course in the vicinity of that city; and we find at a later period, when Damascus had increased in importance, that the term Aram was applied to this district alone. It is difficult to assign any precise locality to the other divisions. Maachah and Geshur are mentioned as being on the borders of Argob (the Lejah) and Bashan (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 11—13). Rehob has been variously identified with the upper Jordan valley and with a district to the north-east of Damascus; whilst Zobah, which in the time of David was an important state, able to put large armies into the field, appears to have extended to the Euphrates. Several of the towns of Zobah are mentioned in the Bible—as Berothah, Betah, and Helam, the scene of David's great victory over Hadadezer—but none of them have yet been satisfactorily identified.

Syria is naturally divided into three separate sections: the district north of the Orontes, the valley of the Orontes, and the valley of the Litany (Leontes). In the first district the principal feature is the mountain-range of Jawar Dagh (Mount Amanus), from five to six thousand feet high, which divided Syria from Cilicia: running in a southerly direction from its point of junction with the Taurus mountains, and so near the coast as to leave but a narrow strip of plain, the range bifurcates at its southern extremity, throwing out one arm to terminate abruptly in the lofty cliffs of Ras el-Khanzir (Rhosus), the other to die away gradually in the hills of Jebel Musa (Pierius), within a few miles of the mouth of the Orontes. Over this wild district there are only two good passes—one near Bayas, the other at Beilan, south of Iskanderun (Alexandria), the port of Aleppo, by which Barnabas probably crossed the Amanus on his way from Antioch "to Tarsus, to seek Saul." East of Mount Amanus is a hilly tract, drained by the streams which fall into the Lake of Antioch, and by the river of Aleppo, the ancient Chalus; beyond this lies the dry upland of the Syrian desert, extending to the Euphrates.

The second section extends from Antioch to the Nahr el-Kebir (Eleutherus), and throughout this distance runs the range of Jebel Nusairiyeh (Bargylus) in a southerly direction, and almost parallel to the coast. The range is steep towards the Orontes, on the east, whilst towards the west it descends in low, irregular hills, and throws out several short spurs, one of which terminates in the lofty headland of Ras Akra (Casius). At the northern extremity of Bargylus is the secluded glen in which Daphne, the favourite resort of the luxurious people of Antioch, was situated; and at the southern end, on one of the steep wooded hills by which the range breaks down to the level plain north of the Lebanon, rise the strong walls of the castle of El Husn,

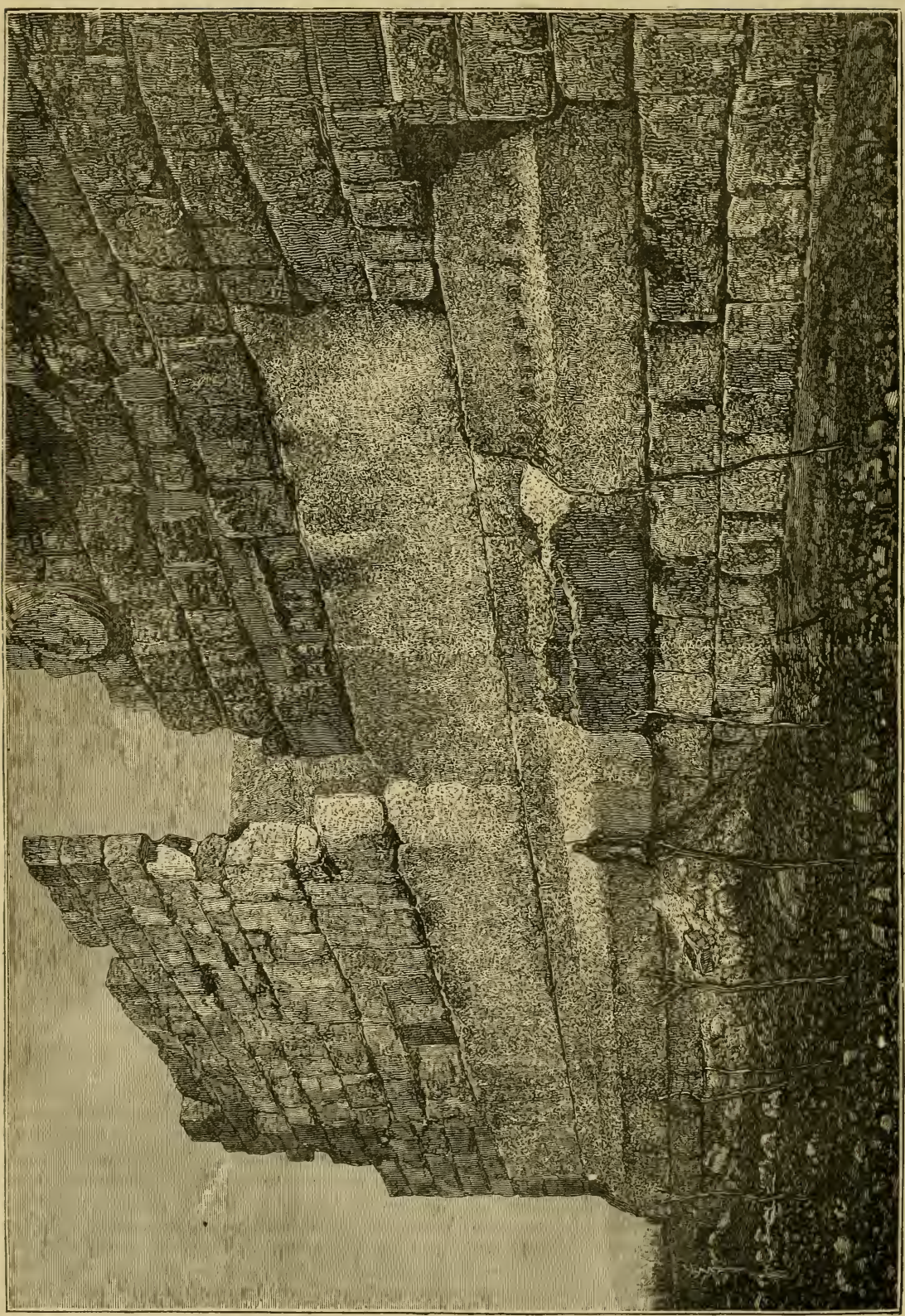
commanding in old crusading days the great road which led from Hums and Hamah to the coast. East of Jebel Nusairiyeh, and parallel to it, is another range of mountains of less elevation, extending from the bend of the Orontes to the south of Hamah; and between these two lies the rich valley of the Orontes, abundantly watered by the streams which descend from the hills on either side. In the mountains of Nusairiyeh dwell a strange people, whose creed is a curious *mélange* of Idolatry, Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism, and who, according to their own tradition, were expelled by Joshua from Palestine. They have recently been visited by Mr. Johnson, the American consul at Beirut, who, in his interesting account, states that they have "preserved vestiges of the worship of Baal, the Syrian Apollo; of Astarte, the Syrian Venus; of fire, and of the heavenly bodies; and they have also retained traces of the Jewish law."

The third section comprises the two great ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and extends from the plain of the Nahr el-Kebir to the sources of the Jordan. The remarkable pass or plain to the north of Lebanon which connects the valley of the Orontes with the coast-plain is not improbably the "entrance of Hamath," mentioned on several occasions as the northern border of the Promised Land. From this plain the mountains rise into the lofty ridge of Lebanon, which attains its greatest elevation in Jebel Sunnin, about 10,000 feet high, and then gradually falls towards the south until it reaches the grand gorge of the Litany (Leontes); the eastern declivities are steep, with few streams, and but slight cultivation; whilst the western fall by a gentler slope to the sea, and are carefully cultivated by a hardy mountain population, whose terraced gardens and picturesque villages have frequently been commented upon by travellers. Formerly the mountains were thickly wooded with cedar, cypress, and fir, but these have now in great part disappeared, leaving only a few groves of stately cedars as representatives of "the glory of Lebanon." The olive and mulberry are assiduously cultivated, and round the villages are extensive vineyards, producing wine which still has a certain reputation in the country. The beauty and fertility of "that goodly mountain, even Lebanon," are frequently alluded to in the Bible, and so is the fragrance of its flowers and vines (Cant. iv. 11; Hosea xiv. 6).

The range of Anti-Lebanon rises south of Hums, and running nearly parallel to that of Lebanon, attains its culminating point in Mount Hermon, at its southern extremity. The range is only mentioned once in the Bible, as "Lebanon toward the sun-rising," but Mount Hermon is frequently referred to as a limit, and also in connection with its snow-clad summit, which can be seen from so many points in the Holy Land. From Hermon a ridge stretches out towards the east, and forms the northern boundary of the rich plain of Damascus. Between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon lies the great plain of the Bukaa—the Cœle-Syria, or "the hollow Syria," of the Greeks—watered in its northern portion by the Orontes, and in its southern by the Litany. The soil is extremely rich, and produces fine crops of grain and abundant pasturage.

East of Mount Amanus, and a few miles only from the Orontes, is the Lake of Antioch, formed by the waters of three streams, of which the Kara-Su is the most important, which drain the highland district to the north. The lake is about forty miles in circumference, and discharges its waters into the Orontes by a stream also known as the Kara-Su. The Kuweik, or river of Aleppo (Chalus), rises near a tributary of the Euphrates, and after flowing past Antioch loses itself in a marsh not far from the site of Colchis. The Orontes, the longest river in Syria, rises about ten miles north of Baalbek, and flows northwards through the fertile valley to the Jisr el-Hadid (iron bridge), where it turns westward towards Antioch, and after passing through a narrow gorge enters the coast-plain. The Litany, rising not far from the source of the Orontes, flows southward through the Bakaa, which gradually contracts towards the south, till the river enters a wonderful chasm near the village of Yuhmur. Here the precipices on either side are no less than a thousand feet in height, and the channel is so narrow that it is spanned by a natural bridge. The river afterwards pursues its way past the Castle of Esh Shukif, through a deep rocky gorge which cuts through the southern spurs of Lebanon, and finally enters the sea through a broad tract of meadow land. The Barada, which is either the Abana or Pharpar of Scripture, rises near the northern end of Anti-Lebanon, and flowing down through the plain of Zebdany, breaks through the ridge on the east by a deep chasm, the Suk Wady Barada, at the lower end of which are the ruins of the ancient Abila; the river then runs through a beautiful valley, receiving, *en route*, the waters of the great fountain of Ain Fijeh, and leaves the mountains about two miles from Damascus. Here the waters are led off by numerous aqueducts and canals for irrigation, and after passing through Damascus in seven separate streams, they re-unite below the city, and are finally lost in the lakes on the verge of the great eastern desert. The only other important stream is the Awaj, which rises amongst the spurs of Mount Hermon, and flows through the plain of Damascus to a lake not far from that which receives the Barada. This stream is regarded by several writers as one of the two "rivers of Damascus."

Amongst the many important places in Syria which deserve a passing notice, few have a greater interest in one sense than Seleucia, the port of Antioch whence Paul, accompanied by Barnabas, set forth on his first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 4), and where he probably landed on his return. Seleucia was not only a port, but a strong fortress, and the ruins are of a very remarkable character. The city stood at one extremity of a small but fertile plain to the north of the Orontes, and was built partly on level ground, partly on the lower slopes of the Mons Pieria, from which it took its name of Seleucia Pieria. There are many remains of the city walls and towers, but to us the most interesting ruins are those of the harbour from which Paul sailed.



BAALBEK. THE THREE STONES IN THE PLATFORM OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

On the outside was a kind of basin, protected from the prevailing winds by substantial jetties, whence a passage for the galleys was cut through the solid rock to a canal a hundred yards wide, which ran between walls of massive masonry to the great basin. This basin was an irregular oval in shape, 450 yards long and 200 to 350 wide, and its walls were formed of large hewn stones. Another remarkable work was a great excavation more than three thousand feet long, which, partly in the form of a hollow way, partly in that of a tunnel, led from the upper part of the city to the sea. Seleucia was built by Seleucus, the first of the Seleucidæ, and here he was buried. It was a place of great importance, and the privileges of a free city were granted to it by Pompey.

About eighteen miles from Seleucia is Antak'e'i, a small miserable place, occupying in part the site of Antioch, the magnificent capital of the Greek kings of Syria. Antioch was beautifully situated, partly on an island, and partly on the left bank of the Orontes, immediately above the grand gorge through which that river forces its way to the sea. The city extended over the level ground, and spread far up the slopes of Mount Silpius, where the grand old walls, with their flanking towers, shattered by earthquakes, still form a striking picture as they wind along the rugged crags on the summit. The walls are about seven miles in circuit, and some portions of them are interesting specimens of old mural masonry; one gateway—that through which the Aleppo road passed out—still bears the name of St. Paul. Antioch was remarkable for the extent and beauty of its buildings. Successive rulers, whether Greek or Roman, appear to have vied with each other in ornamenting the famous city; and even foreigners would seem to have contributed their share, for we find Herod the Great making a road, with a colonnade, from the city gate eastward towards Aleppo. Of all these glories little remains: earthquakes and conquering hordes have done their work too surely; and a change in the bed of the river has left no trace of the island on which many of the most magnificent buildings were situated. Antioch was founded by Seleucus Nicator, B.C. 300, and the site was well chosen, commanding easy access with the sea by the valley of the Orontes, with Cilicia by the Beilan pass, with Mesopotamia by way of Aleppo, and with the rich plains of Cœle-Syria by the valley of the upper Orontes. Seleucus, with the view of attracting settlers to his new city, gave all the inhabitants, of whatever country, the rights of citizenship; and the Jews, who from the first settled there in great numbers, were governed by their own ethnarch, and possessed the same political privileges as the Greeks. Under the Seleucid kings the city increased in size and splendour, and its contact with Jewish history at this period is several times mentioned in the books of Maccabees. It is, however, in connection with the Apostolic Church, and the early progress of Christianity, that Antioch possesses its chief interest. On the dispersion of the Christians from Jerusalem, at the death of Stephen, certain "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" came to Antioch (Acts xi. 20), and preaching the Gospel to the Grecians, founded the first Gentile church. The success that attended their efforts soon became known at Jerusalem, and Barnabas was sent to strengthen and confirm the infant church. It was soon after this that Paul, who had been brought to Antioch by Barnabas (Acts xi. 25, 26), first commenced his regular ministerial work, and that the disciples received the name of Christians. During the joint ministry of Paul and Barnabas, Agabus and other prophets who came from Jerusalem foretold the famine, and alms were collected and sent to the poorer brethren in Judæa.

It was from Antioch that Paul started on his first missionary journey; and here he returned to give an account of his labours (Acts xiv. 27). At the same place he commenced and ended his second journey; and it was also the starting-point of the third journey. The only other incidents connected with the Apostolic Church are the visit of some Judaising teachers from Jerusalem, who disturbed the Church until the questions at issue were settled by the council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 1—31); the contention between Barnabas and Paul (Acts xv. 38, 39), and between Paul and Peter (Gal. ii. 11—21). During the first four centuries Antioch continued to be an important centre for Christian progress; and amongst the many eminent names connected with the city we may mention those of Ignatius and Chrysostom. The gradual decay of Antioch is due to

several causes—the founding of Constantinople, the ravages of earthquakes—three of which were of such violence as almost to destroy the town on each occasion—and the various sieges, especially that of Chosroes, the Persian, by whom the city is said to have been left utterly desolate.

Almost due east of Antioch, on the verge of the eastern desert, is Aleppo, the ancient Berœa, containing a large population, of which rather more than one-fifth are Christians. Aleppo was at one time identified with the Helbon of Ezek. xxvii. 18, but the site of this place was found by Professor Porter near Damascus. Aleppo is on the highway between Mesopotamia and Palestine; and the Arabs have a tradition that Abraham, on his way to the land of Canaan, pitched his tent on the castle hill, and remained there some years, giving of his abundance to the poor of the district. The country to the south-west of Aleppo, as well as the valley of the Orontes, is studded with the ruins of towns and villages, many of them containing very perfect remains of early Christian churches, and other important buildings; but there is no place of special Biblical interest until we reach Hamah (Hamath).

The position of Hamath, in a narrow portion of the valley of the Orontes, about midway between the source of that river and the bend which it makes above Antioch, was of no slight importance, for it commanded the valley, and the great road from the valley of the Euphrates, which passed down it; and it may almost be called the northern "key" of Palestine. A place so situated must naturally have been the scene of stirring events, and we find it frequently alluded to in connection with military operations. Hamath is mentioned in most of the passages of the Bible which relate to the northern boundary of the Promised Land; and it would appear to have been included in the kingdom of Solomon, who built "store-houses" there, possibly with the view of facilitating commercial intercourse with the East. On the death of Solomon, Hamath recovered its independence, and appears in the Assyrian inscriptions of 900 B.C. as a separate state in alliance with the Syrians of Damascus and the Phœnicians, but it was retaken by Jeroboam II., who appears to have dismantled the place. Its subsequent capture by the Assyrians is alluded to in the well-known speech of Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii. 34; Isa. xxxvii. 13). The modern town of Hamah lies on both sides of the Orontes, and is chiefly remarkable for the number of large wheels which raise water to the houses and gardens in the upper part of the town. The castle, which stood on a mound in the centre of Hamah, has entirely disappeared; and so have all other remains of ancient Hamath, except some remarkable inscriptions which have recently been discovered, and have hitherto resisted every effort to decipher them.

Proceeding southward up the valley of the Orontes, we pass Zifrun, perhaps the Ziphron of Numb. xxxiv. 9; Hums (Emesa), the home of Longinus; Riblah, where Nebuchadnezzar was encamped when Jerusalem was taken, and where the sons of Zedekiah were slain, and Zedekiah's own eyes put out (2 Kings xxv. 6, 7) in presence of the great conqueror; and reach the strange, solitary monument of Hurmul, situated on rising ground, which commands a view down the Orontes on the one hand, and the Bukaa on the other. Here, probably, the "land of Hamath" terminated, and Cœle-Syria, ("the hollow Syria"), the deep valley between the ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, commenced. About two miles from the monument is the great source of the Orontes, Ain el-Asy, perhaps the Ain (fountain) of Numb. xxxiv. 11; one of the points on the northern boundary of the Promised Land.

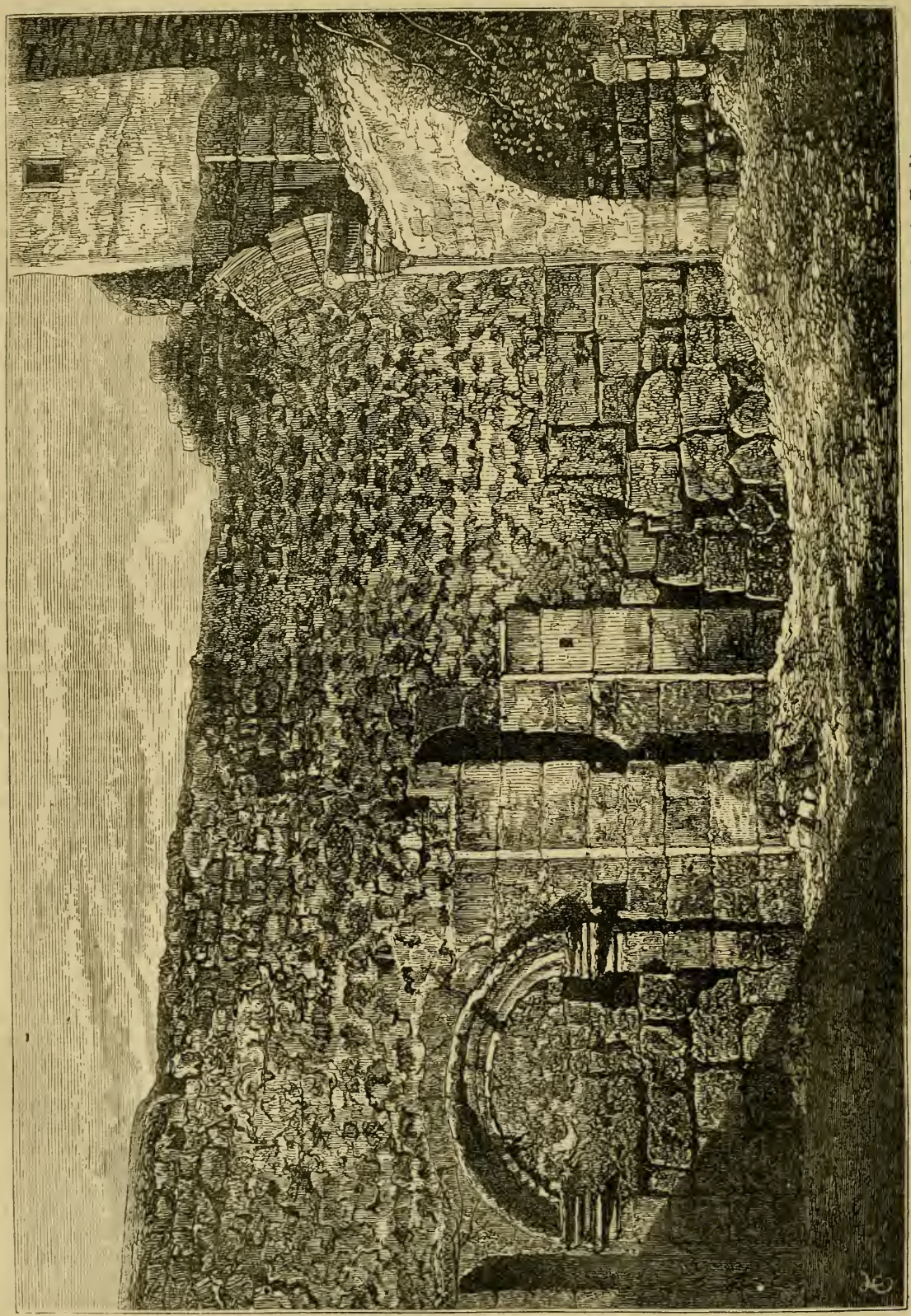
The most interesting place in the Bukaa, or Cœle-Syria, is Baalbek (Heliopolis), where the grandeur and beauty of the ruins have for centuries attracted the notice, and excited the admiration of travellers. Baalbek has apparently no Biblical history, though the grand masonry of the platform would seem to be of far older date than the period of the Antonines, to whom the temples are due. The principal buildings are the three temples; the first, or "great temple," of which only six columns and a few other small portions remain, stood on an artificial platform, which appears never to have been completed. Immediately in front of the temple was a large rectangular court, 440 feet long and 370 wide, surrounded by recesses and niches, with a rich ornamentation of fruit, flowers, &c.; in front of this, again, was an octagonal court, whence a triple gateway led to the portico, and a broad flight of steps. The second, or Temple of Jupiter, stands on a platform of its own, on a lower level than the great temple, and is one of the most striking ruins in Syria. It is larger than the Parthenon at Athens, and richly and profusely ornamented. The third temple is circular in form, and built in a similar style. In the platform under the great temple are the three enormous stones from which the temple derived its name of Trilithon. Each of the stones is over sixty feet in length and thirteen feet in height, and they are built into the wall at a height of twenty feet above the ground (see page 304). There is, however, in the quarries a much larger stone, the dressing of which was never finished; it is no less than 68 feet 6 inches long, 14 feet 1 inch thick, and from 14 feet to 17 feet 6 wide. The quarries would appear to have been abandoned whilst some large building was going on, as there are numbers of large stones but half quarried; and this enables us to see pretty clearly the method of working. In the great rectangular court of the temple may still be seen the foundations of the large church built by Theodosius towards the close of the fourth century, when he destroyed the temple. Two of the apses are nearly perfect, and they are at the western end of the church, an arrangement necessitated by the position of the great temple, and the desire to make use of the grand entrance by which the court was reached.

From Baalbek a road leads across the range of Anti-Lebanon to Damascus; and following this we reach the fine gorge of Suk Wady Barada, where the Barada breaks through the mountain barrier. The cliffs rise

precipitously on either side, and high up on the left bank is a deep cutting in the rock, which marks the course of the old Roman road. In the cutting there is a tablet containing an inscription to the effect that the road which had been carried away by the river was re-made by the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; and that the mountain was cut through by Julius Verus, legate of Syria, at the cost of the people of Abilene; and immediately below the gorge are the ruins of the old city of Abila, commanding a beautiful view down the fertile valley of the Barada. There is little left save a number of rock-hewn tombs, fragments of columns, and rude foundations, and the name itself has disappeared, unless it lingers in the Kabr Habil (Abel's tomb), which lies on a hill above the ruins, and is no less than thirty feet long. Abila was the capital of the tetrarchy of Abilene, which is mentioned in Luke iii. 1. Still following the road, we pass the great spring of Ain Fijeh, bursting forth at the foot of a cliff on which stands a ruined temple, and reach the village of Dumah, whence a short, steep ascent over a barren limestone hill leads to the Kubbet en Nasr. Immediately on reaching the crest of the hill a view meets the eye which once seen can never be forgotten; it is one of those views which impresses itself at once on the mind, and ever afterwards lingers in the memory; a scene so beautiful that Mahomet, whilst still a camel-driver from Mecca, is said, after gazing upon it, to have turned away without entering the city, with the expression, "Man can have but one paradise, and my paradise is fixed above." The general features of the view have been well caught by Dean Stanley, who observes, "Far and wide in front extends the level plain, its horizon bare, its lines of surrounding hills bare, all bare far away on the road to Palmyra and Bagdad. In the midst of this plain lies at our feet the vast lake or island of deep verdure, walnuts and apricots waving above, corn and grass below; and in the midst of this mass of foliage rises—striking out its white arms of streets hither and thither, and its white minarets above the trees which embosom them—the city of Damascus. On the right towers the snowy height of Hermon overlooking the whole scene; close behind are the sterile limestone mountains; so that one stands literally between the living and the dead." All this wealth of verdure is due to the Barada, which, scattered over the plain in countless rills, gives life to the thirsty soil; and in this as well as in the peculiar position of the city we may see the cause of the remote antiquity of Damascus. Here, at a very early period, a great centre for trade arose; caravans passing through from Tyre and the sea-port towns by way of Palmyra to Assyria and the east; whilst in Ezekiel we have an allusion to the commercial intercourse with Tyre, whence manufactured articles, "the multitude of the wares of thy making," were received in return for "wine of Helbon and white wool."

Amongst the many interesting ruins which Damascus contains we may notice the old Roman wall, with its square towers, on which the circular towers of the present wall stand, and the eastern city gate, Bab Shurky, a fine old Roman gateway, consisting of a central arch and two side ones. The central and southern entrances are now closed, and all the traffic of the city passes through the northern gate, which is only ten feet wide. This gateway is of special interest, as from remains found at different periods within the city, it appears to have opened into one of those grand streets lined with columns which form such an important feature of the larger towns of Palestine, and marked the line of the great military road. In this case we may well believe that the current tradition is correct which identifies the street with the "Via Recta," or "street called Straight" of Acts ix. 11. At one point in the wall is shown the place whence St. Paul was let down in a basket (2 Cor. xi. 33), and not far from it the tomb of St. George, the porter who assisted him in his escape, as well as the place where the "great light suddenly shined from heaven" (Acts ix. 3). It may be remarked that this site is shown on the east of the city, whilst the road from Jerusalem entered it from the west. There is no indication in the Bible of the exact locality at which St. Paul was converted, except that it was as "he came near Damascus;" and we would gladly believe that the site, identified by an earlier tradition, near the village of Juneh, is correct, for at this point a traveller along the Roman road from the Jordan obtains his first view of Damascus and its richly-cultivated plain, a view scarcely, if at all, less striking and extensive than the more celebrated view from the Kubbet en Nasr. Within the city walls, the most interesting building is the great mosque, which contains many traces of the changes which it has passed through. It is not impossible that on this site once stood the house of Rimmon, to which Naaman had to accompany his master (2 Kings v. 18); but the earliest date to which any of the existing remains can be assigned, is that of the Seleucid kings. This temple, of which a large fragment can still be seen, was succeeded by a building richly ornamented in the style of the Baalbek temples, which was converted into a church, and afterwards turned into a mosque. Curiously enough, over one of the doors the Moslems have left the old Christian inscription, "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations." Some of the private houses at Damascus are remarkable for the beauty and taste displayed in the decoration of their interiors, but externally all have the same character. No windows look towards the streets, which have an extremely dull appearance, the bare walls being only broken by the low doorways which open into the narrow winding passages that give access to the courts of the houses. The courts vary in size, but nearly all of them are paved with marble, and watered by one or two fountains, and have numbers of orange, lemon, or citron trees growing in them. All the dwelling-rooms look into the court, and some in the older houses have beautifully carved ceilings of wood, and have the sides of their walls tastefully decorated with inlaid work.

Damascus is first mentioned in the Bible in con-



BAB SHURKY, DAMASCUS: ENTRANCE OF STREET CALLED STRAIGHT. (*From a Photograph taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund.*)

nection with Eliezer, the steward of Abraham, who was a native of the city (Gen. xv. 2). We have but slight indication in the Bible of any stay made by Abraham at Damascus, but several traditions are supplied from other sources, one to the effect that Abraham lived some time at Damascus, and was king of that place before entering the Promised Land. At Burzeh a small cave is shown as the "Place of Abraham," and the village of Jobar is said to occupy the site of Hobah, to which Abraham pursued the kings (Gen. xiv. 15). During the reign of David we find the "Syrians of Damascus" taking part with Hadadezer, king of Zobah, in the war against David, but they were completely defeated, and David "put garrisons in Syria of Damascus, and the Syrians became servants to David, and brought gifts" (2 Sam. viii. 6).

In Solomon's reign, Rezon made himself master of Damascus, and "was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon" (1 Kings xi. 25). After the separation of the ten tribes, the kings of Damascus were continually at war with one or other of the two kingdoms, and the kingdom of Israel was invaded by them on several occasions. In the reign of Joash, however, some success attended the arms of the northern kingdom, for he is said to have beaten "Hazael thrice, and recovered the cities of Israel;" whilst his successor, Jeroboam II., is reported to have "recovered Damascus" (2 Kings xiii. 25; xiv. 28). At last an attempt on the part of the kings of Damascus and Israel to depose Ahaz, king of Judah, induced the latter to apply to the Assyrians for assistance. That aid was given; Rezin, king of Syria, slain, and the city of Damascus destroyed—"taken away from being a city," and made "a ruinous heap" (Isa. xvii. 1). It was some time before the city recovered its former prosperity, but during the Persian period it was known as the most flourishing place in Syria. We have no space to enter more particularly into the history of Damascus, and its many points of contact with Jewish history, as well as with that of Assyria, as recorded in the cuneiform inscriptions, and will only draw attention to the state of Damascus at the period of St. Paul's visit, when "the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison" (2 Cor. xi. 32). This Aretas was one of the line of Nabathæan princes who reigned at Bosrah, in the Hauran, from about 100 B.C. to the Roman conquest in 109 A.D., and who frequently pushed their arms as far as Damascus. The name of Aretas, under the form Harethath-Philodemus, occurs on a gateway in Bosrah, as well as that of his son Malchus, who assisted Vespasian during the Jewish war. On the death of Tiberius, 37 A.D., the government of Syria was much neglected, and it was apparently at this time that Aretas gained possession of Damascus, and held it under an ethnarch; the date of St. Paul's escape being usually fixed at 39 A.D.

In a wild glen high up in Anti-Lebanon, and not many miles from Damascus, is Helbon, which Professor Porter has satisfactorily shown to be the Helbon mentioned by Ezekiel. The whole surrounding country is rich in vines and olive-trees, and the wine is still said to be of a superior quality. East of Damascus, on the plain, is a curious artificial mound, apparently of Assyrian origin, whence a stone slab, on which a standing figure is represented, was obtained and placed by the Palestine Exploration Fund at the South Kensington Museum. Further east, on the borders of the lake or marsh in which the Barada loses itself, is the village of "Harran of the Columns," so called from the remains of an old temple which can be seen for a long distance towering over the plain. This place Dr. Beke has identified with the Harran, whence Jacob fled, which is so intimately connected with the history of the patriarchs; and he cites in support of his views the account of Jacob's flight and Laban's pursuit, which is given in the Bible. Dr. Beke also supposes that the space between the Barada and Awaj is the Aram-naharaim, or Mesopotamia of the Bible; and we think that his arguments have not yet been sufficiently answered.

In conclusion, we would add a few notes from Captain Warren's account of the summit of Hermon, which, from its pre-eminence amongst the high places of Syria, must have been the scene of an ancient worship. At the top is a plateau, comparatively level, with two small peaks lying north and south of each other, and about 400 yards apart; whilst to the west, at a distance of 600 yards, is a third peak. These three are nearly the same height, and together form the summit of Hermon. "On the northern and western peaks no ruins could be found, ... but on the southern peak there is a hole scooped out of the apex; the foot is surrounded by an oval of hewn stones; and at its southern end is a *sacellum*, or temple, nearly destroyed." This *sacellum* has nothing in common with the numerous temples on the western slopes of Hermon, and may have been intended for a different form of worship. The view from the summit is grand and instructive, embracing a very large proportion of the Holy Land, which lies far below, spread out like a gigantic relief map.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

ORDERS CRASSULACEÆ AND UMBELLIFERÆ.

BY WILLIAM CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

A FEW fleshy plants, allied to our common stonecrop, are indigenous to Palestine, flourishing in the most arid localities. These are, however, not referred to in the Bible, and need only a passing allusion here. They are species of *Sedum*, *Umbilicus*, &c., and with them may be mentioned two saxifrages and a *Mesembryanthemum*. This last plant (*M. nodiflorum*, Linn.) De Saulcy found on the shores of the Dead Sea, and, observing the hygrometric properties of its fruits, the dried capsules of which open when moistened by the rain or moisture, and close again when dry, he, to his own satisfaction, established that it was the real rose of Jericho. His friend, the Abbé Michon, believing that this remarkable plant was as new to science as it was to the traveller, founded for it a new genus, dedicated to De Saulcy, and named it *Saulcya hierichuntica*. (De Saulcy's *Journey*, vol. i., p. 512.)

The *Umbelliferæ* are a large group of herbs, easily recognised by their numerous small flowers arranged in umbels. In Palestine, as in Britain, they form a considerable proportion of the wild flowers of the pastures and waste places. Different kinds of the grey and spiny sea-holly (*Eryngium*) grow on the shores of Syria and in arid localities in the interior, while species of *Fœniculum*, *Pimpinella*, *Bupleurum*, *Scandix*, *Daucus*, &c., occur in the pastures, and *Œnanthe* and *Helosciadium* are found in wet places like the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan. Many Mediterranean forms of the order are met with which have no representatives in Britain. Few of the plants of this order are remarkable either for their beauty or their economic value, and they are consequently, with the exception of a few cultivated species, not referred to in the Bible. These species are the cumin, dill, and coriander—all of them extensively used as spices still, as they were by the Hebrews, because of the essential oil contained in the fruit. The cumin (*Cuminum sativum*, Linn.) was as carefully cultivated by the Jews, in ploughed fields, as a crop of cereals, and the fruits (popularly but erroneously called seeds) were easily separated from their stalks by beating with a rod (Isa. xxviii. 25, 27). The Saviour charges the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees with punctiliously tithing the cumin and dill, which are only inferentially included in the Levitical law, while they omitted judgment, mercy, and faith (Matt. xxiii. 23). The passage referred to contains the only reference to dill to be found in the Scriptures. The translators of our Authorised Version correctly translated ἄνηθον by "dill," but placed the word in the margin, while they inserted the name of a different plant, "anise," in the text. The coriander is mentioned only in the description given of the manna miraculously provided for the Israelites during their wilderness wandering. This plant was cultivated in Egypt, the fruit being bruised to mix as a spice with bread; and thus being familiar to the Jews, they compared the unknown substance, as regards both its form and colour, to the coriander seed (Exod. xvi. 31; Numb. xi. 7).

The milky gum-resin exuded from the stem of *Galbanum officinale*, Don, was one of the ingredients of the perfume for the tabernacle (Exod. xxx. 34), as pointed out by Dr. Birdwood (BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. II., p. 151). This plant is a native of Persia, and is not found in Palestine. It has been supposed that the *rosh* (רֹאשׁ) occurring several times in the Bible, and generally translated "gall" or "bitterness," is a plant. In one passage it is rendered "hemlock." "Judgment springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field" (Hos. x. 4). It is thought to be derived from a root meaning poison, and to indicate, therefore, a poisonous plant. Celsius and others, with the translators of our version, have referred it to the poisonous hemlock. Darnel, nightshade, henbane, centaury, and other plants have also been suggested, but there are no materials to guide to any certain judgment as to the plant intended. The same may be said of *pannag* (פַּנָּג), an article of commerce sold to the Tyrians by the Jews, and mentioned only in one passage in Ezekiel: "Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants; they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm" (xxvii. 17). The translators of our version have adopted the notion of some of the rabbins that Pannag was a wheat-producing district in Judæa, like Minnith. The Syriac version renders it *dokhon*, "millet." Among other conjectures it has been supposed to be the gum-resin of one of the umbelliferous plants.

ORDERS OF MONOPETALOUS PLANTS.

Plants belonging to the teazel-worts (*Dipsaceæ*) are abundant in Palestine, but as neither these nor the more frequent though less obvious species of the natural orders *Rubiaceæ* and *Valerianaceæ* are mentioned in Scripture, they require only a passing allusion.

The herbaceous plants of the Composite order form a large proportion of the wild flowers in Britain. The daisy, hawkweed, thistle, and many more, are familiar to every one. Equally abundant are the plants of this order in Palestine, but instead of the soft-leaved and defenceless species best known to us, the predominant forms are spiny plants with but little foliage. They belong to the genera *Centaurea*, *Notobasis*, *Scolymus*, *Echinops*, *Cirsium*, &c. In early spring, Porter says, "the plain in Sharon is covered with forests of gigantic thistles:" they abound on hill as on plain, and some species are troublesome weeds in the fields, and are probably among the plants referred to in various places

as "thorns" and "thistles." Thus, if the *choach* (חוֹחַ), translated "thistle" in the passage "Let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley" (Job xxxi. 40), be an agricultural weed, as the passage implies, it may be one of the spiny thistles or knapweeds, which are the pests of the Oriental cultivator. But such a corn-weed would not suit the requirements of other passages where allusion is made to the *choach*, so that it had better be considered to be a general term applicable to any spiny herb or shrub.

The wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium*, Linn.) is employed in several passages in the Old Testament in a figurative sense, to indicate, in harmony with the noxious qualities of the weed, the evils that sin brings on man. Several species of wormwood occur in Palestine, all of which may be included under the general term *la'anâh* (לַעֲנָה). Wormwood is the name given to the star which John, in his vision in Patmos, saw fall upon the third part of the rivers, making them bitter (Rev. viii. 11).

Several species of *Campanula* are common spring plants in Palestine. True heaths are absent except in the higher hills of the north, where *Erica Orientalis* is found. *Rhododendron ponticum*, Linn., grows on the Lebanon range; a strawberry-tree (*Arbutus Andrachne*, Linn.), allied to that found at Killarney, occurs frequently on the mountainous table-land.

The olive is perhaps the most abundant as it is the most important tree now growing in Palestine. Yet in former times it was much more abundant than it is now, for many long unused oil-presses, hewn out of the solid rock, are met with far from any indications of the tree. The olive grows to a height of about twenty feet; it has oblong leaves, hoary on their under-surface, and numerous clusters of small, whitish, fragrant flowers. A large proportion of its numerous flowers fall off in the spring, frequently covering the ground with a white carpet. To this Eliphaz refers, in speaking of the wicked man: "He shall cast off his flower as the olive" (Job xv. 33). The fruit, which is nevertheless produced in great abundance, consists of an oily and fleshy pericarp, violet in colour when ripe, enclosing a stony kernel. The oil is obtained by placing the fruit in a stone vat, sometimes hewn out of the solid rock, and covering them with a flat stone fitting the cavity, to which pressure is applied by a wooden screw. The oil was, and still is, of great importance to the Oriental, being largely used at meals, and in the preparation of food. Among the items in the large store of provisions supplied by Solomon to Hiram's workmen, who were employed on Lebanon obtaining the wood for his Temple and palace, was included "twenty thousand baths of oil" (2 Chron. ii. 10). Olive-oil was the material burnt in house-lamps (Matt. xxv. 3); with it the people anointed their bodies (Ps. xxiii. 5); and it was largely employed in the Temple service, mixed with the sacrifices (Lev. ii. 1, &c.), and for the lamp of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 20), as well for the golden candlestick of the Temple. The wood of the olive is yellowish, hard, and fine-grained, and well fitted for cabinet work. It was used by Solomon for the cherubim, and for the doors and the posts in his Temple (1 Kings vi.).

The olive is often employed figuratively in the Bible, to indicate prosperity and the possession of the favour of God. The land of promise was "a land of oil olive and honey" (Deut. viii. 8). David, in reference to the blessings God had conferred on him, says, "I am like a green olive-tree in the house of God" (Ps. lii. 8). And when God blesses his returning people, it is promised that "his branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive-tree" (Hos. xiv. 6).

The Apostle Paul employs a figure drawn from the operation of the husbandman on the olive-tree to illustrate the relation of Jew and Gentile to Gospel blessing. It is the practice to propagate good varieties of olive, as we do roses and apples, by engrafting them on ordinary stems. So St. Paul says to the Gentile, "If some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert graffed in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree, boast not against the branches" (Rom. xi. 17).

The *Salvadora persica*, Linn., supposed by some to be the "mustard-tree" of the New Testament, and found in the lower valley of the Jordan, has been already figured and described (see Vol. I., p. 120).

Several species of sea-lavenders (*Statice*) are found in Palestine; a large variety grows on the shores of the Dead Sea, and some small spiny species occur on the highest ridges of Lebanon.

Among the Indian merchandise offered in Tyre by the men of Dedan were "ivory and ebony" (Ezek. xxvii. 15), both obtained from Ceylon. Ebony is the heart-wood of *Diospyros Ebenum*, Linn.

The storax-tree (*Styrax officinale*, Linn.) is an abundant plant throughout the hilly regions of Palestine. It never attains to the size and appearance of a tree, even in the most sheltered positions. The bark is smooth and pale, the leaves are small with a downy covering on the under-surface, and the white flowers are like orange blossoms, both in appearance and odour. It has been suggested that the *libneh*, translated "poplar" in our version, is this pale-leaved shrub, but the reference in Hosea implies that the *libneh* was a tree of some height, for sacrifices were offered under its good shadow (iv. 13). There is no reason for rejecting the rendering of our version. A balsamic resinous substance, with an agreeable odour, sometimes exudes in drops from the bark of the storax, and may be obtained in larger quantity by subjecting the bark to pressure. This is believed to be that substance which was employed in the preparation of the holy incense, called *nataf* (נָטָף), *i.e.*, a "drop" (Exod. xxx. 34). The LXX. rendered *nataf* by a corresponding Greek word, στακτή, and this has been adopted in our version without translation.

The periwinkle (*Vinca minor*, Linn.), familiar to us in our hedges and copses, is found also in Palestine; but the most important member of the family *Apocynaceæ* is the oleander (*Nerium oleander*, Linn.), which grows abundantly on the banks of streams and lakes

all over the country. Its profusion of pink blossoms, in their setting of dark-green leaves, gives to the locality where it abounds a luxuriance and a beauty that arrests the attention of every traveller. No certain allusion is made in the Bible to a plant bulking thus largely in the landscape of Palestine, unless we accept the baseless conjecture that the tree which Moses at the command of God cast into the bitter waters of Marah was this river-side shrub.

Several species of the allied order of Asclepiads are found in Palestine, belonging to the Mediterranean genera *Cynanchum* and *Periploca;* the only one deserving special notice is *Calotropis procera,* Linn., a tropical plant reaching the confines of the country in the valley of the Dead Sea, This is supposed by some to be the "apple of Sodom," referred to by Josephus and others. The fruit, about the size of an apple, consists of a loose bladdery skin, surrounding a pod filled with small flat seeds, which are furnished with tufts of silky hair. Tempted by the promising fruit, the ignorant traveller would fill his mouth with an expanding mass of dry silky filaments, instead of the juice of a fruit, and such experience might originate the fable of the

> "Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye,
> But turn to ashes on the lips."

Many species of *Convolvulus,* including our common smaller bindweed (*C. arvensis,* Linn.), are to be found in Palestine, and a still greater variety of nightshades (*Solanaceæ*). The most remarkable of these is *Solanum sanctum* Linn., which claims, with the *Calotropis,* the honour of being the "apple of Sodom." This is found chiefly in the Jordan valley, where it grows as a useless weed on waste places, or is utilised for hedges. It is a shrubby plant, some five feet high, and with both stem and woolly leaves covered with scattered spines. The flower is like that of the common potato, and so also is the fruit, except that it is somewhat larger, and when ripe the pulp is said to dry up and become powdery.

The box-thorn (*Lycium europæum,* Linn.) is more widely distributed, being met with almost everywhere over the hilly country. It is clothed with numerous stiff, sharp spines, and is well adapted for hedges, for which it is used in Palestine, as in Italy and other countries. This is probably one of the plants included in the "brambles," "briers," and "thorns" of our English Bible. The mandrake (*Mandragora officinalis,* Linn.) belongs also to this family. It is a stemless herb, with a long fleshy tap-root. The leaves are large, and are spread out on the surface of the ground; from amongst them spring the purple flowers, each on a short stalk. The fruit is yellow, round, and nearly the size of a plum; like the berries of the potato and tomato, they contain, when ripe, a large number of small seeds buried in a soft pulp. They are sweetish, but rather insipid, and though they do not commend themselves to strangers, they are much sought after by Orientals. The mandrake has long been famous for its supposed virtues in love incantations, and it is mentioned in connection with these imaginary virtues in Gen. xxx. 14—16. The tap-root frequently breaks up into two or more branches, in such a manner that a little imagination readily recognises in it some approach to the human figure:

> "The rooted mandrake wears
> His human feet, his human hands."

When the doctrine of signatures was accepted, this appearance suggested the presence in the plant of the most marvellous virtues. Its possession was coveted, but no ordinary dangers had to be encountered in securing it. The unwary collector might be killed by merely touching it, and, when he proceeded to remove it from the ground, it would utter a frightful shriek, that would certainly drive him mad, if it did not kill him outright. To prevent this catastrophe, the following plan was pursued, as Josephus tells us:—"They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small; they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as if it were in stead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands." The mandrake is common in Palestine. It ripens its fruit in April and May, during wheat harvest, as in the days of Reuben. The mandrake is mentioned as having a pleasant odour (Cant. vii. 13).

Numerous plants of the Borage and Labiate families contribute to the floral beauties of Palestine. In spring the marjoram, mint, rosemary, lavender, savory, and thyme make the hills fragrant as well as beautiful. The mint is mentioned in the New Testament, and there only in the charge that the Saviour brings against the Pharisees of tithing mint and anise, while they neglected judgment, mercy, and faith (Matt. xxiii. 23). Our common horse-mint (*Mentha sylvestris,* Linn.) is probably the kind referred to, as it is extensively cultivated in the East. It is much used in cookery, and was one of the "bitter herbs" with which the paschal lamb was eaten. Not only the hills and plains of the tableland, but the barren and rocky districts of the south and the desert region possess these labiate plants, and from one, or perhaps several, of these the Jews made up the bundles of "hyssop" used in their ceremonial sprinklings (see Vol. I., p. 227).

Several species of speedwell, toad-flax, and snap-dragon are found in the corn-fields of Palestine; and the prickly *Acanthus spinosus,* Linn., is an abundant weed in all the plains. This plant may be included among the "brambles" of the Bible.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

HOMOPTERA.

SOME species of homopterous insect is denoted by the Hebrew word *tôlah'*, or *tôlaath*, rendered in our version by "scarlet" or "crimson;" it also denotes some vermiform creatures, as worms or larvæ. In most of the passages the dye obtained from the insect, rather than the insect itself, is spoken of. The terms by which scarlet or crimson are expressed in Hebrew vary; the full expression for the cochineal insect is *tôlaath shânî*, *i.e.*, "worm of crimson." *Shânî* is probably derived from *shânâh*, "to shine," alluding to the bright colour of the dye. The expression *shenî tolaath, i.e.*, "crimson of worm," also occurs (see Exod. xxv. 4 and Lev. xiv. 4). The LXX. and Vulgate read generally κόκκινον and *coccinum*, and there is no doubt that the cochineal insect is meant. The *Coccus ilicis* is very common in Palestine, and is still occasionally used as a dye, though it has been supplanted by the *Coccus cacti* of Mexico, which has been introduced into Palestine and other countries. In the *Coccidæ* family the male alone has wings, the female being apterous. The dye is produced from the female, which is much larger than the male insect. When alive, the size of the female is about equal to a cherry-kernel, but when dry it shrivels up to the size of a grain of wheat. Its colour is dark red. These insects attach themselves to the twigs and leaves of the Syrian Holm Oak (*Quercus coccifera*), on the juices of which they feed. The colour is far better described by *crimson* rather than by *scarlet*, the usual rendering of the A. V. The Arabic name is *kermez*, the origin of our English "crimson." It was one of the dyes used in the drapery of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvi.), and in the holy garments of the high priest (Exod. xxviii. 5, 6, 8, 15, 33, &c.). Crimson robes were worn by the rich and luxurious (see 2 Sam. i. 24; Prov. xxxi. 21; Jer. iv. 30; Rev. xvii. 4, &c.). Isaiah (i. 18) in a well-known passage compares heinous sins to crimson; and Nahum speaks of the soldiers in the army advancing towards Nineveh as wearing crimson dresses (ii. 3). It was with a crimson robe (χλαμύς κοκκίνη) that the Roman soldiers clothed the Saviour, in mockery of His claims to royalty (Matt. xxvii. 28).

HYMENOPTERA.

Of the hymenopterous order mention is made in the Bible of ants, bees, and hornets. The ant is noticed in Prov. vi. 6—8: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest;" and again in xxx. 25: "The ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat in the summer." Much has been written on the question—supposed to be answered in the affirmative in the passages just quoted—whether the old belief of Jewish Rabbis, Arabian writers on natural history, and many of the ancient Greek and Roman writers, that ants gather in food during the summer for consumption in the winter, is supported by fact. Ants, as a rule, are dormant in winter, and do not consequently require food for winter consumption. Greek and Latin writers say that the ant stores up grains of corn; this is quite true, but the corn is not eaten by the insects, which are chiefly carnivorous in their habits, though they are also fond of saccharine matters. Ants take a pleasure in running away with various small objects, as beans, seeds, &c., which they convey to their nests, and use as a lining to keep out the damp. The late Colonel Sykes tells us of a species of Indian ant, the *Atta providens*, so called from his having found a large store of grass-seeds in its nest; he says that this insect carries seeds underground, and brings them again to the surface, after they have got wet during the monsoons, apparently to dry, thus corroborating what the ancients have written on this particular point. The observations of modern naturalists are almost conclusive that ants do not store up food in the summer and autumn for winter consumption, at any rate in temperate climates; but it cannot be denied that there may exist species of exotic ants which in warm climates may store up food. Tristram noticed some ants among the tamarisks of the Dead Sea, actively engaged in collecting the aphides and saccharine exudations in the month of January, so that in the warmer climates of Palestine the ant may not be dormant all through the winter. But it cannot fairly be said that the writer or writers of the passages in the Proverbs assert absolutely the storing-up properties of ants. Kirby and Spence have said with much force with regard to the words in the passages in question, "If they are properly considered it will be found that the interpretation which seems to favour the ancient error respecting ants, has been fathered upon them, rather than fairly deduced from them. He does not affirm that the ant which he proposes to the sluggard as an example, laid up in her magazine stores of grain against winter, but that with considerable prudence and foresight she makes use of *proper seasons* to collect a supply of provisions sufficient for her purposes. There is not a word in them implying that she stores up grain or other provisions. She prepares her bread and gathers her food, namely, such food as is suited to her, in summer and harvest, that is, when it is most plentiful, and this shows her wisdom and prudence by using the advantages offered to her" (*Introd. to Entom.* ii. 47). Solomon, in the sixth chapter, is speaking against idleness—against the "sluggard," who "sleepeth in harvest, and causeth shame" (x. 5), that is, who neglects proper and seasonable times, and sleeps when he ought to be working. "Give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids" (vi. 4). "The sluggard will not plow; . . . therefore shall he beg in harvest, and have nothing" (xx. 4).

Solomon then aptly refers, for a lesson in diligence, to one of the least of insects, the little ant, which always avails herself of favourable opportunities—which does not sleep in harvest, but gathers food at the right time.

In the other passage (xxx. 25) the ant is especially mentioned as one of the four things which though little upon the earth, "are exceedingly wise," and it would be difficult to name any other little creature more deservedly celebrated for its wisdom, architectural skill, diligence, and perseverance, than the ant. We may notice that the texts in the original Hebrew cannot be said to favour the notion that storing-up properties for winter are implied.

Amongst the Arabs the ant was regarded as a symbol of wisdom, and it was once a custom to place one of these insects in the hand of a newly-born child, with the prayer, "May the boy turn out ingenious and skilful." The Hebrew word is *nemâlâh*, which with some probability has been referred to the root *nâmal*, "to cut"—compare the word *insect*—the ant having the junction of the thorax and abdomen very fine.

Ants are common in Palestine, but not more than a dozen different species were collected by Dr. Tristram's party, "a very small proportion of the number that must exist there." They vary in habits, colour, and size, one species being about an inch in length.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.

JOSIAH.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRÆCENTOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

THE later history of the kingdom of Judah is that of a series of violent reactions, now towards the true faith, now towards idolatry, the tendency, however, being on the whole constantly downwards. These reactions took their character from that of the reigning monarch. When Hezekiah and Josiah were on the throne, every token of idolatrous worship was put down with a strong hand, and apparently with the zealous good-will of the nation. But the reformation was in each case merely superficial. The idolatrous party were repressed temporarily, and were compelled to acquiesce, at least outwardly, in measures which they detested, and which they secretly thwarted whenever they dared. But they remained unaltered at heart, ready, as soon as the change of the monarch introduced a change of religious policy, to return to the open practice of their old abominations. Meanwhile, the people were surely deteriorating; sinking lower and lower in the social and moral degradation inseparable from the cruel and licentious forms of worship to which they were so fatally addicted. Idolatry had eaten into the heart and life of the nation. The reactionary policy of such monarchs as Hezekiah and Josiah might check the outward development of the evil for a time, but the poison was surely working beneath the hypocritical garb of conformity, declaring itself with increased virulence as soon as the pressure was removed.

The latest of these reactions against idolatry was that under Josiah, the last of the good kings of Judah—the pattern in the Old Testament, as Timothy is in the New, of youthful piety, and of devout reverence for the Holy Scriptures. The memory of this prince, illumining the dark days of the hopeless decline of the nation with a transient gleam of brightness, was cherished with tender regret by the Jews. The name of Josiah was as deservedly dear as that of his wicked grandfather Manasseh was hateful. He was regarded as one of the three irreproachable sovereigns of Judah,[1] and his "remembrance like the composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the apothecary, sweet as honey in all mouths, and as music at a banquet of wine" (Ecclus. xlix. 1). In the words of the sacred historian, "he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left" (2 Kings xxii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 2). His untimely death, when leading the armies of Judah, was mourned with the deepest and most universal sorrow, which was perpetuated as a day of national humiliation, even after the return from the captivity (2 Chron. xxxv. 25; 1 Esdras i. 32; Zech. xii. 11).

Josiah, the fifteenth king of the separate kingdom of Judah, was the son of Amon, and grandson of Manasseh. His mother was Jedidah, a native of Boscath, a town near Lachish (Josh. xv. 39; 2 Kings xxii. 1). He was only eight years old when his father Amon became the victim of a domestic conspiracy. Little as Amon had deserved his people's good-will, his assassination was a decidedly unpopular act, which was at once avenged by the execution of the conspirators, while his young son was called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation, B.C. 641.[2] We are destitute of all detailed information as to the earlier years of Josiah, but it would seem that even within the precincts of the palace there was a godly remnant, by whom the promise of good he may have exhibited in his childhood was carefully fostered. The result was a happy one. There is no monarch of Judah, after David, who was more

[1] "All, except David, and Ezekias, and Josias, were defective; for they forsook the law of the Most High, even the kings of Judah failed" (Ecclus. xlix. 4). There was a similar triad of wicked kings—Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh—who, according to Jewish tradition, would have no part in the future life.

[2] "*The people of the land*," we are informed, "slew all them that had conspired against king Amon; and the *people of the land* made Josiah king in his stead" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 25). At the murder of Amaziah a similar popular movement and election of a king had taken place, the young son being, as here, chosen as successor (2 Kings xiv. 19—21).

eminent for personal piety, and for his religious zeal. It was long before the personal character of the king could exercise any direct influence over the nation, and the prophecies of Zephaniah give a terrible picture of the moral and religious degradation of Jerusalem during the early years of his reign, while the rites of Baal and Molech continued unchecked by public authority. But it was a period of quiet preparation, during which, through the influence of this prophet and the important party who had viewed the idolatries and cruelties of the late kings with indignation, the country was ripening for a religious revolution[1] (Zeph. i. 1). What in modern phraseology would be styled Josiah's conversion took place in his sixteenth year, "while he was yet young" (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). He then "began to seek after the God of David his father." Surrounded as the young king was with an almost established system of idolatry, it needed no small courage to declare himself openly on the Lord's side, resolved to bring back his people to the faith from which they had so grievously apostatised. This resolution had doubtless been gaining strength, until his arrival at man's estate gave him independence of action. In his twentieth year the young and pious king commenced a personal progress for the purpose of rooting out the memorials of idolatry, which extended beyond the limits of his own kingdom to the land of Israel, the former seat of the ten tribes. This personal visitation was spread over six years. The external reform was thorough and violent; forced, for the most part, on a reluctant people, rather than called for by them. The brief record in the Chronicles[2] of the demolition of the monuments of superstition and the destruction of every symbol of idolatry, reads like a page out of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Wherever he went he destroyed the images of every sort and kind with fire and hammer, scattering the ashes and pulverised fragments on the graves of their worshippers. The idolatrous altars were broken down in his presence, and the shrines demolished. The high places, desecrated in the reformation of Hezekiah, but reinstated during the long supremacy of idolatry under his son Manasseh, were once more defiled through the length and breadth of his land, "from Geba" in the extreme north, to "Beer-sheba" at the extreme south of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 8). As a climax of horror he even violated the sanctity of the grave, breaking up the sepulchres of the idolatrous priests, and burning their bones on the altars they had served (2 Chron. xxxiv. 5). The authority of Josiah as a reformer was recognised to the utmost boundaries of Israel. The forcible demolition of the homes and objects of idolatry "with their mattocks round about" extended to "the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali," to the extreme north (2 Chron. xxxiv. 6). Nowhere was the purification more thorough-going than at "the king's chapel" of Bethel (Amos vii. 13), the original seat of the false worship of him "who made Israel to sin." The altar and the high place were demolished, and all trace of the symbols of idolatry done away, by crushing to powder whatever could not be consumed by fire. Here, too, the graves were opened and the bones burnt on the chief altar, in fulfilment of the malediction uttered by the "man of God from Judah" three hundred years before (1 Kings xiii. 2). His was the only sepulchre spared, together with that of the old prophet who had so basely and fatally deceived him (2 Kings xxiii. 17, 18). Utterly abhorrent as this desecration of the tomb was to Jewish feelings, the condition of the dead priests might well be envied by the unhappy men whom the stern young reformer found still ministering at the idolatrous shrines. They were remorselessly slain on the altars which they had served, as a sacrifice to the offended majesty of Jehovah (2 Kings xxiii. 20). The work of reform had probably begun in Jerusalem—though the chronology is here somewhat confused[3]—with the purging of the Temple, which had been shamefully profaned in the last two idolatrous reigns. In this work we may well conceive, though there is no direct testimony to the fact, Josiah would be greatly strengthened and encouraged by the youthful prophet Jeremiah, who was then just at the outset of his career (Jer. i. 2). The house of the Lord and its precincts were cleansed from every trace of the licentious rites of which they had been the scene. The vessels made to Baal, Astarte (Authorised Version, "for the grove"), and the host of heaven, and the image of Astarte herself (Authorised Version, "the grove") were ejected from the Temple and burnt. The horses dedicated to the sun; the altars erected by Ahaz on the flat Temple roof; the high places dedicated by Solomon to the false gods of his foreign wives, were successively destroyed. Tophet, the locality of the horrid rites of Molech, where Manasseh had made his own son to pass through the fire (2 Kings xxi. 6), was defiled with the bones and ashes of the dead. The idolatrous priests throughout the land were deposed from their office, those of the Levitical order being placed under strict surveillance at Jerusalem. As a mark of disgrace, they were forbidden to officiate at the Temple altar (2 Kings xxiii. 8, 9) So disgraceful had been the desecration of the Temple, that it needed not purification only, but repair. To meet the necessary expenses a collection was set on foot, similar to that established in the reign of Joash (2 Kings xii. 9, 10). When it appeared that a sufficient sum had been raised, Josiah sent it to Hilkiah, the high priest, by his finance-minister, Shaphan—grandfather of the excellent Gedaliah, the governor of Judæa after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, so treacherously murdered by Ishmael the son of Nethaniah (Jer. xl.,

[1] Newman, *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 285.
[2] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3—7.

[3] Josiah's reform is placed by the author of Kings after the discovery of the Book of the Law and the national covenant (2 Kings xxiii. 4 sq.). But the Chronicler is probably more correct in putting it earlier in Josiah's reign, and spreading it over a series of years. According to him, the purification of the land began in the twelfth year of Josiah's reign. At its conclusion he "returned to Jerusalem," where six years later, in his eighteenth year, the "Book of the Law" was found by Hilkiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3—7, 8—14).

xii.)—with instructions to pay the sum over to the chief architect for the commencement of the restoration (2 Kings xxii. 3—7). Hilkiah then mentioned to Shaphan the recent discovery in the Temple of a roll which, on perusal, he at once recognised as "the Book of the Law," which, having been placed, in obedience to Deut. xxxi. 26, by the side of the ark in the Holy of Holies, had been lost or mislaid during the profanation of the Temple by Manasseh.[1] Shaphan conveyed the newly-found treasure to the king, and read it before him. So completely had the sacred volume been neglected during the last wicked reigns, that its discovery "amounted almost to a new revelation."[2] Horror-struck at the terrible denunciations it contained, Josiah rent his clothes, and in extreme consternation, immediately sent a deputation headed by Hilkiah to a prophetess named Huldah, entreating her to counsel him how to escape the Divine wrath the idolatries of the nation had incurred. Her reply was far from re-assuring. She declared that repentance would be too late to avert the threatened doom. God's wrath was kindled against Jerusalem, and would not be quenched. For the king himself she had a more comforting message. His tender-hearted piety and unfeigned repentance should not be unrewarded. Irreversible as the sentence against his people was, he should not behold its execution. Before the Divine judgments fell on the land he should be gathered to his grave in peace (2 Kings xxii. 15—20).

Josiah felt it to be of the utmost importance that the nation should be made acquainted with the contents of the Book of the Law. If God's judgment on the city and nation could not be averted—though who could tell whether the repentance of Jerusalem might not be as effectual to turn away the fierceness of His anger, as that of Nineveh had been (Jonah iii. 9, 10)—still individuals might, like himself, be permitted to escape the full severity of it. So he summoned the elders of the people, with the priests and prophets as the representatives of the nation, to a public reading of the book. An immense concourse assembled in the Temple, and the king, elevated above the crowd on the platform, or "pillar," which was the monarch's special place in the Temple courts (2 Kings xi. 14; 2 Chron. xxiii. 13), recited the sacred document from end to end. The heart of the people bowed before the majesty of the Divine law, and they without hesitation renewed the covenant with the God of their fathers, the monarch leading the way. "All the people stood to the covenant," and "did according to the covenant of God, the God of their fathers" (2 Kings xxiii. 1—3; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 32).

[1] It is considered a settled point by the Rationalistic school of critics that this roll, whether containing the whole Pentateuch, or merely the book of Deuteronomy, was a forgery of Hilkiah's. We cannot enter into the question here, but a consideration of the arguments will convince the unbiased mind of the soundness of Professor Rawlinson's conclusion, that "fraud or mistake might as easily have imposed a new Bible on the Christian world in the sixteenth century, as a new 'Law' on the Jews in the days of Josiah" (*Speaker's Commentary*, 2 Kings xxii. 8).

[2] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 499.

This solemn pledge of national fealty was further consecrated by a celebration of the long-intermitted feast of the Passover on a scale of most unusual grandeur and magnificence, on the day appointed by the Law. To increase the solemnity of the rite, "the holy ark" of the covenant, which had been either contumeliously cast out by the idolatrous kings, or, which is perhaps more probable, removed by Josiah during the progress of the repairs, was replaced in the Holy of Holies (2 Chron. xxxv. 3). Such a Passover, attended by such multitudes, and observed with such accuracy of ritual, we are told by the Chronicles, had not been held since the days of Samuel, the last judge—*i.e.*, during the whole existence of the monarchy. The details are fully given in the Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxv. 1—18). It was held in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign. He was then twenty-six.

Josiah's exertions for national reform did not relax after this Passover. He had put down open idolatry; he now proceeded to exterminate secret superstitious practices, equally forbidden by the law of Moses; such as witchcraft, and working with familiar spirits (Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 9—12). His religious zeal is recorded in terms of the highest commendation by the author of the Book of Kings. "Like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him" (2 Kings xxiii. 25). We learn also from an incidental notice in Jeremiah's writings (Jer. xxii. 15, 16) that Josiah was careful to order his own life and government by the same law. "By the careful administration of justice he alleviated the distress of the more helpless of his subjects, and won the esteem of all by his gentle yet active sway."[3]

But it was too late for the virtues of the most pious and beneficent monarch to save a people who, in spite of their formal repentance, had in heart departed completely from God. The earlier chapters of Jeremiah reveal the hollowness and insincerity of their professed penitence, and prepare us for the final catastrophe. The formidable inroad of the Scythians (leaving its memorial in the name Scythopolis, borne in later times by the old Canaanitish city of Bethshan), recorded by Herodotus (Bk. i. 104—106), is entirely omitted by the sacred historians, who allow the last thirteen years of Josiah's reign to glide by without record. They hasten on to the fatal end. The little kingdom of Judah was in constant danger of being crushed between the two mighty rival world-powers of Egypt and Assyria. Too weak to stand alone, it could only exist by attaching itself to one or other of its powerful neighbours. Josiah had allied himself to Assyria, then enfeebled by the Syrian inroad, and distracted by internal dissensions; and when his suzerain was assailed by the powerful king of Egypt, Pharaoh-necho, he felt himself bound by honour and fealty to interpose his resistance.

[3] Ewald, *History of Israel*, Eng. Tr. iv. 239.

Necho's object was to reach Carchemish on the river Euphrates. To do this it was essential that he should pass through the territory of Judah. In spite of the assurance of the Egyptian king that he had no hostile designs against Judah, and his warnings to Josiah not to mix himself up in a quarrel with which he had nothing to do, and so to compel him to attack one whom he would prefer leaving untouched, Josiah, with rash chivalrousness, determined to oppose the passage of Necho's army. The two forces encountered on the great battle-field of Esdraelon, not far from Megiddo. Josiah, like Ahab, entered the battle in his chariot in disguise. But, like Ahab, a chance arrow inflicted on him a mortal wound. His servants transferred him from his war-chariot to a lighter vehicle that was in reserve, and conveyed him to Jerusalem, which, however, he did not reach alive. He was buried, not in the old royal sepulchres, which were full at the time of Hezekiah's death, but "among the sepulchres of his fathers;" *i.e.*, a catacomb, newly excavated by his grandfather Manasseh in the garden attached to his palace (2 Kings xxi. 18, 26), where he and his son Amon had been interred. This lamentable event occurred B.C. 609, in the thirty-ninth year of Josiah's age. The death of Josiah was without a precedent in Hebrew annals, and the depth of the national mourning was equally unprecedented. His fall overwhelmed his kingdom with consternation. He was the first king of David's line who had fallen in battle; and his death left the country at the mercy of a powerful foreign invader, with only a young and inexperienced king to oppose him. An elegy over the departed king was written by the prophet-poet Jeremiah, which was annually sung by the male and female minstrels of the land, even after the return from captivity. If we may press the language of Zechariah, this mourning was as domestic as it was public, as individual as it was universal. Every family shut itself up and mourned in seclusion, even the men and women being separated from one another. Every family wept apart, and their wives apart (Zech. xii. 11—14). The memory of this national mourning long survived as a type of the deepest conceivable sorrow. Nor was this mourning greater than the calamity deserved. For himself an early death before the arrival of the evils impending over his nation was indeed a blessing. Though he fell in war, the prediction of Huldah, that he should be "gathered into his grave in peace," was fulfilled in its spirit, by his removal "from the evil to come," and under circumstances which allowed his burial with regal honours in the tomb of his ancestors.[1] But for his kingdom the untimely death of "the last royal hero of Israel" was an irreparable calamity. Had he lived, his piety could not long have delayed the doom of the guilty nation; but it was fearfully accelerated by the weakness and wickedness of his unhappy sons.

[1] Compare the interpretation of this same phrase, "Thou shalt die in peace," in connection with Zedekiah (Jer. xxxiv. 5).

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE APOCRYPHA.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Greek word canon (κανών), connected with κάννα, and so with "cane," "canal," "channel," meant primarily a straight rod, and so a measuring rule, employed by carpenters and other craftsmen in their work. From this it was an easy transition to use it for that which was a *rule* of ethics or of criticism. So the later Alexandrian critics used to speak of a greater writer as being the "canon" of excellence in his own department. So the Fathers of the Church spoke of the Creed as being the "canon" or rule of faith; so decrees of councils were called canons or rules of the Church; so saints are said to be "canonised" when their names are placed in the list which is the rule and measure of the Church's observance of saints' days; so, lastly, in modern ecclesiastical phraseology, the canon (abbreviated from the Latin *canonicus*) is a priest who is bound by the rule of the foundation or society of which he is a member.

As applied to a catalogue of the books of Scripture, the earliest direct use of the term "canon" is found in a Greek writer, Amphilochius, about A.D. 380, who gives a catalogue of the sacred books, under that name. Through the influence of Jerome and Augustine, who use it frequently in this sense, speaking of this or that book as "in the canon," or "not in the canon," it obtained general currency in the Latin Church. The meaning of this use seems to be, not that the writings were the rule or measure of men's faith, but that the list was the rule by which they were to test the claims of books claiming to be part of Holy Scripture. It is obvious, in the nature of things, that a canon of Scripture in this sense implies the existence of at least several books recognised as sacred, and belongs, therefore, to a comparatively late stage in the growth of the collection. So Jewish tradition ascribed to Ezra, and to the Great Synagogue, or assembly of scholars, of which he was the reputed founder, the formation of the received Hebrew canon. The books of the Old Testament, however, present traces of the gradual growth in earlier times of a collection of writings, specially preserved, and looked on as of high authority. Thus, Moses is told (Exod. xvii. 14) to write the condemnation of Amalek "for a memorial in a book," and to rehearse it in the ears of Joshua. There is a "Book of the Covenant," including apparently the Ten Commandments and the laws in chap. xx.—xxiv., as early as Exod. xxiv. 7. The rules in Exodus and Leviticus, the genealogies, the muster-roll, the list of journeys, in the Book of Numbers, imply written records, preserved as authoritative, even if we believe the present

arrangement of the books to be of later date. Assuming the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy, "statutes and judgments" are implied at every turn, as authoritative and accessible, to be written upon door-posts and gates, to be taught to children (Deut. vi. 7—9). The Book of the Law, presumably the last revised copy of it, was to be put in the side of the ark of the covenant for safe keeping (Deut. xxxi. 26). In Josh. xxiv. 26 we find a solemn document registering the renewed covenant of the people as being added to the books already recognised as sacred. The development of poetic and prophetic literature, the desire to continue the history of the nation from the time of Moses, led from the time of Samuel and David onwards to the "making of many books," of which the writer of Ecclesiastes speaks (xii. 12), and we have traces at every step of an abundant literary activity stretching far beyond the books which we now receive as canonical. There was the writing in which Samuel entered "the manner of the kingdom," and laid it up before the Lord (1 Sam. x. 25). There were the numerous Psalms of the Tabernacle and the Temple, and the schools of the Prophets, of which we probably have but a small proportion. There were the "three thousand proverbs" and the "thousand and five songs" of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 32). There were the Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel, in which the king's scribe registered his achievements. These were composed at various periods and of various characters; the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Numb. xxi. 14); the Book of Jasher (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18), of Nathan the Prophet (1 Chron. xxix. 29), of Gad the Seer (*ibid.*), of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 41); the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite and Iddo the Seer (2 Chron. ix. 29); the Prophecy of Jonah, distinct from the book that bears his name (2 Kings xiv. 25); the Book of Shemaiah the Prophet (2 Chron. xii. 15), of Iddo the Seer concerning genealogies (*ibid.*), of Jehu the son of Hanani (2 Chron. xx. 34); the Acts of Uzziah, by Isaiah the son of Amoz (2 Chron. xxvi. 22); the Lamentations of Jeremiah for Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 25). All these, though we know nothing more than their names, show that the Hebrew literature of the monarchy was at once extensive and varied. As yet, however, it was a literature and not a Bible. The book of the Law retained throughout this period an exclusive and solitary pre-eminence. That alone was read to the people in the reformation of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 9), that alone was found in the Temple in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 14). Prophetic writings and histories were held in honour according to their importance, but there was no canon.

The great wrench given to the national life in the Babylonian captivity brought with it, we may well believe, the destruction and mutilation of the greater part of this literature. It was (according to the tradition already mentioned, sufficiently probable in itself, and in accordance with what is recorded of his character and work in the book that bears his name, to have almost the character of history) the work of Ezra the Scribe to gather up the fragments that remained, that nothing might be lost. According to the wilder, more legendary form of the tradition, the Law was burnt and all the books had perished, and there was given to Ezra the priest a supernatural power to dictate what had thus been lost, and to add to it a multitude of apocalyptic visions; and so every word and letter of the books thus written was assumed to have come from this Divine inspiration given to a single man (2 Esdras xiv. 39—48). A somewhat earlier tradition assigns a like work to Nehemiah, of whom it is said that he "founding a library, gathered together the acts of the kings and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts" (2 Macc. ii. 13); and the two are clearly so far in accord, that they assign the formation of the present collection of the Old Testament books to the time of the revival of the religion of Israel under the rule of the Persian kings.

It is, at all events, from this time that we trace the more distinct growth of a canon of sacred books in addition to the Book of the Law, which had all along borne that character. The work that had been done was one of compilation and selection. What we have is, in fact, an anthology of the wider religious literature of Israel. But when that anthology had been made, it came by degrees to hold a definite and revered position in the minds of teachers and learners. In proportion as the prophetic power ceased to manifest itself, the prophetic writings of an earlier time became more precious and distinctive. So in Zech. vii. 12 the Law and the words of the "former prophets" seem placed on the same level of authority. The Prologue to the Book of Ecclesiasticus, not later than B.C. 131, speaks of the writer's grandfather as having given himself to the reading of "the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers," and thus shows that the three-fold division into Law, Prophets (including the greater part of what we know as historical books), and Hagiographa or holy writings, was already recognised.

Strangely enough, however, no earlier direct statement of the number of the books of the Old Testament is found than that given by Josephus after the destruction of Jerusalem, and that is not free from difficulty. He counts up the books which are justly held to be divine, as including (1) five books of Moses, (2) thirteen Prophets, and (3) four containing hymns and rules of life. The total makes up twenty-two, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, and it was with reference to this *memoria technica* of symbolic completeness that the books were grouped so as to bring them within that limit. It is not easy, however, so to arrange the books of the received canon, even taking the twelve minor prophets as a single book, as to bring the number of each group into harmony with Josephus's statement. Of the existence of the division in our Lord's time, however, there can be no doubt. Broadly and popularly the books were spoken of as "the Law and the Prophets" (Matt. xi. 13; Acts xiii. 15), more fully as "the Law, the Prophets, and the

Psalms" (Luke xxiv. 44). Portions from each section are quoted as "Scripture" by Josephus, by Philo, and by the writers of the New Testament. Targums, or paraphrases, were made of some books in each.

Singularly enough, the earliest actual *list* of named books is given by a Christian, not by a Jewish authority. Melito, Bishop of Sardis (A.D. 179), made a special inquiry into the exact number of sacred books, and enumerates all that we have, except Nehemiah and Esther, of which it may be conjectured that they were grouped together with Esdras or Ezra, as belonging to the same period. Origen gives the Jewish number, twenty-two, but adds the Epistle of Jeremiah to Baruch, which we now find in the Apocrypha. Practically, however, the views of Christendom on the subject of the Canon of the Old Testament have been fashioned more by the authority of Jerome than of any other writer. To him we owe the broad line of demarcation between the canonical and apocryphal books, and we have to bring before our mind's eye the position in which he found himself.

We have seen that the books recognised as sacred by the Jews of Palestine corresponded closely with that of our present Bible, and so far as we may judge from the writings of Philo, the great Alexandrian interpreter of the first century, the Jews of that city recognised the same books, and no others. The literary activity of Alexandria led, however, to the composition of other books in Greek, or to translations from Aramaic books, and these were read as religious and edifying books, first by Jews and afterwards by Christians. The desire to have a complete library of such books, a library, so to speak, in a single volume, apparently led the scribes who met the demands of the reading public, as publishers do now, to bring together the earlier and the later books, the more and the less authoritative; and with a view to the convenience of the reader, both were grouped according to their subjects, history with history, didactic with didactic books, with no distinction as to their authority. In this way what is known as the Septuagint or Greek version of the Old Testament (from the tradition that it was made by seventy elders summoned from Jerusalem by Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 271) presented a different order, and included other books than the Hebrew Bible as it was read in Palestine.

The volume thus made up was, we must remember, widely spread in the first century among the Hellenistic or Greek-speaking Jews (the "Grecians" of the Acts); and though not read in their synagogues, was extensively studied in private. Allusive references to it are found in some at least of the writings of the New Testament.[1] It fell naturally into the hands of Greek-speaking converts to the Christian faith. If they were Jews, or under Jewish influence, the traditions of the Palestine schools would keep them steady in their judgment as to the relative authority of the two sets of books thus brought together. But those who were converts from heathenism would naturally take the volume as a whole and make no distinction. Some few, like Melito of Sardis, might be led by the spirit of inquiry to journey to Syria to learn what was the judgment on this point of the mother Church of Christendom, and put the result on record; but the tendency was, for the most part, in the other direction; and one of the earliest extant MSS. of the Septuagint version—the Alexandrian—one used in Christian worship, contains a Psalm of David after his victory over Goliath, and Psalms of Solomon which are not found even in our Apocrypha. When the Septuagint was translated into Latin for the benefit of Christians in Rome and Africa, there was still less—removed as they were one step farther from the fountain-head—to check this tendency, and a spurious Apocalypse, like the Second Book of Esdras, which had not even a Greek original, was received as part of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

The drift in this direction was happily stemmed by the scholarship and spirit of inquiry of the great Jerome. When he undertook the work of revising the existing Latin versions, and, where necessary, translating anew, he determined to qualify himself for his task by learning Hebrew. With this view, when at his hermitage in Bethlehem, he put himself under the teaching of a Jew, and was thus brought into contact with the Palestine tradition as to the canon which the Rabbinic schools had never modified. He recognised that they were in this respect true to their vocation as those to whom had been committed the oracles of God, and adopted their canon. In his prologues and introductions to the several books of the Old Testament he traced, more distinctly than had been done before by any writer of equal authority, the Jewish line of demarcation, asserted, as in the passage quoted in the sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles, that the Church reads the books which were not in the Hebrew canon "for example of life and instruction of manners," but does not apply them to establish any doctrine. And though he did not exclude them from his version, and followed, for the most part, the order of the Septuagint, he fixed on them, in a sense to be hereafter discussed, the name of *Apocrypha*. His great contemporary, Augustine, less under the influence of Hebrew tradition, was less clear in his estimate, and oscillated in his language, and could not bring himself to disparage what the whole Church had up to that time received with scarcely a question.

The result of this conflict of authority was that Western Christendom was for about a thousand years more or less divided on this point. The term "Apocrypha" was seldom used as Jerome had used it, and "Ecclesiastical" took its place, as indicating that the books so called were read and acknowledged by the

[1] The following passages are given as examples by Dr. Westcott from Stier:—

(1) James i. 19,	as compared	with	Ecclus. v. 11.	
(2) 1 Pet. i. 6, 7,	,,	,,	,,	Wisd. iii. 3—7.
(3) Heb. xi. 34, 35,	,,	,,	,,	2 Macc. vi. 18; vii. 42.
(4) Heb. i. 3,	,,	,,	,,	Wisd. vii. 26.
(5) Rom. i. 20—32,	,,	,,	,,	Wisd. xiii., xv.
(6) Rom. ix. 21,	,,	,,	,,	Wisd. xv. 7.
(7) Eph. vi. 13—17,	,,	,,	,,	Wisd. v. 18—20.

Church. The greater influence of Augustine, and, we may add, the fact that the two sets of books were not divided from each other, even in Jerome's version, gave gradually a preponderance to the Septuagint rather than to the Hebrew canon, and it was not till men undertook once again the work of translation, and thus came in closer contact with Jerome's writings, or with the Hebrew text, that the old distinction was revived. Thus Wiclif, though he kept the books in their old order, spoke of the non-Hebrew books as Apocrypha. Luther, in his first edition of his complete German Bible (A.D. 1534), grouped the greater part of the Apocrypha together, as "books which were not of like worth with Holy Scriptures, yet were good and useful to be read." Coverdale, with a strange exception in favour of the Book of Baruch, places the books apart as "not held by ecclesiastical doctors in the same repute as the other Scriptures." Cranmer's Bible followed this arrangement, but used quite inaccurately the milder term "Hagiographa" (holy writings) instead of "Apocrypha," and from that time forward this position has been assigned to them, without any change, in all authorised English or other Protestant versions. The Sixth Article adopted the *dictum* of Jerome, while the compilers of the Table of Lessons under Edward VI. showed their respect for the books by reading many of them *in extenso*, to the exclusion even of much that was edifying in the canonical books. It was reserved for the Council of Trent (Sess. IV.) to declare that they, and, we may add, the traditions of the Church, were to be received with "the same affection and reverence" as the other Scriptures, and to pronounce a sentence of anathema on all who did not receive them as "sacred and canonical."[1]

The history of the term Apocrypha requires a brief notice. We are so accustomed to associate the adjective "apocryphal" with the idea of what is "spurious" that we forget its original significance. Primarily, then, it meant simply "secret" or "hidden." It is the word used in Luke viii. 17; Col. ii. 3, where it is thus translated in our version. In this sense it seems to have been used by Gnostics and other heretics who boasted that they had "secret books" and a "hidden wisdom." St. Paul's assertion that "in Christ were all the hid (ἀπόκρυφοι) treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. ii. 3), had probably an allusive reference to the claims of such teachers. Associated in this way with writings that were conspicuously spurious, it suffered, as words will suffer, a loss of reputation. The fathers of the Church argued, after their manner, that the name bore witness against itself. It implied that the books so called had a "secret origin," that they ought to be read in "secret" and not openly. So they warn their hearers against the many New Testament *Apocrypha* that were then current, and bid them carefully avoid them. The word had thus acquired its secondary sense when Jerome had the boldness to apply it to books which a large portion of Christendom had regarded as on the same level as the canonical Scriptures. Augustine and others preferred, as has been said above, the milder term of "Ecclesiastical." The ingenuity of a later age invented the somewhat unmeaning term of "deutero-canonical." When "Apocrypha" appeared as the title of the books collected and set apart in Cranmer's Bible, it was with the explanation that it meant that they were read "not openly, but as it were in secret."[2] Since that time the word has appeared as the title of the non-Hebrew portions of the sacred writings, without a note or explanation.

A short account of each book of the Apocrypha will form the subject of a separate paper. Here it may be worth while to add a few notes on the familiar words "Bible," "Old Testament," "New Testament."

Bible.—In the New Testament itself the word βιβλίον has no sacred or distinctive force, but is used generally for "books" (2 Tim. iv. 13; Rev. v. 1; x. 2); while the term "Scripture" (ἡ γραφή), or the sacred writings (τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα), is employed for what we call the Old Testament (2 Tim. iii. 18). Taken by itself, therefore, the word *Biblia* would have seemed to the Greek or Latin a very inadequate description of the Scriptures. It required the adjectives "holy" or "sacred" to give it that significance. "*Biblia Sacra*" was accordingly the title applied to Jerome's version, known as the Vulgate. When the word was first used in English it was in like manner (as, *e.g.*, by Chaucer), in the wider meaning of "book" generally, though soon the higher meaning prevailed exclusively. Mediæval Latin, however, mistook the neuter plural for a feminine singular. Men began to speak of the Holy Bible, or, without the adjective, of "*the* Bible," as emphatically the book. In some respects this has doubtless been a gain. It has served to give men a sense of the unity of purpose and character, if not of plan, which makes the collection the precious inheritance of Christendom. But with this gain there has been also a loss. Men have failed to see what the old plural "Biblia Sacra" reminded them of, that they had not a "book" only, but a "literature;" or, as Jerome had the courage to say, "not a book, but a *bibliotheca*, or library." The variety of Scripture, the origin and character of all its diverse parts, is not less characteristic of it than its essential unity.

The Old and New Testaments.—These terms are, of course, as familiar as the Bible. There is too much reason to believe that their history and meaning are frequently as little understood. Practically, the thought in which this application of the names originated is found in Jer. xxxi. 31—34. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house

[1] It should be stated in fairness that the Council of Trent did not recognise 1 and 2 Esdras, or the Prayer of Manasses.

[2] As a matter of fact this explanation is given somewhat ludicrously of the word Hagiographa, or "Holy Writings." It would seem that the writer of the Preface had originally written "Apocrypha" and given the current explanation of it, and that the word was altered by higher authority, as the book was passing through the press.

of Judah." The essential characteristic of this new covenant, as contrasted with the old covenant between Jehovah and Israel, recorded in Exod. xxiv. 7, where God gave laws and the people promised obedience, was that there was to be not only the promise of reward for that obedience, but that the power to obey should be itself imparted. A new strength was to be given to the conscience and the will, a new and closer relationship was to be established between God and man: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people." With this there was the promise of pardon for all past transgressions: "I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34). To this passage our Lord referred when, on the night of the Last Supper with his disciples, "he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new covenant (διαθηκὴ, the Greek word, has this meaning), which is shed for many for the remission of sins" (Matt. xxvi. 27, 28). The constant remembrance, probably the constant repetition of these words at every meeting of the disciples to break bread, stamped them upon their minds indelibly. They were living under the New Covenant which Jeremiah had foretold. The Book of the Law belonged to the Old Covenant, and is so described by St. Paul in 2 Cor. iii. 14. The Epistle to the Hebrews gave yet greater prominence to the thought and to the phrase. Christ was the Mediator of the New Covenant (Heb. ix. 15). In one remarkable, though difficult passage, the new compact was represented not as an agreement into which two parties enter as on equal terms, but as the gratuitous assignment of an inheritance, the legacy left by Christ and realised by and on His death, and so, according to what is at least a natural and obvious interpretation of the passage, the word διαθηκὴ in this passage was taken as meaning not "covenant," but "will" or "testament." In the Greek Church the term διαθηκὴ naturally kept its ground. In the West, Latin writers varied in their choice of an equivalent, and for a time *Instrumentum*, which embodied the "covenant" idea, kept its place side by side with *Testamentum*. The great Latin Fathers, however, from Tertullian onwards, adopted the latter, and finally it prevailed exclusively. It was natural, when the canon of Christian Scriptures was completed, that men should compare the two volumes of the sacred books of Christians and Israelites, and should speak of the former as the Books of the New Testament, of the latter as belonging to the Old. Soon, with the natural tendency of language to abbreviated descriptions, the terms "Old" and "New Testament" were used by themselves to describe the books so collected. The translators of our English version have wisely for the most part kept to the idea of "covenant" in translating, except in the passages where the close reference to the death of Christ led them to prefer the word which in itself implied that death. Speaking generally, however, we need to remember that the familiar names embody the former and not the latter of the two meanings, and the Sacred Books of which the Church is the witness and keeper are respectively those which belong to the Old and the New Covenants between God and man.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CANTICLES; OR, SONG OF SOLOMON.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

THIS paper proceeds upon the supposition that the Song of Songs is the composition of the son of David; that it is a portion of the *Kethubim*, or "Writings," recognised by our Lord Himself; and that the principle to be adopted in its interpretation is that which, taking its starting-point from an event in Solomon's history, finds in the Canticles an ideal representation of the love between Christ and His Church. The article is, therefore, divided into three parts. In the first, the analogy of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes is employed to show the probability that the Song of Songs should be coloured by the circumstances of the writer's life. In the second section the principle of interpretation is laid down and established. In the third, a summary view will be given of other theories of explanation.

I. The Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are pervaded by allusions to Solomon's time and history, so numerous and subtle as to preclude the notion of a literary forgery, and so real as to point to a Solomonic origin.

1. Let us notice the traces which we may find in the Proverbs of Solomon's *time*, and of his *personal circumstances*.

(*a*) Of his *time*. His was the golden age of the history of Israel. The kingdom of David's heir extended from sea to sea; his navies traversed the remotest oceans. After all deductions, it was a period when happiness and security were widely diffused. The style of the old historian, as he contemplates this, clothes itself with the soft images of pastoral poetry: "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree."

Yet even under Solomon human nature works out its own laws. Wherever there are ships in goodlier tiers crowding the haven, and shops in statelier rows along the streets, there will be vulgar regions where

"the almighty dollar" aspires to dethrone the living God—an atmosphere of commercial fraud and delirious adventure (or, if we prefer, "highly speculative concerns"), where the very spirit of man seems to become *metallic*.

Again, after years of desperate and sanguinary struggles, a new era of literature, poetry, art, and even science, dawned upon Israel. The old horizon opened boundless prospects upwards towards heaven; on the side of earth it was narrow and contracted. Now it widened marvellously. A great thinker, who was also a true poet,[1] in tracing the outlines of his own intellectual career, has described that which has often occurred in the history of nations:—

> "A matron now of sober mien,
> Yet radiant still, and with no earthly sheen,
> Whom as a faery child my childhood wooed,
> Even in my dawn of thought, Philosophy;
> Though then *unconscious of herself*, pardie,
> She *bore no other name than Poesy*."

Poetry among the Hebrews was succeeded by Philosophy, though not in a logical or systematic shape. There arose a desire to stand face to face with Nature and humanity, and to solve the enigmas which will not allow a stimulated curiosity to rest.

Once more. The Jewish mind was, at this time, exposed to the trial of being brought into its first real contact with foreign religions and forms of thought. This process must inevitably tell upon a nation through influences which it absorbs by every pore. Repulsion is succeeded either by contemptuous toleration, or by an undefined attraction to that which was utterly hateful.[2]

We shall understand the Book of Proverbs better by remembering that, in one of its aspects, it is a moral manual addressed to a commercial, luxurious, and, in a certain sense, sceptical age.

(*b*) But we may also find traces of Solomon's *personal circumstances* in the Book of Proverbs.

(*α*) In the earlier portion of his reign offences against royal sanctity were punished with terrible but necessary severity, in Joab and Shimei. We find the recollection of this in those great maxims that speak of the awe and majesty which hedge round a king: "A king that sitteth on the throne of judgment scattereth (winnoweth) away all evil with his eyes. . . . A wise king scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel (the thresher) over them. . . . The wrath of a king is as messengers of death. . . . The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion."

After the death of Nathan it would seem that the Divine wisdom which had been granted to Solomon rendered it unnecessary that any great prophet should be raised up to discharge the same office which had been fulfilled by Gad and Nathan for his father. "A divine sentence is in the lips of the king; his mouth transgresseth not in judgment."

(*β*) The personal circumstance which is most deeply impressed upon it is that in it Solomon is addressing his son.

Several other treatises, no doubt, resemble the Proverbs in this characteristic. Fathers would fain leave their sons more than gold or acres. They forget that experience is, in its very essence, *personal*; that it cannot be transferred from one mind into another, as liquid is poured from vessel into vessel. So the English man of the world, in his well-known letters, hoped to mould the clownish nature of the lad for whom they were written, into that of a finished fop, with the most graceful bow, and the best-turned compliment, with the softest smile, and the hardest heart, of any "man of wit and fashion about town."

This human element gives a peculiar interest to a large portion of the Proverbs.

In the eight opening chapters "my son" occurs no less than *fifteen times*. This circumstance makes the counsels more winning and more touching. One verse there is which has been transferred to the Epistle to the Hebrews, from thence taken and set like a gem as the Epistle in our Service for the Communion of the Sick; whose words to the eye of Faith, in her hour of deep and sacred agony, run like a legend round the base of the Cross, which "towers beyond her sight." Would not the text, "Despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither be weary of His correction," want something of its perfect pathos, if it did not begin, "My son?"

Does not this lend a peculiar interest to those words in the fourth chapter, so musically rendered in our English version?—"I was my father's son, tender and only beloved in the sight of my mother. He taught me also, and said unto me, Let thine heart retain my words."

(*c*) The Book of Ecclesiastes also points to Solomon, and to Solomon in his penitence.

Omitting the distinct assertion, "I, the preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem," let us turn to other passages. The very name of *Koheleth*, in the Hebrew feminine, is worthy of notice. It indicates the Divine Wisdom in and through Solomon,[3] acting as the Gatherer of Israel. The writer of a composition which was a literary forgery, would surely have avoided a form so markedly different from the opening of Proverbs and the Song, while it is exquisitely suitable to a penitent who desires to retire from observation.

Throughout the book, as compared with that of Proverbs, there is one fine indication of true penitential feeling.

In Proverbs, *Elohim* is used of God five times, Jehovah ninety times; while in Ecclesiastes *Elohim* is employed thirty-nine times, Jehovah *never*. Solomon had been highly favoured, yet he had fallen. His voice falters, he dare not use the covenant word Jehovah.

There are several passages which would be almost unintelligible upon any other hypothesis:—

[1] Coleridge.

[2] Constant use has here been made of Ewald's *History of Israel*, iii. 274, seq., "Intellectual Development of Solomon's Age."

[3] Bishop Wordsworth refers to St. Luke xi. 49, where our Lord speaks of "the Wisdom of God." But in the parallel passage (St. Matt. xxiii. 34) we have, "Behold, *I* send unto you;" and immediately afterwards, "How often would I have *gathered* thy children."

"Better is a poor and a wise child than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished. For out of prison he cometh to reign; whereas also he that is born in his kingdom becometh poor. I considered all the living which walk under the sun, with the second child that shall stand up in his stead."[1] Solomon must have had a prophetic glimpse of the future by his own inspiration or that of the seer Ahijah.[2] The "old and foolish king" is himself. He who "comes out of prison" to glory, like a second Joseph, is Jeroboam. If the prophecy came through himself, he is rapt unto the future. He looks back from the quiet land upon this crowded, passionate life. He sees the throngs of living men moving restlessly to and fro. But in that day they walk not with David's heir, but with the "second young man," *i.e.*, Jeroboam; and in the following verse there is an allusion to the meaning of the name Jeroboam (= "whose people are many"). But "the people that come after" shall not rejoice in him.

What a subtle and profound meaning also is given to the opening admonition of the next chapter: "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God."[3] The allusion is to the priests washing their feet. Solomon gives the life-lesson of his own bitter experience. He had built a gorgeous temple; he had offered almost countless sacrifices; he had placed a molten sea for the priests to wash in.[4] Church-building and adornment are good; heart-searching and purification are better. *He* had not kept his feet.

There are yet three other passages which should be considered. The two verses in which ointment is mentioned[5] seem to refer to the anointing oil, to indicate that royal virtue is better than royal chrism. The admonition, "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God,"[6] enjoining subjects to remain true and loyal under all circumstances, is very significant.

The book seems to read itself off, upon the hypothesis that it came from Solomon in his penitence.

II. In whatever degree it is probable that Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, being Solomon's, are tinged with a personal colouring; it is also probable that the Song of Solomon, if written by him, should possess the same characteristic. No doubt it refers to his marriage. Taking its rise from this, it glorifies the marriage relation, and that in its original and divine form, as it came from Him who "at the beginning made them male and female."[7] From this point of view we can accept the saying of Niebuhr, recorded by Bunsen. A young pastor spoke to the great historian of the scandal which he felt, at being obliged to consider this burning song of love a part of the Sacred Canon received by our Lord and His apostles. "For my part," exclaimed Niebuhr, with energy, "I should think there was something wanting in the Bible, if we could not find in it any expression for the deepest and strongest sentiment of humanity." It is for *one* supremely that the strain is sung. "My dove, my undefiled, is but one."[8] The only passage where the Divine name is breathed is in speaking of the sacred character of such passion. "The coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame," so well translated by Coverdale, "a very flame of the Lord."[9] Thus our interpretation is in conformity with the first words of the heading of the first chapter in our Authorised Version, "The Church's love unto Christ," and with those other sentences in subsequent summaries, "The mutual love of Christ and the Church," "The Church glorieth in Christ," "Christ awaketh the Church with His calling," "A description of Christ by His graces," "The Church prayeth for Christ's coming." This mode of interpretation would have been spoken of by the older commentators as *allegorical* or *mystical*; we prefer to speak of it as *idealising*. That is, in Solomon's Song we have a representation of the highest of all earthly affections in its supreme passion and purity; the very ideal of the reciprocal love of two human beings for each other in body, soul, and spirit. And in this we have an inspired representation of the great ideal of spiritual love—the mutual love between Christ and His Church.

For this view of the matter we can allege three proofs:—

1. One feature in the Old Testament is the way in which great ideas are gradually elaborated. One of them is put forth—projected, as it were—by the Spirit as if out of due season. It is left, for centuries perhaps, unnoticed and undeveloped. Then it is taken up by prophet after prophet, and clothed upon with successive touches. Thus, God's love for His Church is early represented under the image of sponsal affection, with its beautiful weakness as well as strength. "The Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God."[10] This sweet and solemn idea revived ages after its first expression, and kept clothing itself in a poetry which drew its riches from historical events. In the 45th Psalm—that song upon "lilies," of "lovely things"—where inspiration surges joyously from the Psalmist's lips, the application becomes too clear to admit of serious discussion: "Kings' daughters were among thy honourable women." And then with echoes from the Book of Ruth, coming thick and fast, "Hearken, O daughter, and consider; incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house; so shall the King greatly desire thy beauty: for He is thy Lord, and worship thou Him."[11] Again and again we have those unspeakably tender passages in the prophetic Scriptures, where the Almighty deigns to represent Himself as bearing the same relation to His Church which the spouse bears to the betrothed.[12] Especially is it to be noticed that, in

[1] Eccles. iv. 13—15.
[2] 1 Kings xi. 11, 35.
[3] Eccles. v. 1.
[4] 2 Chron. iv. 6.
[5] Eccles. vii. 1; x. 1.
[6] Eccles. viii. 2.
[7] St. Matt. xix. 4. Note the singular, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ.
[8] Cant. vi. 9.
[9] Cant. viii. 6.
[10] Exod. xxxiv. 14.
[11] Ps. xlv. 10, 11. For Jewish interpretation see the book *Tsohar* on verse 13, "By the *king's daughter* is meant the *Church of Israel*" (Schöttgen, *Horæ H. et Talmud.*, ii. 234). See Dr. Kay, *The Psalms*, p. 145.
[12] Isa. liv. 5; lxii. 5; Jer. ii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 3, sqq.

the Hebrew Canon, the concise and pathetic Hosea comes next after the Canticles. In a series of unmistakeable allusions, the faithlessness of the actual Israel is put in contrast with the love of the ideal Israel.[1] In Hosea the Song of Songs is given back in sighs.

This view of a large portion of the Old Testament makes it in the highest degree probable that when we come to a song, of which we are told that it is Solomon's, and "the most excellent of Songs," and of which we know that it alone has been preserved out of a thousand and five, it should be intended for the Divine Song of a Divine Love.

And this enables us to deal with one of M. Renan's principal arguments. "One sole argument," says that eloquent writer, "can be adduced with plausibility by those who maintain the possibility of a religion *arrière-pensée* in the Canticles. That is the example of the erotico-mystical poetry of India and Persia. It is quite certain that in neither country is this kind of poetry very ancient. . . . It is evident that no real likeness can be made out between the production of a mysticism which is so advanced, and a pastoral drama which has not, like the present, any religious aspect whatever. And first, if the author really had any underlying theological purpose, he would not have chosen the dramatic form. The lyrical form is the only one which suits these metaphysical debauches. . . . Besides, what improbabilities are involved in placing a great development of transcendental theology in Judea in the tenth century before Christ! Nothing was ever so utterly alien to, and averse from mysticism, as the Hebrew, the Arabian, and the Semitic mind in general. The idea of putting the Creator into connection with the creature; the supposition that an amorous relation can exist between them; the thousand refinements of this nature, in which the mysticism of the Hindoos and that of Christians has allowed itself such unlimited license, are at the antipodes to the severe conception of the Semitic God. There is no doubt that such ideas would have passed for blasphemies in Israel. Allegories of this kind always indicate a certain necessity for concealment, a revenge on some external repression. Under the transcendental language of the Soufis; under the burning lyrical passion of Louis de Léon, under the feigned quietism of Madame Guyon, we can feel the intolerant rigour of orthodox Islamism, of the Inquisition, of Gallican Catholicism. But the history of the Jewish people—at least before the date of the prophets devoted to severe Mosaism and Pietist kings—presents no example of persecution for doctrinal reasons. . . . Further, erotico-mystical poems presuppose a vast development of philosophical and theological schools around them. But no people has ever been more sober than the Hebrew people in regard to symbolism, allegories, and speculative divinity. Tracing, as they did, a line of entire and absolute separation between God and man, they rendered all familiarity, all tender sentiment, all reciprocity between heaven and earth a sheer impossibility. . . . We therefore hold it for certain that the author of the Canticles, in writing his poem, had no mystical intention."[2] The argument in this passage is altogether based upon the supposition that the idea of a relation between God and His people, capable of being adumbrated under the image of wedded love, is utterly foreign to the Hebrew writers. But it has been shown above that it may be found in a multitude of passages, beginning with Moses and ending with the later prophets.

2. The second proof of our interpretation is derived from the New Testament. It has, indeed, been boldly asserted that "the so-called higher sense has no support from the New Testament, and that the Song of Songs is never quoted there." Yet it is oftener referred to than any other writing in the Old Testament, with the solitary exception of the Psalms. There is one title which our blessed Lord delights to give Himself, that of the *Bridegroom*.[3] There is one image graven upon the Church's heart, as one golden day out of all the past abides in the widow's memory, the *Marriage*.[4] But our Lord's human mind moved in the sacred circle of the Bible, and His language was impregnated with it. He drew these images from the Song of Solomon.

The stern Baptist, no teacher of a luxuriant and florid imagination, actually compresses the whole simple dramatism of the Canticles into a few brief clauses: "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice."[5] St. Paul had the application of the Bride to the Church in his mind when he wrote in relation to that great mystery, which he referred to Christ and His Church:[6] "not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing" (Eph. v. 27; cf. "Thou art all fair, there is no spot in thee," Cant. iv. 7).

But mainly is this constant reference to be found in the Apocalypse of St. John. We present these references in parallel columns, and they are possibly not quite complete:—

"Behold, I stand at the door, and knock" (Rev. iii. 20).	"It is the voice of my beloved that knocketh" (Cant. v. 2).
"Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments" (Rev. xvi. 15).	"I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on?" (Cant. v. 3).
"Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. xxii. 20).	"Make haste, my beloved" (Cant. viii. 14).
"The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready" (Rev. xix. 7).	Summary of the whole Song of Songs.

The more carefully these passages are studied, the more subtle and implicated will the threads of connection be found.

3. The reception of a book of this character into the Canon of Scripture *necessitates* such a view of its contents.

[1] Cf. Hos. ii. 2; Cant. iii. 4; viii. 8; Hos. ix. 14; Cant. viii. 8; Hengstenberg, *Proleg. to Canticles*, pp. 304, 305; Thrupp, *On the Song of Solomon*, p. 15; Bishop of Lincoln, *Minor Prophets*, pp. 1, 2.

[2] Renan, *Étude sur la Cantique des Cantiques*, pp. 115—121.

[3] St. Matt. ix. 15; xxv. 1—10.

[4] St. Matt. xxii. 2.

[5] St. John iii. 29.

[6] Eph. v. 32.

Bishop Andrews gives praise to God for the abundant light of Scripture: "Blessed be Thy Name, O God, for the light which shines in upon our senses. But more blessed for another light. For the profit and experience of faithful histories; for the instruction of wise Proverbs; for the sweet solace of holy Psalms. Blessed be Thy Name for that sun which never goes down, for that light which no darkness ever overspreads." How does such a book give light? Other books contain dogmas of faith, or a heaven-given ritual, or holy examples, or precious hymns, or rules of saintly life, or moral laws, or the prophecy of forth-telling, or that of foretelling. Supposing it to be what some would have it, it is not a gentle breath of the Divine Spirit; it is a vapour from metal molten in the furnace of human passion. It is a mere opera belonging to "the fleshly school," the strain of a Hebrew Swinburne. It was not without cause that among the interpretations of Theodore of Mopsuesta, condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople, was that which made the Proverbs a mere manual of worldly experience, and the Canticles a mere idyll or canzonata.

Nor can it be said that the matter is mended by the last refinement of criticism. A fair and simple girl, persecuted by the unworthy passion of the sensual Solomon, is pounced upon and dragged to his seraglio. Through five acts the operetta tells us of her resistance, until the Shulamite finds herself in her own garden, rewarded by the voice of her faithful shepherd. And this we are told is a story worthy of the Bible, and of the books with which it is associated! "The poem is neither mystic, as the theologians would have it; nor equivocal, as Castalion believed; nor purely amatory, as Herder thought. It is moral. It is summed up in viii. 7, 'If a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned.' Nothing can resist true love; the rich man who would buy it buys shame. The object of the song is not the voluptuous passion which dwells in the seraglios of the degenerate East; but true love, the inspirer of courage and sacrifice, preferring free poverty to servile opulence, fixing itself in vigorous hatred of lying and meanness, and ending by calm happiness and fidelity."[1]

Let us remember the cost at which this version of the book is purchased. And to do so, we must quote the facile words in which M. Renan sums up the heavier materials of Brettscher and Hitzig:—

"The first section is composed of the three first verses. These three verses are pronounced by one or several women. It seems at first sight most natural to place them in the mouth of a captive maiden in love; but there are great difficulties. First, the expression of love is *sensual*. Part seems to be pronounced by a choir of women. The third and fourth verses suppose that he to whom they are addressed is loved by many at once. The word *alamoth* certainly means the occupants of the harem. It appears, then, that in these three verses we have a harem scene. Each of these women aspires to the love of a master, evidently Solomon. They express this by passionate invitations. 'The king hath brought me into his chambers,' must, I think, be assigned to a young girl just shut up in the harem."[2]

That a poem with an introduction so odious, and of no apparent moral or religious significance, should have been exalted to a place beside Moses and the Prophets, is, surely, inconceivable.

4. To these arguments might be added the fascination which the Song has always had for devout souls. Nor is this confined to monastic precincts, and those who may be called professional mystics. We find the Canticles, indeed, to have been the favourite book of St. Bernard, who poured out the hoarded tenderness and experience of his soul in those eighty-six sermons to the brethren at Clairvaux. But it was as dear to Leighton, to Taylor, and to Bunyan, as to Bernard and Catherine of Sienna.

"Such is the force of the religious sentiment," says M. Renan, once more, "that it can give beauty and charm to wrong interpretations. The mystic sense is philologically false, but religiously true. The Shulamite has taken the cloister veil; under it she is fair still. How many true loves have lived upon the sweet, *Vulnerasti cor meum*, which the Church sings upon her festivals?[3] Those litanies and hymns, entirely made up of the sad or burning images borrowed from this sacred Idyll, how many tears have they made to flow? Add that the Christian interpretation has given to the Song that transparency and delicacy which is wanting to the original."[4]

The Christian refuses such poor consolation as this. If the beauty is falsely imported into the book, it does not exist for him at all.

On the whole, the interpretation of the Canticles which we call *idealising* seems to be involved in the reception of the book. And its sacred character is proved (1) from the use of its leading image in the Old Testament; (2) from the repeated references to it by the Baptist, by St. Paul, by St. John, and by our Lord Himself; (3) from its reception into the Sacred Canon; and (4) from its acceptance by holy and devout souls, as the food of their spiritual life.

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[1] Renan, p. 138.

[2] Let it be remembered that the long passage, vii. 2—10, requires, on this hypothesis, an interpretation equally unpleasant.

[3] See above all the hymns of Adam de S. Victor (ii. 189—320; Edit. Grant) and his school; Pitra, *Spicil. Solem.*, iii. 451.

[4] Renan, pp. 141, 142.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE GENEVAN BIBLE.

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THE accession of Edward VI. gave new life to the hopes of all friends to the diffusion of Scripture truth. We are told by some writers that from the very first the young prince manifested his reverence for the Bible, requiring that the Sacred Book, the sword of the Spirit, should at his coronation be carried before him. The restrictions which Henry had laid upon the printing and reading of the Scriptures were at once removed. In the first year of Edward's reign an injunction was issued requiring every beneficed person to provide within three months a copy of the English Bible "of the largest volume," and within twelve months a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrase on the Gospels.* As before, it was required that the books should be set up in some convenient place within the church, that they might be read by the parishioners. In 1548 official inquiry was made as to the obedience which had been paid to this injunction. A period of remarkable activity in the printing and circulation of the Scriptures immediately followed. Mr. Anderson's list of the editions published in Edward's short reign comprises thirteen or fourteen Bibles, and as many as thirty-five New Testaments separately printed. Of the editions of the whole Bible seven were of the last translation, three of Matthew's, two of Coverdale's, one (and, in part, another) of Taverner's. Of the editions of the New Testament two out of every three contain Tyndale's version.

The many important events of this reign do not fall within our province. The Prayer Books issued in 1548 and 1552 contain portions of Scripture which call for a brief notice, but they will most naturally come before us at a later period, in connection with the final revision of the Liturgy. There is, however, one version (a fragment) of the New Testament which must not be passed over. The author is no obscure divine, but the scholar who, as Milton says, "taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek." Sir John Cheke, appointed by Henry (in 1540) Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and in 1544 chosen as tutor to the young prince, was one of those scholars who laboured with the greatest zeal and success in the revival of the study of the classical languages. In one of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a translation of St. Matthew written by Cheke's own hand, probably about the year 1550. The manuscript was first printed in 1843, under the editorship of the Rev. J. Goodwin. Besides the Gospel of St. Matthew (which is complete, with the exception of about fifty verses) the translation embraces part of the first chapter of St. Mark. In the orthography, which is very peculiar, Cheke follows a system of his own. But the most remarkable feature of his work is the persistent endeavour to express all ideas by means of home-born words; we might almost suppose the translation to have been the result of a reaction against Gardiner's movement for a semi-Latin version of the Scriptures. The following extract, though short, will sufficiently show the character of this singular fragment. The peculiar orthography is preserved, but not the contractions in writing, which are numerous.

ST. MATTHEW XIV. 26—33.

And his discipils seing him walking on the see weer trobled, saieng that it was a phantasm, and thei cried out for fear. Jesus bi and bi spaak to them and said, Be of good cheer. Jt is J, fear not. Peter answerd vnto him. Sir, saith he, Jf it be thou, bid me comm on the water vnto the. And he said, Comm on. And Peter cam donn out of the boot and walked on the waters to com to Jesus. And seing the wind strong, was aferd, and when he began to sink he cried out. Lord, saith he, save me. Jesus bi and bi stretched forth his hand, and took hold of him, and said vnto him, Thou smal faithed, whi hast thou doughted? And when thei weer ones enterd into the boot the wind ceased. Thei that weer in the boot cam and bowed down vnto him and said, Suerli thou art the soun of god.

In a marginal note Cheke explains the meaning of *phantasm* as "that which appeared to the eies to be sumthing and is nothing in deed." Several of the notes and explanations are of interest, but the boldness of the vocabulary is the characteristic which most impresses the reader's mind. A proverb is a *biword*, apostle is a *frosent*, regeneration is *gainbirth*, the lunatic are *moond*, the demoniacs *spirited;* Matthew is said to be called while sitting at the *tolbooth;* this natural man is *soulisch*; phylacteries and borders (Matt. xxiii. 5) are *gardes* and *weltes;* the magi are *wiseards;* the last of the signs of Messiah (Matt. xi. 5) is that "the beggars be *gospeld.*"

The abrupt conclusion of this interesting fragment is no inapt symbol of the fortunes of the writer and of the results of Edward's premature and sudden death. One of the first acts of Mary's reign was the prohibition of the public reading of Scripture. A second proclamation, in June, 1555, denounced the writings of the Continental reformers and of many noble Englishmen, among whom were Tyndale, Frith, Cranmer, and Coverdale. Three years later a more stringent injunction was issued, requiring that wicked and seditious books should be given up on pain of death. Though the English Bible is not expressly mentioned in these two proclamations, there can be no doubt that under their sanction many copies of the Scriptures were destroyed. Two men whose names are nobly connected with the history of the English Bible, John Rogers and Thomas Cranmer, were committed to the flames; Coverdale narrowly escaped with his life, and went into exile. We cannot wonder that during the five years of Mary's reign no Bible or Testament was published on English ground. Still the persecution was not without its influence for good. As "the blood of the

martyrs" became emphatically in England the seed of a reformed and purified Church, the policy which drove learned and good men into banishment from their country was destined to prepare the way for a more accurate and worthy representation of Scripture truth.

With the foreigners who, compelled by a royal proclamation, left England without delay, many learned Englishmen sought refuge from the troubles of their country in flight. Some betook themselves to Strasburg, some to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, some to Zurich, and other towns in Germany and Switzerland. Our concern is with a band of exiles who left Frankfort in 1555 in consequence of dissensions respecting matters of ritual, and removed to Geneva, where Calvin, who had little liking for the English Prayer Book, exercised unbounded influence. Among these exiles were John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformer; Miles Coverdale; Thomas Cole, said to have been Dean of Salisbury; Christopher Goodman, at one time a divinity-professor at Oxford, author of a violent treatise against "the monstrous regiment" (government) of women, afterwards a leader of the extreme Nonconformists; John Pullain, noted for his poetical powers, a translator of Ecclesiastes, Esther, and other books of Scripture into English verse; Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, and William Whittingham. It is mainly with the three last named that we are here concerned. Gilby was a Cambridge scholar, Sampson and Whittingham were educated at Oxford. Of Gilby we know comparatively little, except that he was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge; that the troubles of Frankfort drove him to Geneva; and that on the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and received the vicarage of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. He died in 1584. Sampson was Dean of Chichester in Edward's reign. On the accession of Mary he fled to Strasburg, and afterwards joined the band of exiles at Geneva. In 1561 he became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, but was shortly afterwards deprived of his office for nonconformity. William Whittingham was born near Durham in 1524; at the age of twenty-three he was made one of the senior students of Christ Church, Oxford. When Knox left Geneva, in 1559, Whittingham was ordained his successor in the pastorate of the English church. In 1560 he returned to England, and three years later was made Dean of Durham. Whittingham was one of the translators of that metrical version of the Psalms which is known by the names of Sternhold and Hopkins, the largest contributors to the collection. He died in 1579.

In 1557 a duodecimo volume was published at Geneva, entitled "The Newe Testament of ovr Lord Iesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approued translations. With the arguments, as wel before the chapters, as for euery Boke and Epistle; also diuersities of readings, and moste proffitable annotations of all harde places; wherunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva Printed by Conrad Badius. M.D. LVII." The title-page also contains a curious woodcut, representing Time raising Truth out of her grave, with the motto, "God by Tyme restoreth Trvth, and maketh her victoriovs." After the table of contents is given "The Epistle, declaring that Christ is the end of the law, by John Calvin." This is followed by an address to the reader, giving some account of the work. The writer uses the first person singular throughout, and clearly shows that the translation is from his own hand. Though no name is given, we can have little doubt that the work was executed by Whittingham. This might be probable in itself on account of the position held by Whittingham amongst his countrymen in Geneva, and from the association of Calvin (whose sister Whittingham had married) with this translation; but, as we shall see presently, there are other indications which point to the same conclusion. Apart from the translation and the notes, which are considered below, the chief characteristics of the book are the use of Roman type (additions and explanatory words being printed in italics) and the novel arrangement of the text. Our modern verses are here seen for the first time in an English Bible. In the Old Testament the division into short verses was ready to hand in the Hebrew Bible; through Pagninus (1528) this division became familiar to readers of Latin. In the New Testament there was no precedent of the kind. From the earliest times, however, the text had been broken up into paragraphs of various lengths, and Pagninus, for the sake of uniformity, introduced into the New Testament verses similar to those now in use, but of greater length. R. Stephens, when preparing for one of his editions of the Greek Testament, resolved on an arrangement more nearly resembling that of the Old Testament. He worked out his plan on a journey from Paris to Lyons, and the Greek Testament published in 1551 in this respect resembles our present Bibles. For the Apocryphal books this work had been accomplished a few years earlier by the same hand. The complete system of verses first met the eye of English readers in the Bible of 1560, of which we have now to speak.

Three years after the publication of the Genevan Testament an edition of the whole Bible in English was published in the same city: "The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With moste profitable annotations vpon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader." On this title-page, also, is a woodcut, representing the passage through the Red Sea. The book is a quarto of about 600 pages, printed (like the Testament of 1557) in Roman and italic types, and furnished with "arguments," marginal references, headings of chapters, and explanatory notes. This is the first edition of the celebrated Genevan version, of which more than 130 editions were published, and which retained its popularity with the English public for nearly a hundred years.

The interesting address prefixed to the volume clearly brings out one distinction between the former publication and the present. Whereas that was clearly from

one hand, this openly professes to be the result of combined labours. Anthony à Wood tells us that Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Sampson, Cole, and Whittingham "undertook the translation of the English Bible, but before the greater part was finished, Queen Mary died. So that, the Protestant religion appearing again in England, the exiled divines left Frankfort and Geneva, and returned into England. Howbeit, Whittingham, with one or two more, being resolved to go through with the work, did tarry at Geneva a year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the crown." The "two or three" who remained with Whittingham seem to have been Gilby and Sampson. Knox, Goodman, Cole, Pullain, Bodleigh, and Coverdale returned to England in 1559. Coverdale, indeed, seems to have spent but a short time in Geneva; but it is hardly possible to believe that the veteran translator had no share in this undertaking. Whittingham, however, was in all probability foremost in the company of translators; and the prominent position which he holds in this work, together with the intimate relation between the translations of 1557 and 1560, warrants the belief that the earlier was mainly from his hand.

The relation between the "Genevan Testament" (1557) and the Testament of the "Genevan Bible" (1560) requires careful attention, as some have represented them to be practically the same version, whilst others have considered them altogether different works. It may easily be shown that the truth lies between these extremes. We will, as before, first examine a single chapter throughout, and then notice renderings of particular interest. Luke xvi. is a chapter of moderate length, and of rather more than average difficulty. The principal English versions available for the use of the exiles of Geneva were Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, and the Great Bible. In this chapter, Matthew (1551) agrees word for word with Tyndale; the Great Bible departs from Tyndale in about thirty renderings; Coverdale varies much more frequently—in ninety or a hundred places. The Genevan Testament deserts Tyndale in favour of Coverdale about twelve times only; hence it is evident that, though Coverdale's translation was used, it was not the basis of the new version. The Great Bible in this chapter introduces about seventeen new renderings, mostly of very little consequence, and in verse 21 a clause is added. The Genevan Testament adopts not more than three or four of these changes. It is clear, therefore, that it is on Tyndale's Testament that the new version is founded. From Tyndale the translator departs rather more than forty times; in thirty of these instances the rendering is new, and in eight of the thirty this new rendering obtained a place in our Authorised Version. The Genevan Bible, again, varies from the Testament of 1557 in nearly forty places; in thirty-three of these the rendering is new, and in sixteen the alteration still maintains its ground. Hence, so far as this chapter is concerned, we may say that the Testament is a careful revision of Tyndale, and that the Bible is again a careful revision of the Testament. As an example of extensive alteration may be given the introduction to the Gospel of St. Luke:—

ST. LUKE I. 1—4.

1 For asmuch as many haue taken in hand to write the historie of those thynges, wherof we are fully certified,
2 Euen as they declared them vnto vs, which from the begynnyng saw them their selues, and were ministers at the doyng (*margin:* or, of the thing):
3 It seemed good also to me (moste noble Theophilus) as sone as I had learned perfectly all thynges from the beginnyng, to wryte vnto thee therof from poynt to poynt:
4 That thou mightest acknowlage the trueth of those thinges where in thou hast bene broght vp.

In these four verses several renderings are introduced for the first time, as *write the history, whereof we are fully certified, it seemed good, learned perfectly, thereof, from point to point, most noble.* The Bible of 1560 differs in several places:—*set forth the story* (ver. 1), *persuaded* (for *certified*), *as they have delivered* (ver. 2), *ministers of the word, instructed* (ver. 4). The reader will not fail to observe that several of these renderings are found in our Authorised Version. It would be easy to give many examples of a similar kind. We can only remark, in passing, that the rendering of John iii. 7, which is now most familiar, "Ye must be born again," first appears in the Genevan version. The passage cited above is interesting, as exhibiting very clearly the influence of Beza on the Genevan translators, most of the new renderings being found either in Beza's Latin translation, or in his notes. This influence may be traced throughout the work. In points of interpretation Beza is in the main a safe guide; as a critic deciding on the Greek text to be adopted in any passage, he is often rash and misleading. We owe to him the true reading in Rom. xii. 11, "serving the Lord," where Tyndale and others have "apply yourselves to the time." On the other hand, in Mark xvi. 2, as the ordinary Greek text signified "the sun having risen," and so appeared to conflict with the narrative of the other Gospels, Beza adopted another reading, which was very slenderly supported, and translated the words "while the sun was rising." Not satisfied with this, however, he hazarded a conjecture that the words "not yet" might have accidentally fallen out of the text. The Genevan translators actually insert this conjecture in their margin as an alternative translation, and in the text read "when the sun was yet rising." In Matt. i. 11, the clauses which we now find in the margin of our Bibles were introduced into the text of the Genevan versions, again on very insufficient evidence. There are other blots of the same character, but on the whole Beza's influence tended greatly to the improvement of the work. Mistakes were removed which had disfigured all preceding versions. Thus in Acts xxvii. 9, the earlier versions had followed Tyndale (and Erasmus) in the translation "because we had overlong fasted." The Genevan Testament was the first to give what is now generally acknowledged to be the true translation, "because the time of the fast was now passed;" the meaning being made still clearer by the following note, "This fast the Jews observed about the month of October, in the Feast of their expiation

(Lev. 32.d[1]) So that Paul thought it better to winter there, than to sail in the deep of winter which was at hand." In the 13th verse of the same chapter, Tyndale, Coverdale, and the Great Bible have the rendering "loosed unto Asson" (Assos), supposing the Greek word *asson* to be a proper name; the Genevan translation is the first to give the true meaning, "nearer."

The notes in the Genevan version have already been referred to. They are not derived from Matthew's Bible, but were prepared by the Genevan translators themselves, and prepared with much care. As may be supposed, the comments belong to the school of theology which we associate with the names of Calvin and Beza, but a very large proportion of them contain nothing to offend readers of other schools. In the Epistle to the Romans, for instance, the Genevan Testament contains about 220 explanatory notes (not including alternative renderings), the Bible of 1560 about 250, but not more than six or seven can be called "Calvinistic." The condensed commentary which the notes contain is usually good and useful, supplying historical and geographical information, clearing up obscure texts, but most frequently containing pithy observations on lessons that are taught by a narrative, or inferences which may be drawn from a text. In the Bible of 1560 most of the notes of the earlier Testament were retained, and several additions made; the commentary was also extended to the whole Bible, with the exception of the Apocryphal Books, in which the notes are scanty. The matter of the annotations was derived from Beza, Calvin, and others. Our limits will not permit us to give many examples; the following will serve as a specimen:—

Exod. i. 19. Their disobedience herein was lawful, but their dissembling evil.

2 Chron. xv. 16. Herein he showed that he lacked zeal, for she ought to have died, both by the covenant, as verse 13, and by the law of God; but he gave place to foolish pity, and would also seem after a sort to satisfy the law.

Ps. xlvi., title. (Alamoth), which was either a musical instrument or a solemn tune, unto the which this psalm was sung.

Ps. cxix. 25 (cleaveth unto the dust). That is, it is almost brought to the grave, and without Thy word I cannot live.

1 Sam. iii. 4. Josephus writeth that Samuel was twelve years old when the Lord appeared to him.

Matt. xx. 23. God my Father hath not given me charge to bestow offices of honour here.

John vi. 28 (the works of God). Such as be acceptable unto God.

Ephes. v. 16 (Redeeming the time). Selling all worldly pleasures to buy time.

Heb. xi. 4 (by the which). Meaning *faith*.

Occasionally (especially in the Acts) the note contains some considerable additions to the text, similar to those so freely admitted into the Great Bible. Thus in Acts xiv. 7, we read that others add "insomuch that all the people were moved at the doctrine. So both Paul and Barnabas remained at Lystra." This reading Beza mentions in his note as contained in his own most ancient MS.—a MS. of the sixth century (*Codex Bezæ*) now preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and remarkable for such additions to the ordinary text.

[1] That is, Lev. xxxii. (a mistake for xxiii.) 27—29. Though the text is divided into verses, the marginal references of the Genevan Testament follow the old paragraphs.

Let us now turn to the Old Testament. If in the passages which we have before taken as a test we compare the Genevan Bible with the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, and with the Great Bible, we shall find that considerable variation exists, but that the Genevan translation is nearer to the Great Bible than to any other. In Numb. xxiv. 15—24, the Genevan Bible differs from Tyndale about forty-six times, from the Great Bible about thirty-five. In Isa. xii. the variation from the Great Bible is about the same in amount, four changes in each verse; in several of these the version returns to Tyndale. In Ps. xc. the Great Bible is deserted in more than eighty instances; in two out of every three the change is an improvement, and more than fifty of the changes hold their ground in the Authorised Version. As will be seen hereafter, the Authorised Version has been very largely influenced by the Genevan Bible, which, in that part of the Old Testament not translated by Tyndale, was the most thorough and satisfactory of all the earlier versions. The rendering of some words in Gen. iii. 7, "and made themselves breeches," has given to the Genevan translation the name by which it is popularly known, the "Breeches Bible." One peculiarity strikes the reader at once, and points to a writer much followed by the translators. This is the orthography of the Hebrew proper names, which not only frequently appear in a dress novel to the English reader, but also have an accent to mark the original pronunciation. Thus we find Iaakób, Izhák, Zidkiáh, Hábel, Rahél, Heuáh (Eve). This peculiarity was derived from Pagninus, whose translation, remarkable for literal fidelity, had very great weight with the Genevan translators. Dr. Westcott examines minutely the variation of this version from the Great Bible in several portions of the Old Testament, and proves that most of the changes were made in the interests of literalness of translation; that many are traceable to Pagninus, some to the Latin versions of Münster and Leo Juda, and to the French Bible; and that in the Apocryphal Books the Genevan version was much influenced by a French translation by Beza. The Apocryphal Books in this version require special notice. In the earlier English Bibles the translation of these books was based on the Latin, either directly or through the intervention of other versions. (Thus in Tobit i., ii., iii., the narrative was given in the third person, as in the Latin Bible; in the Greek text the first person is mainly used, and accordingly we find this person in our present version.) This important change of text was made by the Genevan translators. The Prayer of Manasses, given by Rogers and in the Great Bible, is here omitted.

The language of the Genevan version does not present much difficulty to the reader of the present day. Sometimes we find words which have a more modern look than those of the Authorised Version, as *excommunicate, amity, hurlyburly, surgeon, umpire;* several other words are strange, or are used in a peculiar sense, as *quadrin* (Mark xii. 42), *chapman, improve* (reprove), *frail* (basket), *grenne* (gin), *commodity* (Rom. xiii. 16),

grieces (Acts xxi. 40). On this subject the reader may find much interesting information in a little book entitled *English Retraced* (Cambridge, 1862).

To the great and deserved popularity of the Genevan Bible we have already referred. The times were favourable to its success. No one can forget the incident which occurred on the day of Elizabeth's coronation, when the City of London presented the young Queen with an English Bible. Elizabeth thanked the City for their "goodly gift," kissed the sacred book, and promised she would "diligently read therein." The people saw in this the symbol of the restoration of the Scriptures to their rightful place of authority; and though many expectations were disappointed, yet from that day the English Bible has been free. In 1559 Elizabeth repeated the injunctions issued by Edward VI., that every parish should provide "one whole Bible of the largest volume in English," together with the paraphrases of Erasmus. It was ordered that inquiry should be made whether any "parsons, vicars, or curates did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible."

The expense of the publication of the Genevan Bible was borne by the English community in that city. In 1561 Bedley obtained from the Queen a patent for the exclusive printing of this version during seven years. In the same year he published an edition in folio at Geneva. In the course of Elizabeth's reign as many as seventy editions of the Genevan Bible and thirty of the New Testament, in all sizes from folio to 48mo, some in black letter and others in the ordinary character, were issued from the press. A few of these were printed abroad, but the large majority at home. In 1579 appeared the first Bible printed in Scotland, a folio volume, "printed by Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the King's Majestie."

Amongst the editions of the Genevan Testament referred to above are included those of a revision by Lawrence Tomson, first published in 1576. Tomson was secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, then Secretary of State; an inscription on a marble tablet in Chertsey Church celebrates his knowledge of twelve languages and the excellence of his character. On the very title-page of his Testament Tomson professes his obligations to or rather dependence upon Beza, whose annotations he reproduces to a very considerable extent. The text, however, is not much altered, and the chief characteristic of this edition is the large extent of the commentary in the margin. This revision passed through many editions, and was not unfrequently substituted for the Testament of 1560 in issues of the Genevan Bible.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING.

BY THE REV. DR. EDERSHEIM.

FROM the nature of it, there is no subject on which more differing and often more extravagant utterances could be strung together, as expressive of the views of the Rabbis, than on death, the hereafter, the resurrection, and the kingdom to come. For although Scripture was very definite in the purport of its teaching on these subjects, yet it was in the Old Testament expressed so briefly—we had almost said, so indefinitely—as far as details are concerned, that a wide field was left for the speculations, the fancies, and the endless logical and exegetical inferences of Rabbinical theology. And yet, strange though it may appear to some, there are few subjects on which the student could collate more passages from the Rabbis that remind him of what he reads in the New Testament. A few of these sayings of old may here find a place.

An argument somewhat similar to that by which our Lord proved to the Sadducees the immortality of the soul (Mark xii. 26, 27), occurs in the Babylon Talmud (*Ber.* 18, *a*), where it is argued from two passages of Scripture, that "the righteous are called *living* after their physical death;" while in another place (*Taan.* 5) we read that "our father Jacob is not dead." Similarly, the expression of St. Jude (ver. 12), "twice dead, plucked up by the roots," finds its counterpart in this (*Ber.* 10, *a*): "Thou art dead here below, and thou shalt have no part in the life to come." Even the sublime comparison of St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 36—44), in which the burial of the body is likened to the sowing of some grain, finds an echo, however faint, in the Rabbinical parable (*Midr. R. Gen.* 33) about the dispute between the straw, the stubble, and the chaff, each maintaining that the ground is only tilled for its sake, till the grain of wheat shows them the end of each—to rot or to be blown away, all except the seed-corn, which grows for nourishment here, and springs up into new life hereafter. If in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 14) we read, that "here we have no continuing city, but seek one to come;" and in that to the Corinthians (2 Cor. v. 1) of a "dwelling not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;" and if St. Peter admonishes us as "strangers and pilgrims," we have it in the Mishna (*Aboth* iv. 16), "This world is like an antechamber to the world to come; prepare thyself, therefore, in it for entering the banqueting hall;" and in the Talmud (*Moed K.* 9), "This world is like a hostelry on a journey; the world to come is our real dwelling-place." And the reproof of our blessed Lord to the Sadducees concerning the resurrection, in which there was neither marrying nor giving in marriage (Mark xii. 25), would find the more ready reception by His hearers, that it may have reminded some of them of

the higher teaching of their own sages. At any rate, we read it as the utterance of the great *Rab* (*Ber.* 17, *a*), "The world to come is not like this world. There, there is neither eating nor drinking; neither marrying nor business; neither jealousy, hatred, nor discussion; but the sages, wearing their crowns, shall enjoy the sight of the Shechinah, as it is written (Exod. xxiv. 11), 'they saw God, and did eat and drink.'" But even the exhortation of our Lord concerning the laying up for ourselves of treasures not on earth, but in heaven, finds this parallel (*Ab.* vi.), "In parting out of this world, not gold nor silver, but his works, accompany a man;" while the expression, "Out of thine own mouth thou art condemned," is recalled to us by two Talmudical sayings (*Chag.* iv. 6; *Taan.* 11, *a*), to the effect that at the judgment-seat each soul would be made to bear witness of its actions. According to Rabbi Eliezer, the souls of the righteous were under the throne of the Divine glory. And, without entering into details, it is quite certain that the Jewish fathers taught a twofold resurrection—that of the righteous in the days of the Messiah, and that of all men at the final judgment.

If we have heard among the Rabbis echoes of New Testament sayings about death and that which is to follow, it is interesting to know that the allusions to death, burial, and mourning which occur in the Gospels are alike confirmed and illustrated by the customs prevalent at the time.

When St. James wrote (i. 27), that "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction," he appealed to a principle universally admitted in his time. Visitation of the sick was regarded as a religious duty; the more so, that each visitor was supposed to carry away a small portion of the disease. In the figurative language of those days, it was said that the Shechinah rested over the head of the sick-bed. Indeed, according to one opinion (*Jer. Ber.* ii. 3), sickness atoned for sin; the somewhat curious reference here being to the conjunction of the two in Ps. ciii. 3. Other and truer views are expressed in the Babylon Talmud (*Ber.* 5, *a*), which almost remind us of the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 5—11). While suffering, a man was to examine himself, it was said—first, about his past conduct (Lam. iii. 40); next, whether he had neglected the study of the Law (Ps. xciv. 12). Having satisfied himself on these points, he was to regard the dispensation of God as a trial of his faith, and an evidence of God's love; he was to recognise God in all, and "to receive it with love."[1]

But we have been wandering from our point, which was to show that visitation of the afflicted constituted, by universal consent, at least one part of "pure religion." According to the Rabbis, the following "works of mercy" were traced up to the command to love one's neighbour as oneself—nor was there any measure indicated in, or limitation to, their observance—viz., to visit the sick, to comfort the mourners, to carry out the dead, to introduce a bride, to be helpful to travellers, and to take part in all connected with a burial. Nay, if a funeral convoy and a bridal procession met, the latter had to give way to the former, and they who attended it to follow the dead. It took precedence even of a royal pageant; and it was said in praise of Agrippa I. that he was wont to join funeral processions. Without here entering into particulars on the treatment of the dying or of the sick, we may mention as at least a curious coincidence, that, according to the Talmud (*Shab.* 110), it was customary after administering remedies, to say to the patient, "*Kum*" ("Arise"), just as we read it in Mark v. 41, "*Talitha cumi.*" Of the present ceremonies of the Jews beside the dying-bed there are no traces in ancient times.

The first duty, after death had really taken place, was to close the eyes and the mouth of the deceased. But this should never be attempted so long as the faintest breath remained, since the least interference would hasten the decease. Then the body was either laid upon the bare ground, or on sand or salt. Next, the closing of eyes and mouth was firmly secured; after which, as we read in the case of Tabitha (Acts ix. 37), the body was washed in warm water. There is singular confirmation of the Gospel narratives in what then followed. As we read, in the case of our blessed Lord, of the ointment against the burial (Matt. xxvi. 12), of the spices and ointments (Luke xxiii. 56), and of the mixture of myrrh and aloes (John xix. 39), so the Rabbis speak (*Ber.* 53, *a*) of the "spices for the dead;" and name aloes and myrrh, as well as hyssop, oil of roses, and rose-water, as those with which the body was rubbed. Next, hair and nails were cut (the hair of a bride being allowed to flow loose), and all the openings of the body closed up. As to the clothes in which the dead were to be arrayed, considerable difference prevailed. Till after the destruction of Jerusalem much luxury seems to have been displayed, and "great quantity of spices," "many ornaments," large sums of money, "furniture of gold and precious goods," were deposited with the dead (Josephus, *Antt.* xv. 3, § 4; xvi. 7, § 1). The body of Herod the Great was carried on a golden bier encrusted with jewels, and wrapped in purple; a diadem and a crown of gold were on his head, and a sceptre in his hand. The procession was attended by his army, in order of battle, and followed by five hundred servants, carrying spices (*Antt.* xvii. 8, § 3). Indeed, such was the desire to outdo one another in these melancholy exhibitions that at last people left their relatives unburied, so as not to have a meaner funeral than their neighbours.

As a rule, it was ordered that burial should follow as soon as possible after the fact of death had been quite ascertained. Of this we have instances in the immediate burial of Stephen (Acts viii. 2), and of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 6, 10). An exception was made after heavy rains, &c., and at the death of parents, whom the children were thought to honour by keeping their remains even for three days. As the sepulchres were roomy, and not closed up, there was

[1] It is characteristic that, according to another authority, wounds, leprosy, and the death of children, are not to be regarded as proofs of the Divine love, nor as atoning for sin.

not so much danger to be apprehended from premature burial. It is a very remarkable fact, which may throw additional light on the visit of the women to the grave of Jesus, that the law expressly allowed the opening of the grave on the third day, in order to look after the dead. In the case of the ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter Christ raised from death (Matt. ix. 23), immediate preparations seem to have been made for the burial; and the Lord found on His arrival the company already assembling, "and saw the minstrels" in waiting to begin the funeral music. On the other hand, the disciples had laid the body of Tabitha in the "upper chamber," expecting the arrival of Peter (Acts ix. 37, 39).

Quite irrespective of the circumstance that the later Rabbis, at least, held that the departed knew what passed in this world—that they hovered about their unburied remains, and felt any slight or dishonour attaching to them—the Jews at all times displayed great reverence towards the dead. Even in its excess this is one of those evidences of exquisite religious delicacy which truly characterised Judaism. It was customary to provide one's burying-place beforehand; and family sepulchres are mentioned in the earliest Hebrew records (Gen. xxiii. 20; Judg. viii. 32; 2 Sam. ii. 32). The heirs-at-law were prohibited from disposing of such. Burying-places were, as a rule, outside the cities—commonly at no less a distance than fifty cubits. In Jerusalem no dead body was allowed to remain over night. The favourite localities for burying were rocky places and caves. Sepulchres were also prepared in gardens. Two bodies were not laid in the same niche, except those of a daughter with her father, or of a son with his mother. If the dead were buried in successive layers, at least six hand-breadths of earth must intervene (about a foot and a half). The names given to burying-places, such as "house of assembly," "hostelry," "place of rest" or "of freedom," "field of the weepers," "house of eternity," "house of life," &c., are expressive of the ideas prevalent. After the final scattering of Israel the desire to be buried in the soil of Palestine became so intense that it used to be said, "He that rests in Palestine is as if he were buried under the altar."

Sepulchres were so constructed as to consist of a kind of antechamber which led down lower to one or more passages and chambers (sometimes right and left), where the bodies were deposited. Hence we read that in the new rock-hewn tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, in the garden, which evidently was capable of holding several bodies (John xix. 41), John "stooped down" to look into the sepulchre; while "Simon Peter, following him, went into the sepulchre" (John xx. 5, 6). Commonly, family sepulchres held either eight or else thirteen bodies. The dead were deposited in a recumbent position, either in, or, in earlier times, more commonly without a coffin. The place of sepulture was closed by a door, or large stone (John xi. 38, 39; Mark xv. 46; Matt. xxvii. 66). Sepulchres were whitened once a year (in the month Adar), so as to indicate their presence, and prevent defilement from the dead. Afterwards it became customary to erect monuments, but the practice was disapproved by the Rabbis. What we call gravestones were not at all in use. Criminals and suicides were buried in a spot apart, but their families were allowed afterwards to gather their remains. Places of sepulture were protected from profanation. It was not lawful to walk on the grass that covered graves, far less to allow sheep to feed upon it. All light behaviour, eating or drinking in a cemetery, &c., were regarded as insults to the dead. On the other hand, it was forbidden to wear phylacteries, or to carry a book of the Law among sepulchres. As partly sanitary measures, no spring used for drinking-water, or public thoroughfare, was allowed to pass through a graveyard.

The funeral procession received in its progress every token of respect. Each one rose as it passed, and, if possible, joined the *cortège*. First came, generally, the women; then, in Judæa, the hired mourners, men and women, who made lamentation, and the funeral music; next came the bier, on which the body lay, generally open, or in a coffin (called "ark," or "chest"); after which followed the chief mourners, the special friends; and, lastly, the general company. In Galilee the hired mourners went *after* the bier. Commonly the body was carried, it being the custom frequently to change the bearers, so that all might share in this "work of mercy." Funeral cars, however, are also spoken of. The ordinary mode of burial illustrates how Jesus could so easily arrest the funeral procession at Nain, bid the youth sit up, and restore him to his widowed mother (Luke vii. 11—15). Over the bier of a bride or bridegroom it became customary to carry a baldachino; nor was the face of a bridegroom covered, which, at least in later times, was the practice. The custom of laying a disused roll of the Law beside sages, at their burial, was disapproved. Children under one year were not carried on a bier; for those under one month there were no mourning ceremonies—the warrant for this omission being derived from the example of David on the death of his firstborn, by Bathsheba (2 Sam. xii. 15—23). The noise, weeping, and lamentations at a funeral made the rites needlessly repulsive. There were regular mourning-chants in use, while other hymns were full of laudations of the deceased. When to all this are added the noise of trumpets and flutes, the howling of the paid mourners, the tambourines and tinkling of the cymbals of the mourning-women, and the glare of torches, the scene can be more easily imagined than described. These extravagances are not to be confounded with the mourning-hymns, for example, of David at the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i.), or of Jeremiah for King Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 25), although the demonstrations of grief among Easterns were always loud. Commonly the funeral procession halted seven times, and a short address was given at each pause. At the grave a funeral oration was delivered, and certain verses and benedictions repeated, acknowledging God, and recognising His justice. Then the company formed in two rows, through which the chief mourners passed, each addressing to them some words of consolation. Anciently, at the burial of kings (2 Chron. xvi. 14;

xxi. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 5), and afterwards at that of distinguished men, precious spices were burned. Thus Akylas, the well-known Jewish proselyte, emulated at the burial of Gamaliel the expenditure usual at royal funerals. But anything like "cremation" was expressly denounced as a heathen practice[1] (*Avod. Sar.* 11).

That certain mourning rites were observed in the earliest times appears from the Biblical record. At the death of Sarah "Abraham came to mourn and weep for her" (Gen. xxiii. 2); while at the tidings of that of Joseph "Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins" (Gen. xxxvii. 34). The Egyptian mourning for Jacob gave even its name to a place in Palestine (Gen. l. 11). The friends of Job came to offer consolation, and when so doing rent their upper garments, sprinkled dust upon their heads, and sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, "and none spake a word unto him" (Job ii. 12, 13). The mourning for Moses and Aaron lasted thirty days (Numb. xx. 29; Deut. xxxiv. 8), as in later times that for distinguished persons (Jos. *J. Wars*, iii. 9, § 5), though the book of Ecclesiasticus speaks only of seven days in the case of near relatives.

The Book of Psalms (Ps. xxxv. 13, 14, &c.) implies that a special "mourning-dress" was worn; while the admonition to Ezekiel (xxiv. 17) shows that in his days it was customary in such circumstances to put off the head-gear and the sandals, to cover the lower part of the face, like a leper, and to "eat the bread of men," which in Hosea ix. 4, and Jer. xvi. 7, is more particularly explained as "the bread of mourners" and the "cup of consolation." Indeed, the custom of such a meal and of a cup of consolation is already alluded to in 2 Sam. iii. 35, and in Prov. xxxi. 6. The address of David at the burial of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34) was a kind of funeral oration. Many other passages in the Bible alluding to mourning practices will readily occur to the reader. The only rites interdicted were those in imitation of heathen customs, which tended to deface the body (Lev. xix. 28; Deut. xiv. 1).

[1] The cremation of Saul and of his sons (1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13) was probably due to a special cause; and the reference in Amos vi. 10 may apply to the prevalence of the plague.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

ALL that has to be said as to the writer of this book has already been brought before our readers in the introduction to the Gospel of St. Luke. What we have here is manifestly a sequel to that Gospel, addressed to the same persons by the same writer. And as everything connected with the Gospel led us to think of it as specially intended for the instruction of Gentile converts, so in the Acts we have what was manifestly designed to show the way in which the purpose of God had been brought to fulfilment, and those who had before been aliens had been admitted into the same society, the same Church, the same kingdom of God, as those who were of the stock of Abraham. The purpose of the book thus recognised limits in some measure the promise of its title. It does not give us the Acts of the Twelve, their mission work in Palestine, or in the farther regions of the East. It hardly goes beyond the Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of these it gives a selection rather than a continuous narrative, and leaves gaps which we have no materials for filling up.

It may be added that there is a manifest purpose subordinate to this, which determined the choice of the facts recorded, and the prominence assigned to them. In the controversies which had followed on the teaching of St. Paul, and the efforts of the Judaising teachers to supplant him, the name of Peter had been freely used by the latter as their leader. Those who said "I am of Cephas" counted on that name as a tower of strength. Their boast was not altogether without foundation. On one melancholy occasion the Apostle of the Circumcision had suffered himself to be misled by them, and had practically sided with them (Gal. ii. 14). St. Paul had been compelled to stand up in direct opposition and to rebuke him. There seemed some probability of a permanent division. The Gentile converts of Italy, of whom Theophilus was one, were sure to have heard of these disputes, probably with many exaggerations, and it was in every way natural and legitimate that he should write to give its due prominence to the fact that the two great Apostles had been of one heart and mind as regards the admission of the Gentile converts, that the door of faith had been thrown open in the first instance by St. Peter, and that the great charter of the freedom of the Gentile converts had come from the Apostles and elders of Jerusalem. The absence of any reference to the one interruption of this concord was not necessarily, even assuming that the writer of the Acts knew it, a *suppressio veri* in any sense in which such a suppression would have been culpable. It was but a passing personal weakness, which St. Paul was compelled to notice because his own independence had been challenged, and he had been represented as having no direct Divine commission of his own, but which did not affect at all the great work of the Church, and might therefore well be passed over. Over and above its interest as showing the gradual expansion of the Church, both as to extent and comprehensiveness, the book now before us has in other ways a special value.

(1.) As occupying a prominent place among the evidences of the Christian faith. The abruptness of its close, its fixing precisely the close of the two years' imprisonment of St. Paul, the manifest familiarity of the writer and the assumed familiarity of the readers in

chap. xxviii. with the details of Italian topography, at least suggests the inference that the book was written at Rome before the great Neronian persecution. A comparison of its narrative with St. Paul's Epistles, such as that worked out in Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, confirms this inference, and leaves hardly any shadow as to the conclusion that we have here a strictly contemporary narrative. The total absence of any ostentatious desire on the part of the writer to represent himself as an eye-witness of, or actor in, the events which he narrates—his open confession (Luke i. 2) that he was, as regards the first part of his history, but a compiler from the oral or written records of others;—all this gives a special force to the incidental—one might almost say accidental—way in which he glides, at some portions of his narrative, into the first person, as in the journey from Troas to Philippi (Acts xvi.), again from Philippi to Troas, and so on to Jerusalem, and again in the story of the voyage to Italy, and so shows that he had been the friend and companion of the apostle whose work he chronicles. All this is confirmed by the singular accuracy which marks his incidental notices affecting the government of provinces or cities, such as that of the proconsul of Cyprus, the στρατηγοὶ of Philippi, the politarchs of Thessalonica. But if we admit this, then it follows, even from the book of the Acts taken by itself, that the outline of the life, miracles, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord were accepted as facts by all the churches, Jewish and Gentile alike, within thirty years from the date of those great events. It follows, as the Acts presupposes the Gospel, that that also was written and was read, with all its fulness of incident and teaching, at the same early date; that, so far from being the first of such written records, it presupposes the existence of many previous narratives of the same kind, more or less incomplete, it may be, but substantially agreeing with that which he sets forth. And if so, then it follows that that Gospel narrative on which our faith rests is no mythical aftergrowth of a period removed from all contemporary evidence, no "cunningly devised fable" imposed on the credulity of an uncritical period, but the record of one who had gathered information from many different sources, and was capable of sifting it.

(2.) Over and above this evidential value, the Acts serves as the indispensable introduction to St. Paul's Epistles. Without it they would come before us as the fragments of a literature and a life which it would be hard to reconstruct in any intelligible form. We should not have known how it was that the persecutor had become the apostle, but for the threefold narrative of his conversion. We should have failed to understand how it was that he became "all things to all men," if we had no record of his maintaining the freedom of the Gentile converts from the burden of the Law, and yet circumcising Timotheus; of the singular variety of his teaching, as addressed to his own countrymen in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, or to the peasants at Lystra, or to the Stoics and Epicureans at Athens. The Epistles, it is true, bring out, as it was natural they should do, individual traits of character which the narrative leaves unnoticed, but the broad outline of the man's life is brought before us, and by the union of the two sources of information, it stands before us with such a wonderful distinctness, that there are few great teachers of any age or country whom we know better or so well. Such a narrative as that of the voyage and shipwreck, in chap. xxvii., is absolutely unique in the books of Holy Scripture; and in its circumstantial detail, in the incidents and measurements, which seem to come as from a ship's log, leaves on us an impression of unquestionable truthfulness; and that narrative brings out the courage, the calmness, the cheerfulness, almost the humour of the Apostle with a vividness which makes the whole scene present to our mind. And it is noticeable that this scene is interwoven with the higher supernatural side of the Apostle's life so closely that the two can hardly be disjoined. The vision, the prophecy, the assurance in a Divine protector answering his prayers, these are as much an integral portion of the narrative as the hoisting up the mainsail or the casting of the lead.

(3.) Not less significant is the value of the Acts as being the first volume of the history of the Christian Church. The small brotherhood of disciples, who in the Gospels are but as scholars, slow of heart to understand, gathering round the Master whose words are higher than their thoughts, are now thrown on their own resources, brought into new and unexpected combinations of events, compelled to accept, not only the promptings of a higher wisdom, but the guidance of unforeseen circumstances. And the writer, though he has a purpose before him, that of so selecting events as to mark the steps of outward and inward growth, is yet as far as possible from giving simply a highly-coloured picture of ideal perfection. The first glow of love and liberality had a special charm for one whose own nature was generous and free-hearted, and who had been led to record in his Gospel with special fulness all the portions of our Lord's teaching which bore upon the danger of riches and the blessedness of almsgiving; and so in the early chapters he returns again and again, with a manifest delight, to the description of the time when all were of one mind and of one heart, and the spontaneous surrender of personal rights made any enforced community of goods unnecessary. But with this exception, the history notes blemishes as well as excellences; records the first sectional controversy in the new society, in the murmurings of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration; the first doctrinal controversy, in the demand of the Christian Pharisees that the Gentiles should be circumcised, and compelled to observe the whole Mosaic law; the first personal dispute, in the sharp dissension between Paul and Barnabas as to the fitness of John, surnamed Mark, for missionary labours. And we find that each such controversy becomes the starting-point of a new and higher development or of a wider activity. The first leads to the appointment of the seven, and

through them, as successors to their work, of the permanent diaconate. The second issued in the first great example of the practice, afterwards so prominent in Church history, of settling disputes of doctrine or discipline by the deliberations and canons of a council, and in establishing the principle of the freedom of the Gentile converts on an unshaken basis, while in practice it urged a policy of reciprocal concessions. The last had as its ultimate result the extension of St. Paul's labours, which might otherwise have been more or less within the limits of his first journey through the eastern and central provinces of Asia, to the farthest limits of the West. We have the picture of a universal Church, one in its faith in the Lord Christ, whose name it came to bear; but presenting then, as it has done ever since, diversities of usage, character, organisation, according to the varying circumstances of each local church. And as the work goes on the centre of action is shifted. At first Jerusalem is the headquarters of the mission-work of the preachers of the new faith. Then Antioch in its turn becomes the new centre, the mother Church of the Gentile Christendom. We feel, as we close the book, though the history stops with St. Paul's arrival at the imperial city, that from that time Rome would of necessity assume a new character in the history of the Church; that mission-work there would be more important than in any region of the world; that its influence would, for good or evil, gradually become predominant.

(4.) It lies in the nature of the case that the Acts should present itself as pre-eminently the hand-book, so to speak, of missionary enterprise. And there is, if I mistake not, something specially suggestive in the report it gives of the apostolic method of evangelising. Those who entered on that work did not rest satisfied with preaching a new doctrine, still less did they dream that the work could be done by distributing books, however sacred, broadcast over the world. They taught, they roused the conscience; they appealed to the light of nature, to the witness of God borne by the rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, to the prophecies of the Christ that was to come. But they came chiefly as *witnesses of facts*, of things that they had seen and heard, and pre-eminently of the one fact of the Resurrection as a witness at once of the victory over death and sin which had been won by Christ, and of the future resurrection of mankind to appear before Him as the Judge of the living and the dead. And having done this, they proceeded to organise a society; and that society was to have, as its conditions of existence, the Baptism without which no one was admitted to membership; the Supper of the Lord, which was to be the token and the means of the communion of all members, breaking down all barriers of race, or culture, or rank, in a life higher than their own. And with this there were at least the outlines of a wide world-embracing organisation. Elders or bishops (the two names were at first interchangeable) were ordained in every city to be pastors of the flock, and as such to guide and teach. Deacons were appointed to help them in their ministrations, and specially in those that had to do with the works of mercy, which formed so prominent a part in the life of every church. From time to time the church was visited by an apostle, or by an apostolic delegate, such as Timothy and Titus, to set in order whatever was amiss. The members of one church felt that they might count on those of others as brethren, and commended Christian travellers or teachers to their good offices. On special emergencies the bishop-elders gathered together under the guidance of apostles, and their decrees were submitted to the approval of the great body of the faithful. We do not find in the Acts, or anywhere else in the New Testament, a code of polity or discipline. What we do find is a society which has its life organised; its badges and traditions; its branches, each with an independent life, yet recognising the one great society to which all severally belong. That type presents itself as the model to which all missionary work must conform, if it seeks for any measure of success like that which this book records.

(5.) Lastly, the inquiry as to the probable sources of the information from which the book was compiled is, if I mistake not, very full of interest. We know from the book itself that the writer was with St. Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem, and from chap. xx. to the end we have the narrative of an eye-witness. But on this journey they stop at Cæsarea (xxi. 8), and are received by Philip the Evangelist, and from him, then or during the longer period of St. Paul's imprisonment, he could not fail to learn the whole history of the appointment of the seven, the work and martyrdom of Stephen, the labours of Philip in Samaria, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch and Cornelius, the death of Herod Agrippa. Thus then we cover chaps. vi., vii., viii., x., xi., and part of xii. But the travellers were accompanied also by Mnason of Cyprus, "an old disciple," or, as the word means, a disciple from the very beginning, and here we get a new source of information to fill up the gap left by previous witnesses. He was a resident at Jerusalem, for the writer and St. Paul were to lodge with him. He must at least have known something of those "men of Cyprus" who first preached the word of God to the Greeks or Gentiles at Antioch, even if he were not himself one of them, and we may reasonably look to him as St. Luke's chief informant for the events that fill chaps. i.—v., for the pictures of the Church's life that are there so graphically drawn. For all that concerns St. Paul, perhaps in part also for what concerns St. Stephen and Gamaliel, we can have no doubt, if we accept the fact of companionship, in looking to him as the source of all that is recorded in the Acts, perhaps even as the actual reporter of St. Stephen's strangely interrupted speech, calm and continuous at first, then hurried and impetuous, then broken off by the clamour of his opponents. The echoes of that speech which meet us in St. Paul's discourse in Acts xiii. 17—22, and in Gal. iii. 19, are *primâ facie* evidence of the deep impression it made on him. It is obvious that all these traces of opportunities well used bear upon the first book addressed to Theophilus

as well as the second, upon the Gospel as well as upon the Acts. Add the manifest traces of access to the company of devout women whom he alone names (Luke viii. 2, 3), and of whom the mother of the Lord was, we may well believe, the centre, and of an intimate acquaintance with the members of the Herodian family, such as the calling of a physician might naturally have led to (Luke viii. 1; xxiii. 6—12; Acts xiii. 1), and it is not too much to say that we have before us the picture of one possessing means of information and care in using them which make his record in the highest sense of the word historical from first to last.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

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DURING the early part of Elizabeth's reign, the English Scriptures were circulated mainly in two versions. Four editions, indeed, of Tyndale's Testament are assigned to the years 1561, 1566, 1570, but it does not appear that the Bibles of Coverdale, Taverner, or Matthew were reprinted after 1553; hence the Great Bible and the Genevan Bible, the versions associated with Archbishop Cranmer and with the Puritan exiles, were left in possession of the field. The former alone had any authority or ecclesiastical influence on its side, but the latter was the household Bible of England. For some years new editions of Cranmer's version continued to appear. Eight in all are known to have been published in this reign—together, it is said, with one New Testament of the same version, for printing which without licence the printer, Richard Harrison, was fined eight shillings. One of these Bibles, printed at Rouen in 1566, at the cost of R. Carmarden, is especially noted as a fine specimen of typography.

This state of things could not continue. It could not be expected that the Genevan version (with its body of notes, which reflected the views of one particular school of theology, and which were not always guarded in expression) would receive such official sanction as to displace the Great Bible; and, on the other hand, the manifest superiority of the later translation, joined with its great popularity, made it impossible to restore Cranmer's Bible to its former position. Matthew Parker, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in 1559, resolved on undertaking a revised translation, upon a plan similar to that which Cranmer had tried (though without success) in 1542. Letters collected in the volume of the Parker correspondence, published by the Parker Society, contain much interesting information respecting the archbishop's design. In 1566 he writes to Sir W. Cecil, stating that he has "distributed the Bible in parts to divers men," and expressing a hope that Cecil will undertake the revision of some "one epistle of St. Paul, or Peter, or James." As early as December, 1565, we find a letter from Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, acknowledging the receipt of the portion which had been assigned to him—five of the Apocryphal books. About the same time, Geste, Bishop of Rochester, writes, returning the Book of Psalms revised, and expressing a hope that the archbishop will excuse his "rude handling of the Psalms." This modest description of his work is not far from the truth. "I have not altered the translation," he says, "but where it giveth occasion of an error, as in the first Psalm, at the beginning, I turn the preterperfect tense into the present tense, because the sense is too hard in the preterperfect tense. Where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalm according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon diverse translations." Sandys, Bishop of Worcester (father of the poet, George Sandys), writes on the 6th of February, 1566, announcing that he has completed his portion (Kings and Chronicles); he adds a criticism on the Great Bible—that Munster had been followed too much by the translators. Davies, Bishop of St. David's, writes that he received the archbishop's letter of December 6th, 1565, towards the close of the following February, and the "piece of the Bible" (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Samuel) a week later! He was at the same time engaged, with William Salisbury and Thomas Huatt, upon the first Welsh translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1567. A letter from Cox, Bishop of Ely, who was entrusted with the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans, shows a just appreciation of the magnitude of the task on which Parker had ventured. "I would wish," he adds, "that such usual words that we English people be acquainted with might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear. Inkhorn terms to be avoided. The translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one tense, &c.; and if ye translate *bonitas* or *misericordia*, to use it likewise in all places of the Psalms, &c." On the 5th of October, 1568, Parker writes to Cecil, sending at the same time a copy of the completed work, to be presented to the Queen. "Because I would," he says to Cecil, "you knew all, I here send you a note to signify who first travailed in the divers books, though after them some other perusing was had; the letters of their names be partly affixed in the end of their books, which I thought a policy to shew them, to make them more diligent, as answerable for their doings. I have remembered you of such observations as my first letters sent to them (by your advice) did signify." The rules for the revisers here referred to were the following:—"First, to follow the common English translation used in the

churches, and not to recede from it but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original. Item, to use sections and divisions in the text as Pagnine in his translation useth, and for the verity of the Hebrew to follow the said Pagnine and Munster specially, and generally others learned in the tongues. Item, to make no bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy. Item, to note such chapters and places as contain matter of genealogies, or other such places not edifying, with some strike or note, that the reader may eschew them in his public reading. Item, that all such words as sound in the old translation to any offence of lightness or obscenity, be expressed with more convenient terms and phrases."

It is a matter of greater difficulty to determine with exactness who were the revisers of the several books. The letter just quoted contains a list, and at the end of some books in the new Bible are initials which can be identified with more or less certainty. Unfortunately the list does not always agree with the initials; but the discrepancy may perhaps be explained by the archbishop's statement that some books passed through the hands of more than one reviser. From the list we learn that Parker himself undertook Genesis, Exodus, the first two Gospels, and the Pauline Epistles, with the exception of Romans and 1 Corinthians. Leviticus and Numbers were revised at Canterbury, probably by A. Pierson, to whom Job and Proverbs also seem to have been committed. Deuteronomy was placed in the hands of Alley, Bishop of Exeter. At the end of the Psalter are the initials T. B., supposed to indicate Thomas Bacon, a prebend of Canterbury. Ecclesiastes and Canticles fell to the lot of A. Perne, Dean of Ely. The earlier Apocryphal books were revised by Bishop Barlow; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations by Horne, Bishop of Winchester; Ezekiel and Daniel by Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; the Minor Prophets by Grindal, Bishop of London. The third and fourth Gospels seem to have been committed to Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough; 1 Corinthians to Goodman, Dean of Westminster; the General Epistles and the Book of Revelation to Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln. The remaining books have already been referred to in connection with their respective revisers. The above particulars are not free from doubt, but they are probably not far from the truth. It will be observed that most of the contributors were bishops, hence this version is commonly known as the Bishops' Bible. Archbishop Parker, in reserving for himself so large a proportion of the books of Scripture, some of these remarkable for their difficulty, was no doubt sure of obtaining efficient co-operation in his work. The memory of one scholar, Lawrence (possibly the Thomas Lawrence who was head-master of Shrewsbury School from 1568 to 1583), is preserved by Strype in his account of this version. Lawrence, who was famed for his knowledge of Greek, sent to the archbishop "notes of errors in the translation of the New Testament." These notes relate to nearly thirty passages of the New Testament, almost all taken from the first three Gospels. It has been generally supposed that the criticisms refer to the earlier translations, and hence Lawrence has been classed amongst the objectors whose complaints led to the scheme for a new version. Upon examination, however, it will be found that the renderings on which he comments belong, without exception, to the first edition of the Bishops' Bible itself; some, indeed, are not found in any other version at all. These criticisms belong, therefore, to a later date.

The preparation of this version appears to have extended over three or four years. The letter accompanying the splendid copy which was presented to the Queen bears date October 5, 1568. The Bible itself had no dedication. On the title-page are no other words than "The Holie Bible," with a quotation from Rom. i. 16. In the centre is a portrait of the Queen, and at the commencement of Joshua and the Psalter are introduced portraits of the Earl of Leicester, and of Cecil (Lord Burleigh). Prefixed to the book we find a sum of the whole Scripture, a table of genealogy, a table of the books of the Old Testament, with tables of lessons and psalms, an almanac and calendar, two prologues, a chronological table, and the table of contents; woodcuts, maps, and other tables are also introduced into the volume. The second of these prologues is Cranmer's, taken from the Great Bible. The first is written by Parker himself, and mainly consists of a defence of translations of the Bible, and an earnest exhortation to all to search the Scriptures: the design and plan of the new version are also briefly explained. There is also a preface to the New Testament from the archbishop's hand. At the end of the volume is the name of the printer, John Jugge, and the last page is adorned with a woodcut representing a pelican feeding her young with her blood, and a Latin couplet on this symbol of our Saviour's love.

A second edition, in a small quarto volume, was issued in 1569; a third of the Bible, and an edition of the New Testament, followed in 1570, 1571. In 1571 Convocation ordered that every archbishop and bishop should have a copy of this version, "of the largest volume," in his house, "to be placed in the hall or the large dining-room, that it might be useful to their servants, or to strangers;" also that a copy should be placed in every cathedral, and, as far as possible, in every church.

The criticisms of Lawrence referred to above may have been the occasion of a new revision of the work. However this may be, it is certain that the edition published in 1572 contains a corrected translation of the New Testament, in which nearly all the improvements suggested by Lawrence are found in the text. In all, about thirty editions of this version appear to have been published, almost all of these containing the whole Bible. There are some singular differences of text and many other variations in the several editions. The edition of 1572, for example, contains two translations of the Psalter in parallel columns—one properly belonging to this version, the other taken from the Great Bible. Other editions—those of 1575, 1595, for

instance—contain only the latter version of the Psalms. Sometimes Parker's preface is omitted, so that Cranmer's stands alone, giving to a hasty reader the impression that he has before him a copy of the Great Bible. The last edition of the Bishops' Bible bears the date 1608.

As to the character of the translation very different views have been held. As the Genevan version and the Bishops' Bible represented widely different ecclesiastical opinions and sympathies, we can hardly wonder that many a critic has given a partisan's opinion instead of a sober judgment. We are, moreover, confronted by a difficulty which has not hitherto existed. The revision was entrusted to many hands; each reviser seems to have acted independently, and the superintendence exercised by the archbishop and others could not possibly render uniform the results of the separate action of many minds. The version must therefore be examined in various parts; one book cannot be taken as representing others. It need hardly be said that the basis of the translation is the Great Bible; a glance is sufficient to make this certain. The merits of the Genevan Bible are so great, that, without losing sight of the Hebrew and Greek scholarship of the revisers, or of the aids which they (in common with the Genevan translators) possessed and used, we may be content to try the Bishops' Bible in most instances by one simple test—how far have the revisers of the Great Bible availed themselves of the corrections and the improvements which are found in the Genevan version? Less could scarcely be expected than that those changes which were real improvements, and which could be adopted without sacrificing the style and spirit of the older translation, should be taken into the text.

In Numb. xxiv. 15—24 the Bishops' Bible agrees in almost every point with Cranmer's. In verse 15 we read the plural (*eyes are open*) instead of the singular; in the next verse, "falleth with open eyes" is changed into "falleth, and his eyes are opened;" and in verse 24 "Chittim" is retained in the place of the doubtful interpretation "Italy," adopted in the Great Bible. Two of these are changes for the better, but, on the other hand, five or six clear improvements introduced by the translators of the Genevan version are passed over here. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7 is a passage of considerable difficulty, and has given great trouble to translators, ancient and modern. In these seven verses the Bishops' and the Great Bible differ about eighteen times. Fifteen of the new renderings in the former version are taken from the Genevan Bible. Of the eighteen changes, thirteen may be called improvements; with one exception they are derived from the Genevan Bible, from which also come two changes which are clearly for the worse. About twelve better renderings found in the Genevan Bible are here neglected. In 1 Kings xix., which is a fair specimen of a chapter of the historical books, the Bishops' Bible can hardly be distinguished from Cranmer's. In fourteen verses of the twenty-one there is no difference whatever, and in the remaining seven the discrepancy does not average as much as two words in a verse. The chief variations are in verse 6, where we read "a cake baken on the coals" for "a loaf of broiled bread;" and in verse 15, where "that thou mayest anoint" is rightly changed into "and when thou comest there anoint." For these two corrections the reviser was indebted to the Genevan Bible; but more than twenty emendations which the same version suggested he has left unnoticed. In two difficult verses (12, 13) of Isa. xliv., in which the Genevan Bible departs from Cranmer's at least twenty times (and usually for the better), the Bishops' Bible agrees with Cranmer's as far as the last word, which is "house" instead of "temple." In Prov. viii. 22—35, not more than six words of the Bishops' Bible differ from Cranmer's, and in Eccles. xii. not more than twelve, though in each chapter the Genevan Bible contains some useful correction. On the other hand, in Job xix. there are few verses of the Great Bible which have not been altered in the revision. Verses 25, 26, for example, stand thus in Cranmer's Bible: "For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day; that I shall be clothed again with this skin, and see God in my flesh." In the Bishops' Bible of 1568 we read: "For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall raise up at the latter day them that lie in the dust; and though after my skin the worms destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh." This passage, it may be remarked, illustrates clearly the variations in the different editions of the Bishops' Bible. The folios of 1568 and 1575, for example, read as above; the quarto of 1569 and the folio of 1595 go back in all important respects to the reading of the Great Bible, the other translation of verse 26 being placed in the margin. The remarkable rendering in verse 25 is new; the changes in verse 26 are from the Genevan Bible.

The conclusion from this investigation is not very favourable to the Bishops' Bible. In the Old Testament, it is clear, Cranmer's Bible was too closely followed, and improvements which were ready to the hand of the translators were not appreciated. What is original in this version does not often possess any great merit; nor does it appear that the revision of 1572 produced much effect in the Old Testament.

When we come to consider the New Testament, it is more important to distinguish between the two editions of the Bishops' Bible. Lawrence's criticisms, already spoken of, bring before us some thirty passages which stood in need of correction. All the renderings to which Lawrence raised objection are to be found in the first edition of the Bishops' Bible: his corrections, with the exception of one, are almost literally adopted in the revision of 1572. In two or three instances the faulty rendering is found in the Bishops' Bible alone; thus in Matt. xxi. 33 we read "*made* a vineyard," where almost all other versions rightly have "planted;" and in Col. ii. 13 we find "dead *to* sin, and *to* the uncircumcision of your flesh." The latter is so serious a mistake, both as a translation of the Greek and in the sense conveyed, that charity would require us to regard it as a misprint if the preposition "to" were not *repeated*. In

most of the passages the renderings to which Lawrence takes exception are simply retained from the Great Bible and other early versions. Lawrence's criticisms are very interesting, and in most points unquestionably just. We owe to him several readings in our present Bibles—for example, *armies* in Matt. xxii. 7; *besides* (instead of *with*) in Matt. xxv. 20; *seize upon* in Matt. xxi. 38 (Lawrence's suggestion was, "take possession or seisin upon his inheritance"); *bramble bush* (instead of *bush* or *bushes*) in Luke vi. 44. The last words of Mark xv. 3, "but he answered nothing," were introduced at his suggestion from the Greek text of Stephens (1546); this clause, however, is probably not genuine.

In judging of the merits of the translation of the New Testament, we must take the version in its corrected form, as it appeared in 1572. The verdict of the student will vary according to the portion which he is examining. Again and again he will wonder at the retention of an early rendering which had been corrected by a later translator, or the preference shown for a roundabout phrase (such renderings as "when he had gone a little further he," &c., instead of "he went a little further, and," &c., are especially common in the Bishops' Bible); but he will meet with many proofs of close study of the original text, and an earnest desire to represent it with all faithfulness to the English reader. Dr. Westcott's comment on the translation of Eph. iv. 7—16 (a very difficult section) will show how much merit is possessed by some portions, at least, of the Bishops' Bible. Having pointed out that in this section the Great Bible and the Bishops' differ in twenty-six places, he adds: "Of these twenty-six variations no less than sixteen are new, while only ten are due to the Genevan version, and the character of the original corrections marks a very close and thoughtful revision, based faithfully upon the Greek. The anxiously literal rendering of the particles and prepositions is specially worthy of notice; so too the observance of the order and of the original form of the sentences, even where some obscurity follows from it. In four places the Authorised Version follows the Bishops' renderings; and only one change appears to be certainly for the worse, in which the rendering of the Genevan Testament has been followed. The singular independence of the revision, as compared with those which have been noticed before, is shown by the fact that only four of the new changes agree with Beza, and at least nine are definitely against him." The same writer compares the two chief editions of the Bishops' Bible throughout the Epistle to the Ephesians. The changes amount to nearly fifty, and among the new readings are some phrases most familiar to us all, as "*less than the least* of all saints," "*middle wall* of partition," "*fellow-citizens* with the saints."

The marginal notes in the Bishops' Bible consist of alternative renderings, references to similar passages, and comments explanatory of the text. The comments are much less numerous here than in the Genevan Bible. They are very unevenly distributed. On the first five chapters of Job, for example, there are (in the edition of 1575) more than fifty notes, a larger number than we find on the whole book of Isaiah, with its sixty-six chapters. The Epistle to the Romans contains nearly seventy explanatory notes, in the place of the 250 of the Genevan Bible: a few, perhaps a dozen, of the Genevan annotations are retained in the Bishops' Bible. It is curious to notice the difference in the passages chosen for explanation in the two versions. Sometimes it is a rendering of the Genevan Bible that calls forth the remark in this. Thus in Rom. viii. 6 the Genevan translators read "the wisdom of the flesh." The note in the Bishops' Bible is as follows: "φρονοῦσι and φρόνημα, Greek words, do not so much signify wisdom and prudence as affection, carefulness, and minding of anything." A little lower down there is a curious note on another Greek word. In verse 18, where we now read "I reckon," the Bishops' Bible has "I am certainly persuaded." The note runs thus: "λογίζομαι signifieth to weigh or to consider; but because the matter was certain, and St. Paul nothing doubted thereof, it is thus made: I am persuaded." Where an uncommon word is used in the text, the translator sometimes adds a short note on its meaning. Thus in Rom. xi. 8, where we now read "the spirit of slumber," this version has "the spirit of remorse," the last word being explained as "pricking and unquietness of conscience." In Isa. lxvi. 3 we read, "he that killeth a sheep for me *knetcheth* a dog," with a note which certainly cannot be considered superfluous: "That is, cutteth off a dog's neck."

The general tendency and character of the Bishops' Bible are perhaps shown most clearly in the Apocryphal books. Strange to say, the Great Bible is followed here also, though representing the Latin and not the Greek text. The precedent of the Genevan Bible, therefore, is entirely neglected, as a glance at the beginning of Tobit or Esther, or at the fourth chapter of Judith, is sufficient to prove. As in the Genevan version, however, the comments on the Apocrypha are very scanty. The Prayer of Manasses is restored to its former position between the additions to Daniel and the First Book of Maccabees.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE MINOR PROPHETS:—NAHUM.

BY THE VERY REVEREND R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

IT was the great lesson of the Book of Jonah that the righteous government of God extends also to heathen nations. During one of the most eventful periods of Jewish history we find Assyria constantly appearing as the great world-power whose rapidly extending empire was destined finally to crush one part of the chosen nation, while the other was to have as remarkable a deliverance. Thus intimately connected with Israel, Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, became also herself the proper object of prophecy; and while Jonah teaches us that there is mercy even for those not in covenant with God, if they repent, Nahum completes the representation of the Divine justice by showing that if they relapse into sin punishment will as inevitably overtake them.

Of Nahum we know personally but little. He was a Galilæan, born, as St. Jerome tells us, at Elkosh, a small uninhabited village in his days, but of which the insignificant ruins were pointed out to him by his guide. Towards the end, however, of the sixteenth century the idea arose that Nahum was born at Alkosh, a town near Mosul, where also a modern tomb is pointed out as the place of his burial. His parents in this case would have been exiles carried away with the ten tribes, and Nahum would have been born and brought up within sight of the town whose utter ruin he was to prophesy. But the tradition is of too recent date to be trustworthy; and Nahum speaks of places in North Palestine as if they were those with which he was most familiar:—"Bashan languisheth, and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth." With all these mountains he would have been well acquainted if really he was a Galilæan. Moreover, the name Capernaum means "the village of Nahum;" Nahum itself signifying "consolation." There is indeed no tradition to explain why this Galilæan town bore this name, but it suggests a possible connection with the prophet. Much, too, in the phraseology of the book shows that Nahum came from the north. Of this I will mention but one instance. In chap. iii. 2, he speaks of the "prancing horses"—the word being a very poetical term referring to the circling motion of horses' feet as they gallop. Now this word occurs in only one other place of Scripture—namely, in Judg. v. 22, where Deborah speaks of "the prancings of the chargers;" and she also belonged to North Palestine, where, apparently, the word remained in ordinary use.

But if the "dasher in pieces," in chap. ii. 1, be Sennacherib, Nahum must have prophesied in Judæa, for he speaks of his *coming up* before the face of Jerusalem; and Bleek draws the same conclusion from the manner in which the deliverance of Judah is referred to in chap. i. 12. 13. Nor can we imagine anything more natural than that pious Israelites, after the deportation of the ten tribes, should have removed from their desolate country to enjoy both the religious privileges and also the greater earthly prosperity of Judæa. The beginning of Hezekiah's reign had been a time of happiness; and we find the king inviting the Israelites to unite with his own people for the celebration of the Passover; and the invitation was joyfully accepted. For long years there had been no such time of joy throughout the land; but troubles soon began to appear from Nineveh. Sennacherib, one of the most warlike of its kings, in his third campaign, as we learn from the cuneiform inscriptions, after conquering the Philistines, marched on Jerusalem, and though he could not capture it, he nevertheless inflicted terrible misfortunes upon the whole country. His own account is that he captured forty-six of Hezekiah's strong towns, besides castles and smaller towns without number; that he carried away 200,150 people into captivity; that the spoil consisted of horses, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep, in countless droves, besides thirty talents of gold, eight hundred of silver, precious stones, thrones and couches of ivory, woven cloths, furs, scented woods, and even male and female slaves, together with the king's daughters and other inmates of his palace. He also boasts that he shut up Hezekiah inside Jerusalem like a bird in a cage; and if we accept his statements as true in the main, however much exaggerated in detail, we must conclude that Hezekiah purchased with many costly treasures the withdrawal of Sennacherib from the siege. The expedition itself is that referred to in 2 Chron. xxxii. 1—8, and in Isa. i. 5—8.

In the history of the subsequent campaigns we find Sennacherib carrying on constant war with the representatives of Merodach-baladan, who, in alliance with the kings of Elam, maintained the struggle begun by their fathers to set Babylon free. But Judæa seems to have remained unmolested until Hezekiah's fourteenth year, when the Assyrian, having established his supremacy far and wide in the east and north, turned his arms once again westward, and made the attack upon Judæa and Egypt which ended in his overthrow. While, however, Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 158, 163), considers that Sennacherib twice attacked Hezekiah, Lenormant and others argue that his disastrous expedition in that king's fourteenth year was the sole war between the two powers (see his *Premières Civilisations*, ii. 270—289). This latter view is certainly more in accordance with the data given in the Bible.

It was apparently in this interval that Nahum published his prophecy, in which he begins, as Dr. Pusey has pointed out (*Minor Prophets*, p. 356), by setting forth in stately rhythm not unlike that of the Psalms of Degrees the awful side of God's attributes:—

"A jealous God and an Avenger is Jehovah;
An Avenger is Jehovah, and Lord of wrath;
An Avenger is Jehovah to his adversaries,
And a Reserver of wrath to His enemies."

As we read on we learn the reason of this solemn declaration of justice. Why, asks the prophet, do ye devise mighty devices against Jehovah? (chap. i. 7). The verb is one doubly emphatic, showing that it was no common scheme of ordinary aggression that thus roused the Divine anger.

But, overwhelming as was the earthly power of the Assyrian, the device was to fail, and that utterly. "Jehovah will make an utter end." In sharp contrast with God's covenant people, the great empire of Nineveh was to perish for ever. Of Judah God says, "I will not make a full end" (Jer. iv. 27); and so the Jew exists even to this day, though scattered over the whole earth. But the kingdom of Assyria perished almost suddenly, after having held the sovereignty of Upper Asia for more than five hundred years. Its soldiers were disciplined warriors at a time when the Medes fought in a confused mass, horse and foot, spearmen and archers all mingled in one disorderly crowd; for such, Herodotus tells us, was the Asiatic and Median mode of fighting till Cyaxares, the conqueror of Nineveh, first separated into divisions and ranks these motley hordes. Now Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, had lost life and empire in battle with the Assyrians, and yet in the very height of their power they fell so utterly that from the day of its capture Nineveh entirely passed away. In one day it changed from being empress of the world to absolute powerlessness.

But though this was the final accomplishment of the prophet's words, yet they had also a primary reference to Sennacherib. In the cylinders found at Nineveh he records campaign after campaign, boasting of his mighty gods Ashur and Bel, Nebo and Nergal and Ishtar, and of the countries which in their name he had conquered. He describes, too, the rebuilding of Nineveh, and the carving of the bas-reliefs, of which many may now be seen in our museums. These annals are full both of acts of ruthless cruelty and also of deeds which prove Sennacherib to have been a valiant and able general: and then suddenly they cease. No cylinder, no bas-relief, records the result of his second campaign against Hezekiah. Though he reigned in all twenty-four years, and survived the loss of his army for eight years, yet his glory was gone. The words, then, of the prophet, "Jehovah will make an utter end," are true also of Sennacherib. "When they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses" (2 Kings xix. 35). His trained and disciplined veterans, who had won for him so many victories, were no more. And the king never recovered the disaster, nor did Assyria ever again attempt the subjugation of Jerusalem.

But we have not yet done with this remarkable verse. "Affliction shall not rise up the second time." What does Nahum mean? Plainly he refers to the conquest of Samaria by Shalmanezer in the sixth year of Hezekiah. Now there seems here a difficulty in Shalmanezer and Sennacherib being contemporary kings of Assyria; but we find that this was the case with this great empire just as it was at Rome, where often two emperors and two Cæsars, invested with all but imperial power, scarcely sufficed to look after the interests and protect the frontiers of so unwieldy a realm. We thus usually find the "*kings* of Assyria" spoken of in the plural (2 Chron. xxviii. 16; xxxii. 4; Isa. x. 8), and Sennacherib actually claims to have been the conqueror of Samaria (Isa. xxxvi. 19), though Shalmanezer's was the hand that accomplished it. Again, the king Jareb to whom the prophet Hosea says that the golden calf of Bethel was sent as an offering, doubtless by the Assyrian army, was Sennacherib (Hos. x. 6; see also chap. v. 13); while Shalman, who spoiled Beth-arbel (Hos. x. 14), was Shalmanezer. We have thus Hosea's testimony to their being contemporaries, the latter commanding the army, while the costliest part of the booty is sent as a present to the former, who was busy elsewhere.

There being then two contemporary sovereigns at Nineveh is no difficulty. And now to return to the prophet's words: the meaning is that no such calamity shall befall God's people a second time by the hands of the Assyrians as befell them at Samaria. The time may and did come when the final lapse of Judæa into idolatry was to be punished by the capture of their city, but it was by Chaldæans from Babylon. Sennacherib was purposing to conquer Jerusalem and take the people captive. "What, then," says the prophet, "are ye so proudly" devising against Jehovah? He will make a full end, first of thee and thy trained warriors, and then of thy great city. While, as regarded the object of his haughty purpose, "affliction shall not rise up a second time." No second calamity, such as the capture of Samaria and removal of the ten tribes, shall again crown the Assyrian's arms.

Immediately afterwards, in verse 11, Sennacherib is thus spoken of: "There is one come out of thee (*i.e.*, out of Nineveh) that imagineth evil against Jehovah, a counsellor of Belial." Again, in chap. ii. 1, he is described as the "breaker in pieces," and Jerusalem is warned that he is on his march against her. She is commanded, therefore, to put her munitions—*i.e.*, her fortifications—in order, and to send an army of observation to watch the Assyrian's advance, that the people may have notice to drive away their cattle, and flee to the strongholds. She is, moreover, to "make her loins strong," and prepare manfully for the struggle. And next there follows a magnificent description of Sennacherib's army, attired in scarlet like our own soldiers, and with shields painted red, and war-chariots armed not with flaming torches, as our version has it, but with "the fire of steel"—that is, with scythes or other cutting instruments of steel bright and flashing like fire. But all ends in ruin. In a few words the prophet sums up the fate both of Sennacherib's army and of Nineveh itself, which he represents as doomed to be captured by reason of an inundation of the rivers Tigris, Khausser, and Zab, which all flowed through it, and which, swollen by heavy rains, burst open the gates built to prevent the ingress of an enemy, and wash away the munitions

of the palace itself, built of unburnt brick; for such is the meaning of the words "the palace shall be dissolved" (chap. ii 6).

But the contrast which the prophet draws between Nineveh fallen and Nineveh in its pride shows that he wrote when the empire was in its strength. "Where," he asks, "is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, the lion's whelp, and none to frighten him? The lion teareth in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangleth for his lioness, and filleth his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin" (chap. ii. 11, 12). Now Ezarhaddon, who succeeded Sennacherib, did not dwell at Nineveh, but at Babylon, in order to be able the more easily to control its turbulence; and though no mean warrior, yet his chief occupation was architecture. The prophet's words are a picture rather of Sennacherib in his might, when he came home from campaign after campaign loaded with booty, and walked up and down in his palace, to which he gave the name Zakdi-nu-isha —*i.e.*, "it hath not its equal"—secure in his power and fearless of danger.

In chap. iii. 8 there is an allusion to the capture of No-Amon, better known to us as the sacred Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, which for a like period with Nineveh had been the centre of a mighty empire. For six centuries, from B.C. 1706 to 1110, its Pharaohs, one of whom was Sesostris, had been the great conquerors who had marched far and wide without knowing defeat, and had exacted tribute from the Assyrians themselves. Like Nineveh, too, it was a great mart of trade, and drew its wealth as much from commerce as from war. Yet gradually its power declined, and finally it was captured by the Assyrians, as it seems, whom in old time it had so often defeated. Its siege, and the terrible scenes which took place when the invaders gained an entrance to it, were probably fresh in men's minds when Nahum wrote, and he draws from it the warning that, as No-Amon, the mightiest capital of the grandest empire of old, had fallen, so too would Nineveh fall, and even more completely pass away.

Such, then, are the historical data of Nahum's prophecy. It only remains to say that he has but one subject—the fall of Nineveh; and that he describes this with wonderful energy, grandeur, and power. His phraseology, however, is peculiar, being full of forms which seem strange to us who have so little to enable us to judge what richness of idioms the Hebrew language possessed. He has many words also not found elsewhere in the Scriptures, and others which are rare. Lastly, he has much in common with Isaiah, who at the time he prophesied must have arrived at old age. And we can well understand that even one so original and strong as Nahum would nevertheless have been deeply impressed by the commanding genius and noble enthusiasm of a prophet like Isaiah, who held then, as he has held ever since, the foremost place among the inspired men whom God raised up to make known to mankind His will.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

THE ORDERS OF APETALOUS PLANTS—CHENOPODIACEÆ TO EUPHORBIACEÆ.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE Chenopod order is represented in Palestine by species prevailing as weeds in cultivated grounds, as well as by forms that grow only on saline localities. Species of *Salicornia*, *Anabasis*, *Atriplex*, and *Chenopodium* are found on the shores of the Dead Sea, as well as of the Levant. These plants abound in the vegetable alkali which is so important an ingredient in the manufacture of soap. Indeed, the word *alkali*, which was originally applied to the ashes of these plants, is derived from *kali*, or *el-kali*, the Arabic name for the glass-wort (*Salsola Kali*, Linn.), a prickly bushy herb, common on our sandy shores, and found also in Palestine. The Arabs have long manufactured soap from olive-oil and the alkaline ashes of this plant, and it is probable that it is to this material that reference is twice made in the Bible under the name "soap" (Jer. ii. 22; Mal. iii. 2).

Several species of nettles occur in Palestine; that most frequently met with is the Roman nettle (*Urtica pilulifera*, Linn.). This plant is found in the neighbourhood of villages in the south of England, and is easily distinguished from the common nettle by the little balls of green female flowers. In Palestine it grows to a height of six feet, among ruins, where it specially flourishes. This is probably the *kimmosh* (קִמּוֹשׁ) of the Hebrews, rendered, in the two passages in which it occurs, "nettle." It deserves notice that in both passages it is associated with its favourite habitat. Of Edom it is prophesied that "thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof" (Isa. xxxiv. 13); while of backsliding Israel it is said, "the pleasant places for their silver, nettles shall possess them, thorns shall be in their tabernacles" (Hos. ix. 6). The plural, *kimmeshonim*, of a scarcely altered form of this word, is employed by Solomon in describing the vineyard of the sluggard; it is rendered "thorns" in our version. "It was all grown over with *thorns*, nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down" (Prov. xxiv. 31). The *charulim*, translated "nettles" in this passage, are no doubt altogether different plants from the *kimmeshonim*, but it is extremely doubtful what they were. Various plants have been suggested, but it seems more probable that the term was a general one for wild shrubs. In

this sense it was understood by the LXX. in a passage in Job where it also occurs. The patriarch complains of the contempt in which he was held by the miserable people who lived on what they could grub up in the wilderness, and found their shelter under the *charul* (Job xxx. 7). The curse pronounced on Moab and Ammon declared that their country should be overrun with *charul*, like the field of the slothful (Zeph. ii. 9).

The fig and mulberry, though very different in appearance, belong both to the order *Moraceæ*. The fig (*Ficus carica*, Linn.) is one of the native fruit-trees of Palestine. It is found, wild or cultivated, everywhere throughout the country. Moses, in describing the Land of Promise, characterises it as a land of "vines and fig-trees and pomegranates" (Deut. viii. 8); and the spies, when they returned, confirmed this description, for they brought figs and pomegranates, as well as grapes, from Eshcol (Numb. xiii. 23). The tree often attains a great size, with wide-spreading branches, and its large leaves, forming a dense crown of foliage, produce a pleasant shadow, which was often preferred to the tent. The Scripture expression, "every man under his fig-tree" (1 Kings iv. 25, &c.), presents a vivid picture of peace, prosperity, and security. To the grateful shade of some secluded fig-tree Nathanael retired to pray (John i. 48). From the large leaves of this tree our first parents while yet in Paradise made aprons to cover the nakedness that their disobedience revealed (Gen. iii. 7). Like the almond, the fig-tree shows its blossom before its leaves are produced. But in the fig the blossom is scarcely discoverable, for it is enclosed in the hidden cavity of the enlarged hollow receptacle, and consists of an immense number of minute colourless flowers, densely covering the surface of the cavity. The whole mass of flowers, with the hollow stalk on which they are borne, is the edible fruit. In the true fig the fruit is borne on the younger portion of the branches in the axils of the leaves, but in the sycamore and some other figs the enlarged receptacle springs from the old parts of their branches, or even from the trunk itself. Some varieties of the fig-tree in Palestine produce fruit in early summer, and such a tree was, or ought to have been, the specimen the Saviour cursed on account of its barrenness. Unusually early in its foliage, while its neighbours were yet leafless and bare, it professed to be a fruit-bearer, and should have had figs already somewhat ripe. But it was a mere pretender, and the Lord cursed it. With the Mount of Olives is associated a second allusion to the fig-tree in the New Testament. Stanley thus refers to them both. "One is the parable not spoken, but acted, with regard to the fig-tree, which, when all others around it were, as they are still, bare at the beginning of April, was alone clothed with its broad green leaves, though without the corresponding fruit. Fig-trees may still be seen overhanging the ordinary road from Jerusalem to Bethany, growing out of the rocks of the solid 'mountain' (Matt. xxi. 21), which might by the prayer of faith be removed, and cast into the distant Mediterranean 'sea.' On Olivet, too, the brief parable in the great prophecy was spoken, when He pointed to the bursting buds of spring, in the same trees as they grew around him:—'*Behold* the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they *now* shoot forth,' when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, 'ye see and know of your own selves that summer is now nigh at hand.' (Luke xxi. 29, 30)." (Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 414.)

The fruitfulness of the fig-tree was considered a sign of Divine favour, as in Joel we read, "The Lord will do great things; the fig-tree and the vine do yield their strength" (ii. 22). On the other hand, the destruction of the fig-tree or its crop was received as a judgment from the Lord. "I will surely consume them, saith the Lord: there shall be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the fig-tree; and the leaf shall fade" (Jer. viii. 13).

In Palestine the fig-tree bears two or three crops in the year. The first ripe fruit was called *bikkurah* (בִּכּוּרָה), "I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers as the first ripe fruit in the fig-tree at her first time" (Hos. ix. 10). The green or unripe figs were called *pag* (פַּג), a word which enters into the composition of Bethphage, the village near Bethany on the Mount of Olives. The name literally means "the house of unripe figs." The fig was an important food-substance to the Jew. Pressed together, and dried, it was formed into cakes (*debelah*, דְּבֵלָה), which could be kept for any length of time, and were stored away for household use; they formed part of the provision of David's army (1 Sam. xxv. 18; xxx. 12).

The sycamore of Scripture is a true fig (*Ficus sycomorus*, Linn.), and a very different tree from the maple, which bears the same name in England. It is one of the largest and most important trees in Palestine. Some specimens are described as having immense gnarled trunks, fifty feet in circumference. The tree has somewhat the appearance of our oak, having for the size of the tree a short trunk, but large wide-spreading and umbrageous branches. It was extensively planted in ancient times, as it is now, near houses, and by the road-sides, on account of its shade. On one of the sturdy horizontal branches of a road-side sycamore Zaccheus would find a safe and suitable place for seeing Jesus passing beneath. The fruit is eaten, but it is smaller and less palatable than the common fig. The wood was used for furniture and for building; and the tree was of so much value that David took special pains to prevent its unnecessary destruction, by appointing a royal commissioner to look after its conservation (1 Chron. xxvii. 28). It was not valued so highly as the cedar, the wood used in palaces. The contrast between these two woods is brought out in the boast of the presumptuous Israelites on whom the Lord threatened judgment—"The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones: the sycomores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars" (Isa. ix. 10). They would more than repair their losses, for they would replace their common houses built of brick and sycamore by palaces of stone and cedar. The prosperity of Israel during the reign of Solomon is indicated among other ways by the contrast between those two

trees. "The king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the sycomore-trees that are in the vale, for abundance" (1 Kings x. 27).

The mulberry (*Morus nigra*, Linn.) is mentioned in the Authorised Version in the narrative of David's victory over the Philistines at Rephaim (2 Sam. v. 23, 24), but erroneously, as the poplar is the tree intended. On the other hand, our translators have retained the Greek name of the mulberry, συκάμινος, in the passage where this tree is mentioned in the New Testament. "The Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye might say unto this sycamine-tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea; and it should obey you" (Luke xvii. 6). No doubt this is the black mulberry, a native of Western Asia, where it has been long valued for its fruit. At the present day it is chiefly cultivated in Palestine for its leaves, which are the favourite food of the silkworm, "the raising of which is the staple industry of the peasantry of Lebanon. The mulberry is also grown for rearing silk about many of the villages between Jerusalem and Nablous, and often covers the terraced hills" (Tristram, *Nat. Hist.*, p. 396).

The Elm (*Ulmus campestris*, Linn.) is one of the trees of Lebanon, and it is generally thought that it is to this that the prophet refers under the name *tidhar* (תִּדְהָר), rendered in our version "pine-tree." "I will set in the desert the fir-tree, and the *pine*, and the box-tree together" (Isa. xli. 19); again, "The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir-tree, the *pine-tree*, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary" (Isa. lx. 13). It has been contended that the ash or the pine itself was meant, but there is nothing in the etymology of the word or in the cognate languages to help to an identification.

The spice-bearing trees, producing the cinnamon and cassia of the Bible, belong to the Laurel family; they did not grow in Palestine. Dr. Birdwood has already investigated these plants (Vol. I., p. 243). The bay-tree (*Laurus nobilis*, Linn.) is considered by the translators of our version to be the equivalent of *etzrah* (אֶזְרָח) of Ps. xxxvii. 35: "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree." This word is used in fifteen other places in the Bible, but in all these it is applied to man in order to distinguish a native from a foreigner. In the passage quoted it may mean only a vigorous tree in its native locality; and it is certain that if the Psalmist intended a particular tree he would not have chosen the bay, which is at best only a tall shrub, and is confined to the northern upland region of the country. There would be no want of trees in Palestine suitable as emblems of vigorous and enormous growth.

The spiny sea buckthorn growing on many of our sandy sea-shores is the only representative in our native flora of the *Elæagnaceæ*, to which the oleaster belongs. This is an abundant tree in Palestine, and there can be little doubt is the *etz shemen*, rightly translated "oil-tree" in Isa. xli. 19—"I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree." From its wood were made the two cherubim in Solomon's Temple (1 Kings vi. 23, "olive-tree," in the margin "trees of oil"). It was also employed in making the booths after the Captivity, being obtained for this purpose from the "mount" near Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 15, translated "pine-branches"). That it was a different tree from the olive is obvious from the passage in Nehemiah, where it is distinguished from the olive. Neither can it be the false balm of Gilead (*Balanitis Ægyptiaca*, Del.), which grows only in the lower valley of the Jordan, and the tree specified could be found near Jerusalem. The oleaster (*Elæagnus angustifolia*, Linn.) has a fragrant flower, and a small green berry, from which is obtained an inferior oil.

The spurge-worts (*Euphorbiaceæ*) are represented by a larger number of species than is found in Britain. One of the most remarkable of them, and one very common in Palestine, is the palm-crist, or castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*, Linn.), which is conjectured to have been the plant that gave a grateful shade to Jonah at Nineveh. This notion is based chiefly on the similarity between the Hebrew *kikayon* and the Greek κίκι. The narrative, however, implies that the plant was fitted to cover an arbour, and was more likely some kind of gourd than the palm-crist. The box, another member of this family, is mentioned twice in our English Bible, in both cases in connection with the predicted prosperity of Israel, when the Lord "will set in the desert the fir-tree, the pine, and the box-tree together" (Isa. xli. 19), and "the glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir-tree, the pine-tree, and the box together" (Isa. lx. 13). The box is found on the mountains of Lebanon, growing to a height of twenty feet or more, and forming a small compact evergreen tree. It is largely imported into England from the countries bordering the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, for the use of the wood-engraver, who finds its hard, even, and close-grained wood specially suited to his work. The high polish it can be made to take, and its freedom from warping, make it a favourite for carving small objects, and it was probably brought with the cedar from Lebanon, and employed in Solomon's Temple. The word rendered "Ashurites" in Ezekiel, "Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim" (xxvii. 6), is now generally held to be a contracted form of *teasshur*, and to refer to the box-tree. Dr. Fairbairn renders the verse, "Of oaks of Bashan they made thy oars, thy plank-work (deck) they made ivory (*i.e.*, inlaid with ivory) with box-trees from the isle of Cyprus." This not only agrees with the context, but it gives a narrative in accordance with the geographical references, for while box was abundant in Cyprus, ivory was unknown except as an import from abroad.

BOOKS OF THE APOCRYPHA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT will not be necessary to treat the books which occupy the secondary or tertiary position indicated by their name with anything like the same fulness that was requisite for the Canonical Books of Scripture; but a brief notice of each book in the order in which they stand, giving an account of its date, authorship, and chief characteristics, will, it is believed, be both interesting and instructive.

I. 1 ESDRAS.—The greater part of this book reproduces what we find in the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and was manifestly written by a Greek, probably by an Alexandrian Jew, who was acquainted with them. It gives, as was natural in a compiler from documents more or less fragmentary, a narrative intended to be more concise and more continuous of the return of the Jews down to the close of the book of Ezra, whose name it presents in the Greek form of Esdras. But the writer was one who thought it necessary to embellish history, after the pattern of the dialogues on government which Herodotus introduces in his account of the Persian monarchy, or Xenophon in his *Cyropædia* ("Education of Cyrus"), and so he interpolates what is the original, and practically, therefore, the most interesting portion of the book, the narrative of the debate between the three young men that were of the body-guard of Darius as to the respective power of wine, of women, and of truth (iii., iv.). The advocate of truth is represented as being none other than the historical Zerubbabel, the prince of the house of David. It is through his eloquence that the king bids him ask what he will, and it should be given him. This was the secret history of the return from Babylon.

Historically the book has but little value, is careless in its arrangements, and inconsistent with the Hebrew record. It has, however, left one legacy to the world, which will not readily pass out of remembrance. When we hear in debates, religious or political, in the eloquence of statesmen or advocates, the familiar words "Magna est veritas et prævalebit," we are listening (ignorant as speakers and hearers alike may be of the fact) to a quotation from the Apocryphal Book of 1 Esdras (iv. 41).

II. 2 ESDRAS.—The strange book which bears this title is marked by an entirely different character. It is distinctly and professedly an Apocalypse. No Greek text of it is extant, though versions exist both in Arabic and Ethiopic as well as Latin; but it may be inferred from the details of these versions, as well as from the fact that it is quoted in the Epistle that bears the name of Barnabas, by Clement of Alexandria. The entire absence of any reference to it in Philo or Josephus, or the writers of the New Testament, as well as of any historical landmarks in the book itself, leaves the date of its composition open to conjecture. No critic worthy of the name has assigned an earlier date than the time of Julius Cæsar, or a later date than that of Domitian. I do not pretend to have arrived at any conclusion on the subject. It is not easy to determine from internal evidence the chronology of the dreams of a fevered and distempered brain.

And yet, wild and strange as are the contents of the book, no one, I imagine, can read it without profound interest. It gives us, as no other book does, a vivid picture of one phase of the Jewish mind, in the wild unsettled period that preceded or followed the destruction of Jerusalem. There we find the first trace of the legend that was afterwards accepted as to the dictation to Ezra of the existing Hebrew Bible, and of a large number of secret revelations in addition (xiv. 38—48). There, too, for the first time, we find the marvellous tale, the parent of so many yet more marvellous theories, how the ten tribes in the land of their exile resolved that they would go to a far-off country, "and keep there the statutes which they never kept in their own land" (xiii. 40—46).

III. TOBIT.—Of this book we have, besides the Septuagint and the Latin version, two Hebrew texts. There is no reason, however, to think that it was originally written in Hebrew. And we know, both from Origen and Athanasius, that the Jews of their time did not recognise it as belonging to the canon. The existence of Hebrew translations is, however, interesting, as showing the popularity of the book, not only among Christians to whom it came commended by its position in the Greek version of the Old Testament, but among Jews who accepted it on its ethical and literary merits. Of these we need not hesitate to speak very highly. While to some extent reminding us of the Book of Ruth as being a domestic history, it is for us interesting as being one among the earliest examples of ethical fiction. Reverence for parents (iv. 3), the duty and the blessing of almsgiving (i. 16, 17; iv. 16; xiv. 11), purity and temperance (iv. 15), the holiness of marriage (viii. 7), these are the leading lessons of the book; and though the story with which it is interwoven has for us a superstitious and almost ludicrous aspect, it has yet in parts a singular tenderness and beauty. Many readers may note, not without interest, the circumstantial detail that "they went forth, and the young man's dog with them" (v. 16), as the first indication that the Greek feeling of friendly companionship with the dog, which for the most part appears in Scripture only as a ravenous and unclean beast, was beginning to find entrance among the Jews.

The book, it must be added, has no claim to the character of history. The developed belief as to possession by evil spirits, the practice of exorcism, the names Asmodeus and Raphael, indicate a date subsequent to the Babylonian Captivity; and the personation of autobiography in chaps. i.—iii. is but the well-known artifice which has been held legitimate by all writers of fiction.

IV. JUDITH.—Here, too, we are on the ground of historical fiction, and not of history; and the writer

betrays himself by more serious anachronisms than those which we have found in Tobit. Nebuchadnezzar (= Nabuchodonosor) is made king of Nineveh, not of Babylon, at a time after the destruction of the former city; is called the king of the Assyrians, instead of the Chaldeans, as in the historical books of the Old Testament. The Israelites are represented as having returned from the captivity, and rebuilt their Temple, in the time of the very king who had destroyed the Temple and carried them into exile (iv. 3; v. 18, 19). In this instance, however, we can trace the book with more certainty than Tobit to a Hebrew or Aramaic original. Jerome, at all events, speaks of it as written in the Chaldee language, and as read among the Hebrews. Josephus, singularly enough, does not even allude to it, and from this we must infer either that he was altogether unacquainted with it, or that he recognised its unhistorical character.

V. The rest of the Chapters of the Book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee.—I have quoted the title of this fragment, as showing with sufficient clearness the grounds on which it was placed among the Apocrypha. In this instance, as in 1 Esdras, a canonical book was thought not sufficiently interesting, and was embellished with additions by the Greek translator. The writer indicates his own time with sufficient clearness by reference to "the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemeus and Cleopatra" (xi. 1). It may be added that, like the author of Judith, he betrays his ignorance of chronology by making Mardocheus (= Mordecai) one of those who were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, and yet as living in the time of Artaxerxes the Great, who is identified with the Ahasuerus of the original book. The additions are, it may be added, absolutely worthless.

VI. The Wisdom of Solomon.—We enter here on a "strain of higher mood," and the book which bears this name is in many respects the gem of the whole Apocrypha. Here again we have to confess that we know nothing of the writer, and can but roughly approximate to the date of the book. There is no trace of a Hebrew original, and it was never received by the Jews of Palestine. The personation of the Son of David, if indeed what is so vague and general can be called a personation, is but poetic and dramatic, like that which we have seen in Tobit, and perhaps at an earlier date in Ecclesiastes. The book is not quoted in the New Testament, though some passages in St. Paul's Epistles seem to imply that he had echoes of it floating in his memory, or drew from the same source.[1] Our first actual knowledge of it comes from Christian sources, and this does not carry us further back than the latter part of the second century. The book is, however, clearly pre-Christian. There is no reference in it to the facts of the Gospel history, nor to its leading thoughts. The writer was an Alexandrian Jew, who, like Philo, had come in contact with the language and thoughts of Platonists, Stoics, Epicureans, and had sought, as Philo, without giving up the faith of his fathers, to show that it was in harmony with all that was truest and noblest in the philosophy of Greece. By many writers indeed, from Jerome onwards, Philo has been regarded as the author, but of this there is no proof. The fact that there is a collection of numerous writings by Philo, and that this is not among them, is evidence that it was not thought of as by him at the time when the collection was made; and though there is a general resemblance in tone of thought, there is nothing distinctive enough to suggest the inference of identity. The name of Apollos has suggested itself to more than one critic as the probable author, and it must, I think, be admitted that there is nearly as good ground for accepting his authorship of the Book of Wisdom, as there is for holding that he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. In both cases, indeed, we cannot get beyond the assertion that each was a book which he *might* have written. It would be an interesting study to compare the two books on the assumption that one was written before and the other after his conversion. So studied, we may think of him as passing from that adoring reverence for a half-personified Wisdom which had its starting-point in Prov. viii., to the thought of the "Word made flesh." In the words which speak of the Son of God, as the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person (Heb. i. 3), we hear the echo of those that had described wisdom as "the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness" (Wisd. vii. 26). He who had spoken of the "just man" (Wisd. ii. 18) as the "son of God," adopted and blessed by Him, learnt to see that the Son of God in an infinitely higher sense was indeed the Just One. The words "grace and mercy is to his saints, and he hath care for his elect" (Wisd. iii. 9), would come to him with a new meaning. The description of Wisdom in vii. 22—24 would prepare the way for that similar description of the word of God (Heb. iv. 12, 13), in which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews approaches most nearly to the thought and language of St. John. Very striking too, on this supposition, would be the contrast between the thoughts suggested in Wisd. x., xi. by the Book of Genesis, Wisdom manifesting herself in creation, in the history of Cain and Abel, of Noah, of Abraham, of Lot, of Jacob, and the survey of the same history in Heb. xi., in which the self-same incidents are made to serve as illustrations not of an abstract wisdom, but of a living and energetic faith.

We can scarcely resist the impression that the book, as it is, is but the fragment of what was intended to have been a far larger work. It ends abruptly, its survey of the history of Israel being altogether incomplete, and with hardly even the semblance of the rhetorical peroration which the general character of the book would have led us to expect.

VII. The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus.—In this instance we

[1] Compare, *e.g.*, Rom. ix. 21; ix. 22; Eph. vi. 13—17, with Wisd. xv. 7; xii. 20; v. 17—19.

have what we find in no other Canonical or Apocryphal book—an editorial preface, purporting to give something like a history of its origin. It represents it as the result of the labours of three generations. The elder Jesus, or Joshua (the name reminds us of the high priest at the time of the return from Babylon), lived "almost after all the prophets," a phrase which seems to indicate a date between Zechariah and Malachi. What the exceptional loftiness of the eighth chapter of Proverbs was, at a later time, to the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon, that the prudential morality of the rest of the book was to him. He became a collector of "the grave and short sentences of wise men," and added "some of his own." He bequeathed this collection to his son Sirach, who, in his turn, left it to a younger Jesus, named after his grandfather. To him belonged the work of arranging and editing, and if we accept the second Prologue as genuine, we arrive at something like a definite statement as to the origin of the book which he thus edits. It was originally in Hebrew—*i.e.*, the Aramaic of Jerusalem after the return from the Exile. He had come into Egypt when Energetes was king, in the thirty-eighth year from some era to us undefined—probably, *i.e.*, about B.C. 133—and thought it his duty to translate it for the benefit of those of his countrymen who, being settled in "a strange country," were yet "willing to learn, being prepared before in manners to live after the law." The later chapters of this book give us distinct internal evidence of date in harmony with the conclusion thus arrived at. Zerubbabel, Jesus (Joshua) the son of Jozedek, and Nehemiah are named among the great men of the past (xlix. 12, 13). Simon the son of Onias, as the priestly hero of a time nearer to the writer's own, is portrayed with a fulness and vividness which shows that his work in the restoration of the Temple, perhaps even the majesty of his personal presence, had impressed itself upon the minds of his countrymen. There were, however, two high priests that bore the name of Simon, each of them the son of Onias, and separated by nearly a century from each other; the elder, known as the Just, having held his office from B.C. 310—290, the younger from about B.C. 217. The former was, however, so much the more illustrious that we can hardly think it likely, even allowing for the fictitious magnitude often given to contemporary fame, that he would have been passed over in silence while so much was said of his less conspicuous namesake. Significant both as to the date of the book, its Hebrew or Palestine origin, and the growing antipathy which it indicates, is the passage in which the writer enumerates, among those whom his soul abhorreth, those "that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem" (l. 26). This could hardly have been written before the rivalry between Gerizim and Jerusalem had become a definitely pronounced fact, and it stands among the earliest tokens of the antagonism which afterwards rose to such a height, that the Jews had "no dealings with the Samaritans." The title of Ecclesiasticus, it may be noted, is of Latin, not Greek, origin as applied to the book. In the Septuagint, and as quoted by the Greek Fathers, it is always as the Wisdom of Sirach, sometimes the All-excellent Wisdom (πανάρετος). When given to this book it was in the sense in which the whole body of the Apocrypha were sometimes called Ecclesiastical—*i.e.*, fit for being used in church, the pre-eminent popularity of the book, and possibly its general use for the ethical instruction of catechumens, winning for it the special application of the more general name. The fact that one of the sapiential books of the Old Testament had already received the title Ecclesiastes in a different sense, might contribute to the currency of the name as applied to a book which seemed to the superficial reader to belong to the same class.

VIII. Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy.—Here also we have a book purporting to come from one who was prominent in the history of Israel, the secretary and companion of a prophet (Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4—10). There are no traces, however, of any Hebrew original, and the book has never been acknowledged as genuine, either by the Jews themselves or by those who were brought into contact, as Jerome was, with the Jewish Canon. There is not the slightest reference to it in the New Testament, or in the early Fathers. It must, therefore, be regarded as simply a compilation put together to meet the demands of Alexandrian Jews for additions to their religious literature, or to meet their religious dangers with edifying counsels. Its chief characteristic, in which it stands alone among the Apocrypha, is that it is manifestly modelled chiefly upon the writings, not of the sapiential, but of the prophetic books of the Old Testament; and although the true prophet is not there, we at least hear echoes of the lofty imagery with which the older seers had set forth the future glories of Israel (iv. 30; v. 9). Like all the Alexandrian books, however, the note of the love of heavenly wisdom is not absent from it, and in iii. 12—37 we have distinct traces of the influence of such passages as Job xxviii. Noticeable also is the prominence given to "the Everlasting" (ὁ αἰώνιος), as the equivalent for the Hebrew Jehovah, instead of the more common "Lord" of the New Testament writers. Most readers will, it is believed, feel that it would be a gain to the majesty of our version if that or "the Eternal" had been adopted in like manner there, as it is in the French and some other versions.

The Epistle of Jeremy, annexed to Baruch, stands on just the same footing. As a composition it is every way inferior to it, and is not in any sense an imitation of the style of the prophet from whom it purports to come. It is, indeed, simply a long diatribe, partly modelled upon Isa. xlvi., against the folly of idolatry, and almost the only fact of interest in it is the incidental notice of the special forms of impurity connected with the Babylonian worship of Mylitta (ver. 43), as that worship is described by Herodotus.

IX. The Song of the Three Holy Children, the History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon.—The three fragments that bear these titles appear in

the Septuagint version of the Book of Daniel. The character of that book, as partly narrative, partly Apocalyptic (perhaps also its position among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets of the Hebrew Scriptures), tempted the translator to embellish the book with narratives, which may very probably have been based upon traditions already current, and to interweave a prayer and a psalm (both, it must be admitted, irrelevant and inappropriate, and scarcely rising above the level of rhetoric) into the narrative of the heroic confession, the martyrdom in will and deed, though not in result, of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. As incorporated with the text of Daniel in the Greek version, all portions were received by the early Christians with the same reverence, and passed in the same way into the Latin version. The Song of the Three Children was accepted in the fourth century as a hymn of the Christian Church, in the first instance by the Church of Spain, at the fourth Council of Toledo (Can. 14), and still retains its place in the Prayer-Book of the Church of England. The history of Susanna has probably become more conspicuous as having furnished painters with a Biblical subject which admitted of a sensuous treatment, than as supplying preachers with a theme for homiletic instruction. Some of the early Fathers, however, ventured upon an allegorical interpretation, and Susanna appeared as a type of the Christian Church suffering under calumny and persecution. The narrative of Bel and the Dragon is chiefly noticeable in connection with the history of the English Prayer-Book. Of all the Apocryphal lessons it was the one which the Puritan party most strongly objected to, and in deference to their feelings it was struck out of the Table of Lessons by the Hampton Court Conference under James I. When the Restoration came, the bishops and divines who revised the Prayer-Book thought fit to give the Puritan party a "slap in the face" by restoring it. Happily, it has disappeared with a good deal besides of Apocryphal lumber in the last revision of 1870.

X. The Prayer of Manasses.—The narrative of the repentance of Manasseh, and of his return from Babylon and restoration to his kingdom (2 Chron. xxxiii. 12, 13), and the fact that a Hebrew prayer attributed to him was extant at the time when the Books of Chronicles were compiled (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18), were naturally suggestive to the class of writers who undertook the task of filling up gaps or adorning the narratives of the Hebrew Bible. There is no reference to it, or trace of its existence, before A.D. 221; but its moral teaching and rhetorical power commended it for devotional use among Christians, and it is found in the great Alexandrian MS. of the Old Testament, not as part of the volume, but among the hymns and rhythmical prayers which are appended to the Psalter. As with the *Icon Basilike* in English literature, the interest attaching to its supposed history has given it a prominence which it would hardly have attained otherwise.

XI. 1 and 2 Maccabees.—The way in which these books are presented to us in the Apocrypha is to a certain extent misleading. Our first impression is that, as with 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, in the Old Testament, so here, that which is brought before us is a consecutive history. A very slight inspection serves, of course, to show that instead of this we have two entirely independent narratives, and that the Second starts from an earlier period than the First, the events included in the one being from B.C. 180 to B.C. 161, in the other from B.C. 168—135. Each book has therefore to be dealt with separately. It is worth while noting that the two that we have are only a portion of a copious literature dealing with the great struggle of the Jews, headed in the first instance by Mattathias the Just, and afterwards by Judas the Maccabee, his more famous son, against the attempt by Antiochus Epiphanes to destroy their faith and crush out their national life. A Third Book of Maccabees found a place in the Septuagint Canon of Scripture, giving an account (as if an inverted order had seemed natural to the compiler) of events which preceded those recorded in the Second. A Fourth Book, running parallel with the Second, is extant in Greek, and was ascribed conjecturally to the authorship of Josephus. A Fifth is extant, giving a summary of Jewish history from the attempt of Heliodorus (2 Macc. iii.) to the time of our Lord. There are traces even of a Sixth.

The two which are now printed in the English Apocrypha owe their position to the fact that they were included in the Latin Vulgate. Jerome, it is true, though he says that he found the First Book in Hebrew, did not translate them, and the Vulgate version is from the older Latin translation of the Old Testament that was current before Jerome's work. The Council of Trent formally adopted them as part of the Canon of Scripture. The Reformed Churches dealt with them as with the other books of the Apocrypha, but, unlike most of the others, they have never taken their place in the public reading of Scripture authorised by the Church of England. The whole history of the period has been so fully treated in the articles "Between the Books," by Dr. Maclear, that it will not be necessary to go over that ground again.

1 Maccabees.—The book appears, from Jerome's statement, and from internal evidence, to have been written originally in Hebrew, but was probably soon translated for the use of the Alexandrian Jews. For the most part it tells its tale with a fairly sustained dignity, without exaggeration, and few can read the narrative of the heroic resistance of Mattathias and his sons to the insane tyranny of Antiochus (chaps. i. and ii.) without feeling their hearts glow within them. There is no intermixture of matter clearly legendary as in the Second Book, and the narrative seems to have been based, as it professes to be, on "the chronicles of the priesthood" (xvi. 24). If we feel distrust anywhere, it is where the writer professes to give actual copies of the official documents that had passed in the negotiations between the Maccabæan chiefs on the one side, and the Romans and Lacedæmonians. It is probable enough that some such negotiations were carried on, and chap. viii. cannot fail to be read with interest, as recording the

first direct contact between the great world-power of the West and the race of Abraham, and giving the impressions made upon the mind of the Jews by the power and simplicity of the Roman government, in which "none wore a crown or was clothed with purple to be magnified thereby" (viii. 14); but the style of the letter purporting to come from the Roman senate is not that of the official documents of the Republic, and we can hardly believe that, even in the degenerate days which had then fallen upon Sparta, the Lacedæmonians would distinctly admit that they and the Jews were brethren, and that both had come out of the stock of Abraham (xii. 21).

2 Maccabees.—We come here upon a book of a very different and inferior stamp. The writer professes to base his narrative upon a larger work by Jason of Cyrene, in five books (ii. 23)—an indication, we may note in passing, that the Jews had already found their way to Western Africa. As Cyrene, like Alexandria, was distinctly a Greek colony, it was probable, in the nature of the case, that both the original work and the epitome were written in that language. The real beginning of the narrative does not meet us till chap. ii. 19, and the actual opening of the book takes the form of an encyclical letter from the Jews at Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt. The letter bears every mark of being spurious, and gives in a strangely incoherent way a series of legends as to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (i. 1—16), the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles by Nehemiah, and the miraculous appearance of a flame after he had poured water on the stones of the altar (i. 20—36). It then goes back to a remoter past, and tells how Jeremiah had ascended "the mountain where Moses climbed up and saw the heritage of God," carrying (!!) the tabernacle (!), the ark, and the altar of incense, and hid them in the cave (ii. 1—8), then turns to the dedication of the Temple, and Solomon, and the formation of a sacred library by Nehemiah (ii. 9—14). All this is brought before us with a strange incoherence and confusion, then follows the notice of Jason of Cyrene, and in chap. iii. we enter on the real narrative. In part, as has been seen, it covers the same ground as the First Book. Its narrative is, however, more highly coloured. The story of martyrdoms, as in the cases of Eleazar and the Seven Brothers (vi., vii.), is related with more circumstantial fulness. Heliodorus in his outrage on the Temple sees a vision of a "horse with a terrible rider," is smitten for a time with blindness, and then repents and offers sacrifice (iii. 24—35). Horsemen are seen in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, over the streets of Jerusalem (v. 1, 2). Antiochus is smitten of God, and eaten with worms (ix. 1—12); and he too repents, and makes a vow, and recalls his persecuting edicts. Judas Maccabæus sees in a vision the high priest Onias, and with him "a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious," who is declared to be Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who "prayeth much for the people and the holy city" (xv. 12, 13). All this indicates the probability that the book was written to meet the demand for the marvellous, which was not satisfied by the simple record of the First Book, and places it, as a history, on a far lower level.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

HORNET.

MENTION of this hymenopterous insect occurs in Exod. xxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12. In all these passages the hornet is referred to as one of the means employed by Jehovah for the extirpation of the Canaanites. There seems little reason to doubt that the word "hornet" (Hebrew, *tsîr'ah*) is used metaphorically in the Pentateuch, though understood in a literal sense by the author of the Book of Wisdom (xii. 8). No actual destruction of the Canaanitish tribes by hornets is mentioned in the Biblical narrative; moreover, the word *tsîr'ah* (A.V. "wastes") in Exod. xxiii. 28 seems to be clearly parallel to *îmah*, "fear," in the preceding verse; and a similar expression is used figuratively in Deut. i. 44, "The Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do;" see also Ps. cxviii. 12, "They compassed me about like bees." Hence *tsîr'ah*, translated "hornet," must be understood metaphorically to designate any plague or punishment that God would inflict upon the enemies of Israel—the stings of terror and confusion—to help His own people to drive them out from before them.

Hornets were probably common in Palestine in ancient times. In Josh. xv. 33 mention is made "of the valley of Zoreah," or Zorah; compare also Judg. xiii. 2; xvi. 31. This place was the home of Samson, who was buried between Zoreah and Eshtaol; *tsor'ah* in Hebrew means "a place of hornets," and in this locality these insects may have been especially common. Dr. Tristram's party found four species of hornets all very common in Palestine; but none identical with the *Vespa crabro*, or hornet, of this country. The Palestine species are larger than our hornet; but, unless provoked or accidentally trodden upon, they are not disposed to attack. Of the four species, two construct nests in a similar manner to the hornet of this country; the other two make very large nests underground or in rock cavities, with combs of great size, sometimes eighteen inches in diameter, and placed horizontally. Hornets belong to the family of *Vespidæ*, or the "wasp family," none of which, except hornets, are mentioned in the Bible.

BEES

are often alluded to in the sacred writings, either with reference to the way in which, in great swarms, they make their attacks on men or other animals that have excited their anger (compare Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12; Isa. vii. 18); or in respect of the honey made by these insects (see Judg. xiv. 8, "Behold, there was a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion"). The abundance of bees in the Holy Land in ancient times is shown by the frequency of the expression, "A land flowing with milk and honey." Bees are to this day very common in Palestine. "Few countries," writes Dr. Tristram, "are more admirably adapted for bees than this, with its dry climate, and its stunted but varied flora, consisting, in large proportion, of aromatic thymes, mints, and other labiate plants, as well as of crocuses in spring; while the dry recesses of the limestone rocks everywhere afford shelter and protection for the combs." Dr. Thomson speaks of immense swarms of bees which made their home in a gigantic cliff of Wady Kurn. "The people of Malia, several years ago," he writes, "let a man down the face of the rock by ropes. He was entirely protected from the assaults of the bees, and extracted a large amount of honey; but he was so terrified by the prodigious swarms of bees, that he could not be induced to repeat the exploit" (*Land and Book*, p. 299). With this we may compare the expression of the Psalmist, "Honey out of the stony rock;" see also Deut. xxxii. 13, and the passages which refer to the serious attacks made by bees when angry (Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12). The passage about Samson's finding a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion he had slain is easily explained. The animal the strong man had killed had been dead some time, so that if any one, as Oedman has said, here represents to himself a corrupt and putrid carcase, the occurrence ceases to have any true similitude, for it is well known that in these countries, at certain seasons of the year, the heat will, in the course of four-and-twenty hours, so completely dry up the moisture of dead camels, and that without their undergoing decomposition, that their bodies long remain like mummies, unaltered and entirely free from offensive odour. Herodotus (v. 114), speaking of a certain Onesilas, who had been captured by the Amathusians, and had been beheaded, says that his head, after having been suspended over the gates, had become occupied by a swarm of bees; so that there is no reason to suppose, with Dr. Thomson, that hornets, and not bees, may be intended. No species of the wasp family, except the *Nectarina mellifica* of Brazil, has been observed to make honey; certainly no hornet is a honey-maker. The taking of bees' nests by smoking them appears to have been a very ancient custom, and it is curious to observe that in the passage of Deut. i. 44, the Syriac version, and an Arabic MS. which Bochart saw, read, "Chased you as bees that are smoked." In Isa. vii. 18 we read, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria." It has been supposed that the expression, "shall hiss for the fly," or "the bee," alludes to the ancient custom of hissing or whistling to the bees to summon them from or to their hives. That the custom prevailed amongst the ancient Romans is evident from numerous passages in classical authors; we quote from Virgil only—

"Tinnitusque cie et Martis quate cymbala circum."

The practice still continues; many a cottager clangs together his tin and iron with the idea of inducing his bees to swarm. It is, however, doubtful whether the prophet alludes to any practice of this kind. It is said that the expression "hiss to" (Hebrew, *shârak*) refers to the call to attention, *ist*, *hiss*, used in Eastern countries. So Jehovah would call the attention of the distant nations of Egypt and Assyria. The former, with "its vast and unparalleled numbers, is compared to the swarming fly; and the Assyrian nation, with its love of war and conquest, to the stinging bee, which is hard to keep off (Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12). The emblems also correspond to the nature of the two countries: the fly to slimy Egypt, with its swarms of insects (see chap. xviii. 1); and the bee to the more mountainous and woody Assyria, where the keeping of bees is still a principal branch of trade. . . . . The military force of Egypt would march out of the whole compass of the land, and meet the Assyrian force in the Holy Land, and both together would cover the land in such a way that the valleys of steep precipitous heights, and clefts of the rock, and thorn-hedges, and pastures would be covered with these swarms. The fact that just such places are named as affording a suitable shelter and abundance of food for flies and bees, is a filling up of the figure in simple trathfulness to nature" (Delitzsch, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, in loc.).

The following passage, containing an eulogium on the bee, is given by the LXX. in Prov. vi. 8: "Go to the bee, and learn how diligent she is, and what a noble work she produces; whose labours kings and private men use for their health; she is desired and honoured by all; and though weak in strength, yet, since she values wisdom, she prevails." No Hebrew copy of the Scriptures contains this passage; it is found in the Arabic version, and is quoted by Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Jerome, and others. The Hebrew word for a bee is *debôrah*, generally derived from a root meaning "to march," or "form a procession;" hence "a swarm," as the Arabic *dabr*.

LEPIDOPTERA.

Although about 280 species of lepidopterous insects have been recorded as occurring in the Holy Land, there is no allusion to any butterfly or moth in Scripture, with the single exception of the clothes-moths (*Tineidæ*), many species of which are known to occur in Palestine. The destructive habits of the larvæ of the clothes-moth form the subject to which the Bible allusions refer. "They all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up" (Isa. l. 9). "He consumeth as a garment that is moth-eaten" (Job xiii. 28). "Where moth and

rust doth corrupt" (Matt. vi. 19). See also Job iv. 19; Ps. xxxix. 11; Isa. li. 8; Hos. v. 12; James v. 2. The expression in Job iv. 19, "who are crushed before the moth," would be better rendered, "who are crushed as though they were moths." In Job xxvii. 18, the house of the ungodly man, though a palace, is compared to the house which a moth builds; "it is as brittle and perishable a thing, and can be as easily destroyed as the fine spinning of a moth, or even the small case which it makes from remnants of gnawed articles and drags about with it" (Delitzsch on Job, *in loc.*).

DIPTERA.

The two-winged order of insects is mentioned under the names of "flies" and "gnats." In the Hebrew Bible two words occur, *zebûb* and *'ârôb*, both of which are translated "flies" in our version. The former word is found only in Eccles. x. 1: "Dead flies (*zebûbîm*) cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour;" and in Isa. vii. 18, "The Lord shall hiss for the *zebûb* that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt." In the first passage the word is probably used in a wide sense to denote any of the family of *Muscidæ* that swarm in the houses of the East, and crawl everywhere, spoiling ointments or food if not protected by a covering. The *zebûb* of the prophet Isaiah probably denotes some biting insect, such as the blood-sucking horse-flies (*Hippoboscidæ*) and gadflies (*Ostridæ*). The Arabic word *dthebab*, almost identical with the Hebrew, points to some injurious insect. Of this fly Sir G. Wilkinson says, "The *dthebab* is a long grey fly which comes out about the rise of the Nile, and is like the *cleg* of the north of England; it abounds in calm, hot weather, and is often met with in June and July both in the desert and on the Nile" (*Transact. Entom. Soc.*, ii., p. 183). It will attack both man and beast, and produce death if the disease it generates is neglected. But even the common fly is a tormenting pest in Egypt and other parts of the East. "Those who have not lived," says Dr. Tristram, "in the East can have but little idea of the irritation and pain caused in some places and at some seasons by the countless swarms of those insects, which are far more rapacious than in temperate climates, and many species of which settle in the human body like mosquitoes, and by their bites draw blood and produce festering sores." By means of flies the dreaded ophthalmia is conveyed from one person to another and the infection spread. Mention is made in 2 Kings i. 2 of *Baal-zebub*, a god of Ekron, to whom Ahaziah sent for an oracle concerning the result of his illness. The word denotes "lord of flies;" according to some, the god was regarded as the averter of fly-swarms, like the Ζεὺς ἀπομυῖος of Elis; others regard the god as represented in the form of a fly, as Dagon was in that of a fish. The idol *Myiodes* mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 6) is in favour, perhaps, of this latter opinion. In the time of our Lord the Jews altered *Baalzebub* into *Baalzeboul*—*i.e.*, "lord of the dwelling," and applied it to the prince of the devils. The later Rabbins again changed Baalzeboul into *Baalzebel*—*i.e.*, "lord of dung," to express "in the most intense form their abomination of idolatry." It is quite probable that reference may be intended to the habits of the *Coprophagi*, the dung-feeding *scarabæi*, to which the *Scarabæus sacer*, or sacred beetle of Egypt, belongs. This species, as well as others of the group, incloses its eggs in a ball of excrement, which it forms by rolling the substance along by means of its hind legs; these balls are sometimes more than an inch in diameter. The Hebrew word *zebel* does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, but it is used in the sense of "dung" in Talmudical writers; Gesenius, under the root *zâbal*, which he considers another form of the more common *dâbal*, "to be round," translates *zebel* and *zebul* "round or globular dung, such as that of goats or camels." Hence it is not at all improbable that the Phœnician fly-god may have been in the form of some dung-rolling scarabæus.

The plague of flies, as related in the Book of Exodus (viii.), and referred to in Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 31, probably denotes flies of various kinds, common flies, gnats, sand-flies, mosquitoes, &c. The Hebrew word *'ârôb* is rendered "swarms of flies" in our version, and it would be difficult to suggest a better translation.

The word "gnat" (Greek, κώνωψ) occurs only in Matt. xxiii. 24: "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." The proper rendering of this text is "strain out a gnat"—a metaphor taken from straining wine so as to get rid of little particles, &c.; see this more fully under article "Camel" (BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. I., p. 366). Gnats or mosquitoes are most irritating pests in all parts of the East; they are nowhere more common than in the low-lying marshy lands of Palestine and Egypt.

ARACHNIDA.

Of the *Arachnida*, the third class of air-breathing *Anthropoda*, mention is made in the Bible only of the scorpion and the spider. The first-named animal is several times alluded to. "Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought" (Deut. viii. 15). Scorpions to this day are very common in the wilderness of Sinai; no less than five distinct species having been found there. The prophet Ezekiel (ii. 6) compares the rebellious house of Israel to scorpions. The apostles were to have power "to tread on serpents and scorpions," and nothing was to hurt them (Luke x. 19). In the Book of Revelation (ix. 3, 10), St. John in a vision sees locusts coming out of the smoke of the bottomless pit, which "had tails like unto scorpions." The pain from the sting is especially alluded to in verse 5: "Their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man." A scorpion for an egg (Luke xi. 12) was probably a proverbial expression; the Greeks used to say, "a scorpion for a perch."

The sting of a scorpion inflicts a severe wound, into which some poisonous fluid is discharged by the small openings at the extremity of the tail. These creatures are carnivorous in their habits, feeding chiefly on insects, as on beetles and locusts, spiders' eggs, &c.

The claws, like those of a lobster, are the creature's palpi; the number of eggs varies from eight to twelve. Scorpions live in the hot countries of both hemispheres, concealing themselves under stones; they are often found amongst ruins, and even in houses. They can run swiftly, and carry their tails curved over their backs. They seize their prey with their claw-like palpi, and pierce their victims with their sting before eating them. It is said that when seized, the scorpion will sometimes, in its efforts to escape, sting itself in the head, and so cause its own death. Young scorpions are at first carried on their parents' backs; during this time the female lies concealed in her retreat. Scorpions swarm in every part of Palestine. "It is always necessary," says Dr. Tristram, "before pitching tents to turn up every stone, however small, lest a scorpion should be secreted, as, when disturbed or roused by the warmth of the camp, these troublesome pests will strike at and sting any person or object within reach. So numerous are they, that in the warmer parts of the country every third stone is sure to conceal one. Eight species have been already described from Palestine, and we found several additional kinds, varying in colour and in size. The largest and most dangerous species is black, and about six inches long; others are yellow, striped and banded. They lie dormant during the cold weather, but are very easily aroused and excited. . . . . The sting of the scorpion is very painful, much more so than that of the hornet, and our muleteers were several times stung; but suction and the application of ammonia and sweet oil reduced the swelling and pain in two or three hours. I have known an instance of a man dying from the effects of a scorpion sting which he had received in the throat when leaning against a wall in which the creature was secreted" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 303).

The scorpions in the passage, "My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (1 Kings xii. 11), must signify some instrument of scourging; probably they were thongs set vith sharp iron points or nails resembling the scorpion's sting. The Hebrew word for a scorpion is *'akráb*, which, according to Gesenius, is a blended form from *'âkar*, "to wound," and *'âkêb*, "the heel." The modern Arabic name for a scorpion is identical with the Hebrew —viz., *'akrab*.

SPIDER.

Two Hebrew words—viz., *'accâbîsh* and *semâmîth*, are rendered by "spider" in our version. In Job viii. 14 it is said of the ungodly ("hypocrite," A. V.), "his hope shall be cut off, and his house shall be the house of an *'accabîsh*." In Isa. lix. 5, the Jews are said to hatch adders' ("cockatrice," A. V.) eggs, and weave the web of the *'accâbîsh*. There is not the slightest doubt that *'accâbîsh* signifies a spider; the modern Arabic is *'ankabut*, another form of the same word. In both of the Scriptural passages allusion is made to the fragile nature of the spider's web, which the slightest violence will rupture. "They weave spiders' webs, but their webs serve not for clothing, neither can men cover themselves with their works" (see verse 6 of Isa. lix.).

There is some doubt about the other Hebrew word, *semâmîth*, which occurs only in Prov. xxx. 28. "The *semâmîth* taketh hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces." The creature is mentioned by Agur the son of Jakeh as one of the four things that are exceedingly clever, though they be little upon the earth. The LXX. and Vulgate understand some species of lizard, as the gecko, and the evidence is decidedly in favour of this interpretation. (See the article on "Lizards," Vol. IV., p. 59.)

LEECHES AND WORMS.

Of the sub-kingdom *Vermes*, Biblical notices of the horseleech and worm only occur. The former is mentioned only in Prov. xxx. 15: "The horseleach hath two daughters, crying, Give, give." The Hebrew word *'alukâh*, from *'alak*, "to suck," is taken both by the LXX. and Vulgate to denote "a leech," though many modern scholars understand by it some vampire-like monster, which was supposed to drain men of their life-blood, like the *ghoul* of the *Arabian Nights*. They compare the *'alukâh* with the *lilith* of Isaiah ("screech-owl," A. V.), that frequented ruined places and carried off children at night (Isa. xxxiv. 14). That a belief in such spectres was held by the Jews is not denied, and is attested indeed by the Targum on Ps. xii. 8, which says, "The wicked go round about as the *alukah* that drinks the blood of men." But the ordinary rendering gives very good sense, and we see no reason to dissent from it. The expression of "the two daughters, crying, Give, give," accurately describes the bloodthirsty properties of some of the leeches; and it may be worth while to mention, in favour of the rendering of our version, that the Arabs to this day designate a leech of the Nile (*Limnatis Nilotica*) by the term *'alak*.

The horseleech (*Hæmopis sanguisuga*) is common in the stagnant waters of Palestine. It has small teeth, and cannot pierce the skin; but when it gets into the mouth or nostrils of cattle or horses as they drink, it is productive of serious mischief, causing much pain and loss of blood; so tenaciously do these bloodsuckers cling that they are often nearly torn asunder by efforts made to extract them. The leech of commerce, or the medicinal leech, once common enough in this country, but now rarely seen, is still more abundant in Palestine than the horseleech. Other genera of discophorous annelids belonging to the leech family, such as *Trochelia* and *Bdelia*, are common in the waters of Syria.

Worm.—Three Hebrew words are rendered "worm" in our version—*sâs*, *rimmâh*, and *tole'ah*. The first-named term probably denotes the larva of the clothes moth; it occurs in Isa. li. 8. "The moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the *sâs* (worm) shall eat them like wool." The manna that the Israelites kept till the morning of a week-day "bred worms (*tôlâim*) and stank;" but there was no *rimmâh* (worm) in the manna gathered the night before the Sabbath and kept over it. Job says, "My flesh is clothed with *rimmâh*" (vii. 5; see also xvii. 14). The familiar passage in Job xix. 26,

"Though after my skin worms destroy this body," has no mention of worms in the original Hebrew. The word *rimmâh* is derived by Gesenius from a root meaning "to be putrid," and would thus stand for various kinds of maggots and insect larvæ that feed on decayed vegetable or animal matter. The other word, *tôlê'âh* or *tolaath*, appears also to be used for some larva destructive to the vine, possibly that of the *Tortrix vitisana*—"Thou shalt plant vineyards, . . . but shalt not gather the grapes, for the *tôlâath* shall eat them" (Deut. xxviii. 39)—or to the larvæ of the two-winged meat-flies, which would feed on the dead bodies of those slain in battle (Isa. lxvi. 24; see also Job xvii. 14; xxiv. 20; xxi. 26; vii. 5). As a symbol of that which is vile and despicable, the worm occurs in Ps. xxii. 6; Isa. xli. 14: as a figure to express the stings of a guilty conscience in another world, the worm is used by our Lord, "Their worm shall not die" (Mark ix. 44, &c.).

Herod Agrippa's death was caused by worms of some kind (Acts xii. 23). "He was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." What kind it was that caused his death it is quite impossible to say.

Several kinds of earth-worm (*Lumbricus*) are found in Palestine, apparently similar to those of this country. *Myriapoda* and *Scolopendræ* are extremely common; they are eagerly devoured by the birds.

ANTHOZOA.

The class *Anthozoa* is represented in Scripture by the coral. The Hebrew word *râmôth* etymologically means "that which grows upward," and is with good reason understood to mean "coral." "No mention shall be made of coral, . . . for the price of wisdom is above rubies" (Job xxviii. 18). "Syria was thy merchant; . . . they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds and coral" (Ezek. xxvii. 16). The coral brought to Tyre by the Syrians would have been that of the Red Sea, which is most valuable, although good coral is obtained from the Mediterranean also. The coral is broken off from the rocks to which it is fixed by long hooked poles, and then drawn out. It may be mentioned that the Hebrew word rendered "price" in verse 18 of Job xxviii. literally means "a drawing out"—"The drawing out of wisdom is above the drawing out of coral." The red coral of commerce (*Corallium rubrum*) is composed of a large quantity of calcareous matter mixed with horny matter. It is the product of multitudes of little creatures of microscopic size called polypes or zoophytes.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CANTICLES; OR, SONG OF SOLOMON (*concluded*).

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

SOME who read these lines may be tempted to express a certain degree of surprise. Looking at the matter from the point of view of Europeans and of Englishmen with modern associations, they may be inclined to ask why the same truths could not have been taught by straightforward dogmatic assertions; why these wrappings of symbolical poetry, these strange and passionate riddles, have been adopted?

If a great master in music were about to play upon an organ, few sciolists would have the pedantic insolence to instruct him upon the mode of his performance. Who are we that we should venture to dictate to the Holy Spirit how He may best utter the music of his meaning? We can easily understand that truth finds access to different minds in different shapes. The acted parables of our Lord, the symbols which He employed, were perhaps more eloquent to many who saw them than His spoken parables. To not a few, the evergreens that cover the church walls at Christmas are dim yet real tokens and pledges of the new life which Christ brought with Him. To some pious people, the harpers of the Apocalypse, and the foundations of the New Jerusalem, convey more than all articulate meaning. There are those whose affections may be gained, and to whom God's Word may be made more pleasant, by the symbolism of this sweet Idyll. It will be observed that many of the objects to which the Bride and the Spouse are likened, are such as no poet would ever select for pictorial effect or natural verisimilitude. And thus we are invited to read them from another point of view. Thus, in one passage, whose effect is marred by the unfortunate difficulty of finding an equivalent for the Hebrew *mëim*, "his belly is as bright ivory overlaid with sapphires" (v. 14). There may be some to whom the ivory, the most precious of animal products, and the sapphire, the Scriptural symbol of the visible heaven, may give an exquisitely delightful conception of the union of all that is best in earth and heaven, and so of the highest humanity and truest Deity. Or again, it may safely be affirmed that there is no single proper name in Solomon's Song which is not significant,[1] and meant to be such, a pregnant hint of the true principle of interpretation. For instance, the eyes of the Bride are said to be like the pools in Heshbon. As the word Heshbon points to *meditation*, this view of the Church as a creature with clear, large, deep, limpid, meditative eyes, the mirror of the heaven by day and night,[2] may be more impressive and touching than the bare statement that the Church is given to prayer and meditation, and relies upon heavenly teaching.

[1] Solomon, Shulamite, En-gedi, Tirzah, Ammi-nadib, Bath-rabbim, Baal-hamon. See Bishop of Lincoln's Note on Cant. vii. 4.

[2] "The eyes large, clear, bright, untroubled (as neither mud blackens, nor wind stirs these waters), quiet, and modest" (see authorities in Poole, *Synop. Crit.* ii. 2,033).

And in a book of the marvellous power and compass of Scripture, we are not surprised to find passages which suit Christ and His Church. One in especial we may notice, because two hints as to its hidden meaning are given us in the Apocalypse (comp. Cant. v. 2—8 with Rev. iii. 20; xvi. 15).

Does not our Lord Himself more than hint to us that we have here a symbolic prophecy of the days of the Church's declension? The Divine Spouse pities His Betrothed. The clouds gather, and the rain beats upon the earth; but from the stormless shore, through the cold and rain, He comes, and says, in that piercing voice, which is yet so tender, "Open to Me."

He has come in His love, but "He cometh as a thief." She has not "watched and kept her raiment." "I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?" As if any feet could be defiled by moving towards Him! The days are past, when Christ's sweet voice was as music to her, of which she could say, "I have followed it, or it hath led me rather."[1] But then, "My beloved put in his hand by the hole of the door." A hand put in. Why that emotion, that sorrow? What if it were known to her by some mark, perhaps pierced and wounded for her? At that moment the fountains are opened, and drops of penitence, at once sweet and bitter, fall upon the lock that had been bolted against Him. So she goes forth, seeking Him and finding Him not for a while. Yet, when she is outcast, panting and wounded for His sake, her beauty is fairest in His eyes.

Whatever may be thought of such explanations in detail, we are amply justified in finding (as has been beautifully said) "in this noble and gentle history shadows of the emotion of the highest love, of the infinite condescension of the Incarnation."[2] And here is one great use of the book. It is intended to be an antidote against coldness in religion; against the religion which (as Bishop Butler complained) is so very moderate, and very reasonable, that it has nothing to do with the heart and affections. The world sweeps by with seductive songs; the very flowers of which they tell are laden with associations—

> "The lilies and languors of virtue,
> The roses and raptures of vice."

What if we could say, passionately clinging to purer pleasures?—"I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine: he feedeth among lilies" (Cant. vi. 3).

There was a patient tormented with an undefinable misery, and a perpetual restlessness, whom his physician advised to think at night of something vast, quiet, and beautiful. He thought that he would occupy himself with the idea of God, and in so doing he found rest both to body and soul. In this Divine book (strangely pathetic as so much of it is, with the exquisite pathos latent in the love of all finite natures), may we not find such a conception of Christ as will give us perfect peace? It has been well said by certain old writers, "The Jews did not allow any younger than thirty years to read this book. Better if they had measured the fitness by grace rather than years. Let the reader of it be sober and pure, humble and teachable, not fixed on earthly things. Let him be well read in all Scripture, especially Psalms and Canticles; endued with an experimental knowledge of God's dealings with his heart, and that of others; having the grace of God quick and living in him, communing much with the Spouse in prayer; having experience of the sweetness of Divine love. Vainly does the unloving draw near to read the Song of Songs; a cold heart cannot bear those words of fire. The language of love is barbarous to him who loveth not."[3]

III. The history of the rationalistic interpretation of the Canticles, from Theodore of Mopsuesta downwards, has been drawn briefly and clearly by M. Renan. Sebastian Castalion pronounced it to be an improper book. After the lapse of a century, Grotius and Leclerc took something of the same position; the first awkwardly, and with hesitation; the last with some degree of decision. Meanwhile, Vatablus, Bossuet, and Bishop Lowth, in different sections of the Christian Church, were shaping out the old theory of Aben Ezra, that there are two senses, one natural, the other mystic and spiritual, and both to be maintained. Towards the end of the last century, the new school of Biblical exegesis in Germany attempted to uproot completely every sense but the most coarsely literal. Semler and J. D. Michaelis interpreted it literally. Herder maintained that the book was not mystic, and scarcely refrained from drawing the conclusion that it was immoral. In 1771 Jacobi gave a new turn to the exposition of the Song of Songs. He took up some hints thrown out by the reverent and exquisite genius of Bossuet, and pressed them to very different conclusions from those of the gifted and pious prelate. He maintained that the piece was a drama, and its subject "the victory of faithful lovers;" that the heroine was a villager unwittingly entrapped into his court by a sensual king. While Herder, Doederlein, Eichhorn, and De Wette looked upon the book as a collection of detached love-songs, Umbreit, Ewald, Hitzig, and in Holland and France Réville, and Renan, have carried the ultra-dramatic theory to its last degree of elaboration.

It will not be expected that we should here reproduce the list of *dramatis personæ*, and the contents of the Acts, which have been drawn out by M. Renan, like a Parisian Vaudeville. The following analysis will sufficiently indicate the theory:—

Act I. . . .	chapter i. 2 to ii. 7.
Act II. . . .	chapter ii. 8 to iii. 5.
Act III. . . .	chapter iii. 6 to v. 1.
Act IV. . . .	chapter v. 2 to vi. 3.
Act V. . . .	chapter vi. 4 to viii. 7.
Epilogue . . .	chapter viii. 8 to viii. 14.

But to this scheme there are several insuperable objections, even from the position of those who attach

[1] Shakespeare, *Tempest*.
[2] Mr. Kingsbury in the *Speaker's Commentary*.
[3] Del Rio, Durham, Sanctius, and St. Bernard, quoted in Poole's *Synopsis Crit.* ii. 1,967.

no weight to the arguments which we have produced from Scripture.

1. The piece can only be put into this shape by arbitrary transpositions, and the most enormous drafts upon the imagination. The chronological order of action is almost inverted. In the first chapter the girl is supposed to enter the seraglio of Solomon, but it is only in the third chapter that she comes to Jerusalem for the first time; while in the sixth chapter she is carried away finally by the chariots of Solomon; and the eighth chapter obstinately refuses to fit into the frame at all. Indeed, M. Renan himself seems to admit that he can make nothing of the whole passage from vi. 11 to vii. 12.

2. It is quite certain that there was no trace of a theatre or theatrical representations at Jerusalem before Herod. Indeed, the Book of the Maccabees and Josephus prove that the erection of a theatre by Herod gave the deepest offence to Jewish prejudices.[1] And it is quite idle to talk of representing in private families a piece which would have required, according to the critics, the following personages:—

The Shulamite.
The Shepherd.
Solomon.
Brothers of the Shulamite.
Many women of the harem.
Men of Jerusalem.
Solomon's suite.
Wedding companions of Shepherd.
Choir.
Sage to speak Moral and Epilogue.

It only remains to say that, according to the most competent writers, there is nothing in the Hebrew of the Song of Songs inconsistent with a *date* as early as the reign of Solomon. The alleged Chaldaisms, as in the case of the Book of Ruth, may be a touch of provincial or popular language. Of the words attributed to Grecian or Persian origin, one only is worthy of notice —the word *paradise*.[2] But the occurrence of one word is a slender basis upon which to build a theory.[3]

As to the internal evidence for Solomon's authorship, we should notice the pleasure in grandeur, the passionate feeling for nature, the taste for beautiful and gorgeous objects in art, the indications of acquaintance with natural history. He who "spake three thousand proverbs, and whose songs were a thousand and five," spake also, and apparently in these proverbs and songs, "of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes" (1 Kings iv. 31—33). Hengstenberg remarks that in this brief poem myrrh is as frequently mentioned as in all the rest of the Old Testament. Apple-trees and apples are spoken of in Cant. ii. 3, 5; vii. 9; viii. 5; in the rest of the Old Testament twice only. Lebanon and its glorious cedars are constantly before his fancy (i. 17; ii. 13; iii. 9; iv. 8, 11, 15; vii. 5; viii. 9). For other trees, plants, and flowers, see i. 17; vii. 7; ii. 2; i. 12, 14; vii. 8, 12, 13; iv. 13, 14. For beasts and birds, i. 9; i. 7, 8; iv. 1, 2; ii. 7, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17; iii. 5; viii. 14; iv. 8. For gorgeous gems, furniture, adornments, and buildings, i. 5, 10, 11, 17; iii. 10, 11; v. 14, 15; vii. 2, 5; viii. 9 (compare, for similar indications of taste and feeling, Eccles. ii. 4—8; x. 7, 11; xii. 4, 5, 6; Prov. ix. 1; xxiv. 30, 31, the exquisite little pastoral, xxvii. 24—27; xxx. 19, 24—31). "Let any one," says Kleuker, "compare the accounts of Solomon's passionate love in the historical books, the taste for nature and magnificence displayed in all his delineations of it, and of which ample evidence is given in his other writings, and it will be difficult even to conceive that any other than he wrote the Song of Songs."

To those who are inclined to agree with our interpretation of this Divine song, we desire to point out a far profounder likeness in substance between the Books of Proverbs and Canticles. The English word *proverb* is hardly an adequate rendering of מָשָׁל (*mashal*); properly it is a comparison or similitude; hence any symbolical discourse, or, as the Latin translator has rendered it, the *Parables* of Solomon, discourses which, as Jerome says, have one thing on the surface, another in their depths.[4] Thus, as to the three shapes which occupy so much of the book, Wisdom, the Strange Woman, and the Virtuous Woman, it may be said, without in the slightest degree mysticising away a fine moral lesson, that behind the veil of the *mashal* there is something more. We may venture to think that St. Augustine was not altogether wrong when he wrote that in Proverbs Solomon is found to have prophesied of Christ and of the Church. The words of Agur (that significant name), in the 30th chapter, have something more in them than meets the eye. They rise out of the region of elementary natural history. The emphatic language of the first verse, "even the Prophecy," necessitates a profound

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 11, sqq., 22, sqq.; Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 8, § 1; *De B. Jud.* i. 21, § 8 (quoted by Renan, *Étude sur la Cantique*, p. 81).

[2] פַּרְדֵּס (Cant. iv. 13). The word is not preserved in old Persian. Fuerst refers to the Zend *painhêra*, the Armenian *pardez*, the Sanskrit *paradêça* (*Lexicon*, p. 1,150).

[3] An argument upon which much stress has been laid is, that "the allegorical representation of Israel under the image of a virgin was not sufficiently common in the age of Solomon; that the image is but seldom used by the prophets until after Amos (v. 2); and that only after Isaiah did the personification of Israel, Judah, Sion, Jerusalem as בַּת (daughter), בְּתוּלָה (a virgin), become stereotyped in popular usage. But in addition to the palmary passages (Exod. xx. 5; xxxiv. 14) quoted above, the germ may be traced in the following texts:—Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16; Lev. xx. 5, 6; xvii. 7; Numb. xiv. 33 (where idolatry is spoken of as whoredom); Deut. xxxii. 16, 21, where even the cold and unimaginative Vitringa writes: "A metaphor plainly taken from a husband who, when he sees himself spurned by a wife indulging in unworthy affection, and hence in anger to retaliate and move her to jealousy, openly transfers his love to another, and perhaps more ignoble woman." In Deut. xxxiii. 12, Benjamin is called יְדִיד יְהוָה (beloved of the Lord). Nay, Solomon himself is called יְדִידְיָה, 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25 (see also the name of the mother of Josiah, 2 Kings xxii. 1). No doubt the symbolic representation is infinitely fuller and more definite after *Solomon* (see Jer. xxxi. 33); but that only proves that the idea was developed and given currency to by him. The fact that so many prophets use the image of the conjugal relation presupposes that it was clearly in the circle of popular sacred ideas. Hosea implies the Song of Solomon as certainly as some hymns popular in English Protestant Nonconformist communities imply the *Pilgrim's Progress* (see Hengstenberg, *Proleg. to the Song of Solomon*).

[4] "Aliud in medullâ habentes, aliud in superficie pollicertes."

interpretation. "The prophecy" is הַמַּשָּׂא (*hammassâ*), that is, properly, *burden*, hence revelation or Divine oracle. To those who receive the two books in this distinctively Christian acceptation, there is an overwhelming conviction of unity of thought and spiritual characteristic in the enigmatical representation common to both.

Among the principal works or expositions on the Canticles may be named Athanasius; St. Bernard, *In Cantica*, Sermones lxxxvi. (this exposition does not go beyond iii. 22; it is, of course, deficient in critical tact and insight, but abounds with exquisite touches); Cornelius à Lapide, *Comment.*, tom. vii. 429, 615; Matthew Henry (curiously like the great Jesuit in thought and tone); Bossuet; Lowth; Hengstenberg (*Prolegomena to Song of Solomon*, translated in *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Clark, Edinburgh, pp. 272—305); Ginsburg; Thrupp, 1862; Bishop of Lincoln, *Holy Bible*, iv. 120, sqq.; and the Rev. T. L. Kingsbury's most interesting contribution to the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iv. The whole history of the rationalistic interpretation will be found in Ernest Renan, *La Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1869).

It only remains for us to quote, in conclusion, some wise sentences from the repertory of the thoughtful Christianity of a past age, to be found in Poole's *Synopsis*:—

"We come to the following conclusions: (1.) We should read the Canticles as a part of *Scripture*, which, though obscure, has a tendency, when read rightly, to affect man for good, and soothe and delight his spirit. . . . (3.) The doctrines which are contained in this book are the selfsame plain spiritual verities which are found in other Scriptures. This we say, lest when any shall have heard the doctrines of faith, repentance, &c., brought out in the exposition of these images, he may think them unsuitable to such. But we prove that such doctrines are deducible from the Canticles by the following solid arguments:—

"(*a*) They agree with the whole scope of the Canticles, which is exactly the same with the whole scope of the Bible, namely, to show the love of God, and the duty of the Church.

"(*b*) Precisely the same images—the *vineyard*, the *marriage*, &c.—are to be found in very many other passages of Scripture (see Isa. v. 1, 2; Jer. iii. 1; Hosea, *passim*; St. Matt. xxii. 2, &c.), suggest to us just the same doctrines, and have the same use, scope, and object as the present book.

"(*c*) The same doctrines are in Ps. xlv.; of which the tone, colouring, style, and application are of a piece with Solomon's Song.

"(*d*) Doctrines precisely similar may be gathered by collating parallel passages from other Scriptures. Thus, if we compare the description of Christ, Cant. v. 10, &c., with that of Rev. i. 13, sqq., we may perceive a great likeness, notably in what is said of the feet and face. But it is certain that that description, Rev. i. 13, signifies the various perfections of Christ, His omniscience by the eye; His justice by the feet that walk aright; His omnipotence by the arm, which is brought out fully in Rev. ii. and iii. Why should not the same Spirit who prompted the one passage have prompted the other also?

"But many objections occur:—

"1. If such doctrines are to be taught, why are they taught *figuratively?* Answer: Who are you, to teach the Holy Spirit how to declare His mind and meaning?

"2. Objection: Such doctrines are too Evangelical, and do not suit the Old Testament. It is doubtful whether Solomon knew such doctrines, or had any intention of teaching them here. Answer: The question is not about Solomon's meaning, but that of the SPIRIT OF GOD."[1]

Poole, *Synop. Crit.* ii., 1,967.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

THE ORDERS OF APETALOUS PLANTS—SALICINEÆ TO CUPULIFERÆ AND CONIFERÆ.

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THE Willow family (*Salicineæ*) is represented in Palestine, as with us, by species of poplar and willow, which find their favourite localities beside the water-courses. Our two British poplars are found also in Palestine, along with two or three other species. It has been thought that the *becaim* (בָּכָאִים) of the Hebrew Scriptures, translated in our English Bible "mulberry-trees," were poplars. The word occurs only in the narrative of the utter destruction of the Philistines on the occasion of their second invasion of Israel, after David was anointed king. They had spread themselves over the valley of Rephaim; and God, in answer to David's inquiry, said, "Thou shalt not go up; but fetch a compass behind them, and come upon them over against the mulberry-trees. And let it be, when thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry-trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself" (2 Sam. v. 23, 24). The Septuagint rendered the word by ἄπιοι, "pear-trees;" and this interpretation has been accepted by Rosenmüller and others. Celsius proposes the gum-bearing *Amyris;* but this must be excluded, as it is not a native of Palestine. The Jewish Rabbis, followed by our translators, understand it to mean the mulberry-trees. Dr. Royle has suggested that it may be the aspen, for which he finds an Arabic name, *baca*,

not unlike the Hebrew. This tree is noted for the ease with which its leaves, borne on long flattened stalks, are moved by the slightest wind.

There is reason to believe that the white poplar is referred to under the name *libneh* (לִבְנֶה), which occurs twice in the Old Testament. In Jacob's experiments with Laban's flocks he employed peeled rods of green poplar, hazel, and chestnut-trees (Gen. xxx. 37). It was one of the trees under which idolatrous Israel sacrificed: "Under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good" (Hos. iv. 13). The white-flowered storax-tree is thought by some to be the *libneh;* but as this was only a bush, it could not be ranked with the oak, as a tree whose umbrageous crown could afford shelter to the priest while sacrificing. The etymology of the word suggests that the tree was of a whitish colour, and justifies the application of the name to the downy-leaved poplar. Our own *Populus alba*, Linn., may be the plant of the uplands referred to by Hosea; while the allied *P. euphratica*, Dene, would be abundant in the locality where Jacob was tending Laban's flocks.

The branches of the willow were employed by the Israelites in the construction of the booths at the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40). In the description of behemoth this tree is specified as one which gave him shade: "The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the willows of the brook compass him about" (Job. xl. 22). The prosperity of Israel, when the Lord shall pour out His blessing, is likened to the rapid growth of "willows by the water-courses" (Isa. xliv. 4). The only other reference to this tree—for the "brook of the willows" (Isa. xv. 7) is obviously the name of a place—is in that psalm sung by the Israelites after the captivity, in which, with unsurpassed power and pathos, the picture of their misery is drawn: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof" (Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2). There is no good reason for the attempts which have been made to find some other tree than the willow which would accord with these references, for different species of *Salix* occur in Palestine. The *Salix Babylonica*, Linn., is one of them; and whether this is the very species which grew on the banks of the Euphrates, it has, from its long association with the narrative of Israel's misery, become the symbol of sorrow, and is extensively planted in our cemeteries: all the existing trees in Britain are cuttings from one introduced into the garden at Hampton Court, in the end of the seventeenth century.

Another Hebrew word, *tsaftsafah* (צַפְצָפָה), is translated "willow" in our Bible. It occurs only in the passage where Ezekiel, in his figurative description of the king and princes of Jerusalem carried captive to Babylon, speaks of a great eagle as having placed the seed of the land "by great waters, and set it as a willow-tree" (xvii. 5). The correctness of this rendering is borne out by the Arab name, *safsaf*, for the willow, which is obviously the same as that of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Oriental plane (*Platanus orientalis*, Linn.) is one of the more common trees of Palestine, occurring frequently by streams and in the plains: it is often planted by roadways and near towns for its shade. It has always been a favourite tree, from the protection from sun and rain afforded by its dense mass of foliage. On this account it was the principal tree planted in the groves of the Athenian academies. It must not be confounded with the plane-tree of Scotland, which, though agreeing with it generally in the form of the leaf, in other respects differs widely from it. The Oriental plane grows in London, ornamenting all its squares, and often enlivening with its green foliage the narrowest lanes and the most crowded thoroughfares. The property it has of throwing off its outer bark every spring, and so getting rid of the coating of London soot which invests everything within its reach, probably secures for this tree its vigorous town life. It is to this casting off of its bark, getting rid of its clothes, that it owes its Hebrew name, *'armon* (עַרְמוֹן), derived from a root meaning "nakedness." *'Armon* is translated in our version "chestnut-tree;" but the Septuagint and Vulgate, with recent translators, render it "plane-tree." The word occurs twice in the Scriptures: "Rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and *chestnut-tree*," were placed by Jacob in the water-troughs where Laban's flocks came to drink (Gen. xxx. 37); and Ezekiel, in describing to Pharaoh the grandeur of the Assyrian empire, says, "The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the *chestnut-trees* were not like his branches" (Ezek. xxxi. 8).

The fruit of the walnut is supposed to be the nut referred to by Solomon: "I went down into the garden of nuts to see the fruits of the valley, and to see whether the vine flourished, and the pomegranates budded" (Cant. vi. 11). The Hebrew *egoz* (אֱגוֹז) is closely allied to the Persian *gowz*, and to the Arabic *jowz*, the names for the walnut in these languages. The tree is a native of the mountains in the east, and was no doubt common in the higher lands of the north of Palestine in ancient times, as it is at the present day. The only reason against limiting *egoz* to the walnut is that this tree does not flourish with the vine and pomegranate, its geographical distribution being limited to colder localities than that in which these plants flourish.

The oaks are the most abundant trees in the hilly table-land of Palestine; in some places forming woods, and in others covering the ground for miles with a dense brushwood, from eight to twelve feet high. Our common British oak does not occur in Palestine, yet it is found high up on Lebanon. Three species of oak are of frequent occurrence throughout the country. Of these, the Valonian oak (*Quercus Ægilops*, Linn.) most nearly resembles our common oak. It has a stout trunk, and attains a height of some twenty to thirty feet. The large acorns, which are eaten by the Arabs, are borne in very large cups densely covered with long recurved teeth. These cups are extensively used by tanners, because of the large amount of

tannic acid they contain. The tree is common in Galilee, forming forests on Tabor and Carmel; it is also abundant across the Jordan in Bashan; and is, no doubt, the "oak of Bashan" mentioned several times in the Old Testament. The most common oak is an evergreen species, *Q. pseudococcifera*, Desf., like the holly or holm oak (*Q. Ilex*, Linn.) of our parks and shrubberies. To this species belongs the famous oak at Hebron, under which tradition says that Abraham entertained the three angels. This is an immense spreading tree, with a trunk twenty-six feet in girth, which forks about six feet from the ground into three equal stems, and these afterwards divide into many smaller limbs. The branches cover an area ninety-three feet in diameter. Tristram and Thomson record larger oaks which they have measured in Palestine. In the time of Josephus the traditional tree was a large terebinth, which has long ago entirely disappeared, and the tradition has been transferred to this well-known oak. But old as this tree is, it has no real claim to the great antiquity tradition gives to it; it is probably the last relic of the grove under one of the trees of which the angels were invited to rest by Abraham (Gen. xviii. 1). The third species is the gall oak (*Q. insectifera*, Linn.), a deciduous-leaved tree, from twenty to thirty feet high. Its leaves are white on the under surface. It is not so common as the other two, but is seen occasionally in Samaria, Galilee, and the Lebanon range. The young branches are attacked by a hymenopterous insect which produces a large crop of bright chestnut-coloured galls extensively used in the manufacture of ink and dyes.

The oak is not mentioned in the New Testament, but it is frequently referred to in the Old Testament, under several slightly varied terms, all derived from the same root, meaning "strength." The same radical idea is contained in the technical name of our British oak, *Q. Robur*, Linn.; and the Jews, like ourselves, used the oak proverbially for strength. Thus we read of the Amorite that his "height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oak" (Amos ii. 9). The simplest form of the Hebrew name, *el* (אֵל), is more frequently, and quite correctly, rendered in our version "mighty men." *Elon* (אֵלוֹן) is translated "plain," as "plain of Moreh" (Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30; and Judg. ix. 6); "plain of Mamre" (Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 13; xviii. 1); "plain of Zaanaim" (Judg. iv. 11); "plain of Meonenim" (Judg. ix. 37); but in all these instances it would be more correctly translated "oak." The tree seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his dream, and called *ilan* (אִילָן, Dan. iv. 10, 11, &c.), was also an oak. When Joshua on the eve of his death received the promise of the people that they would serve the Lord, he took a great stone, and set it up as a witness under an oak (אֵלָה, *allah*) in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26). Perhaps the most distinctive term for the oak among the Hebrews was *allon* (אַלּוֹן), which is throughout rendered "oak" in our Authorised Version. Of the wood of this tree the Tyrians made the oars of their vessels (Ezek. xxvii. 6), and idolators formed the idols they worshipped (Isa. xliv. 14), while the idolatrous worship was celebrated under the umbrageous head of the oak (Hos. iv. 13).

CONIFERÆ.

The indigenous flora of Britain includes three coniferous plants—a pine, a juniper, and a yew. The members of the order are found principally in the colder regions of the globe, and the species occurring in Palestine are confined to the mountains of the north. The most remarkable of them is the cedar, repeatedly referred to in the Scriptures under the name *erez* (אֶרֶז). This is the name still given to the tree by the Arabs, and though it would not be accurate to restrict it absolutely to the Lebanon cedar, there can be no doubt that this was the plant to which it was in the first instance and in a special manner applied. The cedar (*Pinus Cedrus*, Linn.) is confined in its geographical distribution to Asia Minor, coming south as far as Lebanon. It does not reach Palestine proper, and should not be included among the trees of that country. A closely-allied tree, if not a variety only of the Lebanon cedar, grows on the Atlas mountains; and the deodar, a third species, is found on the mountains in the north of India. The Lebanon cedar was long supposed to be confined to the small hollow on the north-western slope of Lebanon near Kadisha, called "The Cedars," which is over 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, and more than 3,000 feet below the summit of the mountain. Explorers have, however, found in the less accessible mountain fastnesses of Lebanon to the north several other groves, and cedars are known to be common on the Taurus range. The well-known grove of "The Cedars" consists of between four and five hundred trees growing on a platform some six acres in extent, with the summits of Lebanon towering to a great height around on every side. The trunk of the largest tree measures forty-seven feet in circumference, and its total height is about one hundred feet. The noble appearance of the cedar, and the interesting associations connected with it, have led to its being extensively planted in England. It is a common tree in and around London, and many parks throughout England, like Blenheim Park in Oxfordshire, contain magnificent specimens. Its foliage is not unlike that of the common larch, consisting of a large number of small needle-like leaves grouped together in tufts; but while in the larch the leaves fall off at the approach of winter, in the cedar they continue for two years, thus making the tree an evergreen. The cones are also very different from those of the larch, being oblong and blunt, and made up of many purplish-brown scales densely packed together. They rise upright from the branches, and as they take three years to ripen, and remain much longer on the tree, a fruit-bearing cedar always presents a singularly prolific appearance. The branches are thrown out horizontally from the parent trunk. These again part into limbs which preserve the same horizontal direction, and so on down to the minutest twigs. The leaves point upwards, growing from the twigs like grass from the earth. "Climb into

one," says Dr. Thomson, "and you are delighted with a succession of verdant floors spread around the trunk and gradually narrowing as you ascend. The beautiful cones seem to stand upon, or rise out of, this green flooring" (*The Land and the Book*, p. 200).

The majestic form and large spreading branches of this noble tree, which make it the pride of so many parks in England, made it the glory of Lebanon to the Jew (Isa. xxxv. 2). The cedar was the highest tree known to him. "His height was exalted above all the trees of the field. . . . The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him" (Ezek. xxxi. 5, 8); and it was considered to be the noblest member of the vegetable kingdom. Solomon's botanical knowledge extended from the meanest plant, the hyssop springing out of the wall, to the noblest, the cedar of Lebanon (1 Kings iv. 33). The cedars were the type of pre-eminent greatness and excellence. "Trees of the Lord" (Ps. civ. 16) the Psalmist calls them, by a parabolic Hebraism, to indicate their mighty grandeur.

An aromatic odour pervades every part of the plant, and this, according to Schulz, is characteristic of the cedar groves. "Everything," he says, "about this tree has a strong balsamic perfume, and hence the whole forest is so perfumed with fragrance that a walk through it is delightful." This explains such allusions as "His smell shall be as Lebanon" (Hos. xiv. 6). This perfume is present in the wood, and is due to a resin which freely exudes from the trunk while the tree is living, and may often be seen spotting the wood after it is made into furniture; metal objects placed in cabinets of cedar-wood are often injured by being coated with this resin as with a fine varnish. The resin was held in high esteem by the ancients as a powerful antiseptic, and under the name of cedria was employed by the Romans in embalming the dead. To this is due the prevalent belief in the imperishable nature of cedar-wood. The value of the timber for practical purposes has recently been called in question, but without good foundation. The high value set on it in ancient times, as shown by its extensive use in the first and second Temples, and in the palace of Solomon, which from the quantity of this wood employed in its construction was called "The house of the forest of Lebanon" (1 Kings vii. 2), as well as from the trouble that the Assyrian king took to obtain it from Lebanon for his palace at Nineveh—this high value is fully justified by an examination of the wood itself, which, though soft like almost all coniferous woods, is nevertheless a close, compact-grained wood, fitted for carving, and susceptible of the highest polish. Fragments of the cedar beams employed in the palace at Nineveh were found by Mr. Layard in the progress of his excavations, and are now preserved in the British Museum. These specimens, which have been subjected for some three thousand years to the oxidation and other chemical actions to which all dead organic bodies are liable, and have lost the elasticity of new wood, are still in a remarkably perfect condition. Through some imperfect observation they were declared to be fragments of yew, but I have made a careful microscopic examination of the wood-cells, and have satisfied myself that the minute structure confirms Mr. Layard's determination from their external appearance, and their odour when burning, that they were portions of Lebanon cedar.

The labours of the eighty thousand hewers whom Solomon employed in Lebanon, to supply the demands of the Temple and the palace he was erecting, must have made serious havoc among the cedars, from which perhaps they have never recovered. The wood was brought down to the shore and shipped to Joppa, whence it was transported to Jerusalem. Josephus records that Herod also used cedar for the roofing of his temple.

The fir-tree was supplied by Hiram from Lebanon, as well as the cedar, for the construction of the Temple. The pines of Palestine belong to two species, the Aleppo pine (*Pinus Halepensis*, Linn.), found in the mountainous tracts throughout the country, and common on the Lebanon range above the zone of evergreen oaks; the other, the sea-side pine (*P. maritima*, Duh.), forming forests here and there along the coasts, or on the sandy plains bordering the coast. Extensive forests of a third pine (*P. Carica*, Linn.) occur on the mountains of Gilead, on the farther side of Jordan. The Aleppo pine is probably the *berosh* (בְּרוֹשׁ) or *beroth* (בְּרוֹת), generally translated "fir-tree" in our version. Solomon employed fir planks in the Temple for the flooring, and he made the two entrance doors and the gilded ceiling of this wood (1 Kings vi. 15, 34). The Tyrians used it for the decks of their ships (Ezek. xxvii. 5), and David's harps were made of the same material (2 Sam. vi. 5).

The *tidhar* (תִּדְהָר) is associated with the fir and the box on the mountains of Lebanon (Isa. xli. 19; lx. 13); but whether it was one of the coniferous trees, as the translators of our version have understood it, or some hardy tree like the elm growing with them, it is impossible to say, as there is nothing in the context or the word itself to throw light on the question.

Much difference of opinion also exists as to the *oren* (אֹרֶן), from which idols were made (Isa. xliv. 14). Our version renders it "ash," but as this tree is not a native of Palestine, this interpretation must be set aside. The Septuagint and the Vulgate render it "pine-tree," and this view has been adopted by most critics. The abundance of the pine in Palestine, and the fitness of its wood for image-making, are in favour of this interpretation.

Isaiah specifies the timber of the cedar, cypress, and oak, as well as the *oren*, as used for making idols. The *tirzah* (תִּרְזָה), translated "cypress," occurs only in this passage, and may be that tree, though the Septuagint and Vulgate make it the oak, and others render it "holly." The cypress is extensively planted in the countries of the East as it is with us, but it has not been noticed as indigenous in the north of Palestine. The trees frequently mistaken for it are species of juniper, which are abundant on the Lebanon range, about three thousand feet above the level of the sea; and the *tirzah* may be the arborescent juniper of Lebanon (*Juniperus excelsa*, Willd.). It has been con-

jectured that the *arar* (עֲרָעָר), twice mentioned by Jeremiah, and in both places rendered "heath" in our version, is the savin (*J. Sabina*, Linn.), which occupies the cracks in the rocks, and grows in desert regions where heat and drought destroy other vegetation. If a special tree be intended by the *arar*, the shrubby savin meets the requirements of the texts; but the word may only describe the solitary forlorn aspect of a desert plant, as in the opposite picture the tree, emblematic of the man who trusteth in the Lord, is only specified as that which grows by the water-side (Jer. xvii. 8). It cannot be the heath, as no plant of this group is met with in the desert.

We have already seen that the *juniper* of our Authorised Version (1 Kings xix. 4, &c.) is a leguminous plant (Vol. IV., p. 194).

The gopher wood (גֹּפֶר) of which Noah constructed the ark is conjectured by some authors to have belonged to some coniferous tree, and the cedar, the pine, and the cypress have been severally named. There is absolutely nothing to support these or any of the other opinions that have been advanced as to this wood, and our translators have wisely avoided committing themselves to any English equivalent, by retaining the Hebrew word untranslated.

Among the costly articles of commerce for which the merchants of the earth are said to mourn (Rev. xviii. 12) when the Apocalyptic Babylon is destroyed, is thyine wood (ξύλον θύϊνον). This is the *Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent., a tree nearly related to *Thuja*, but having jointed branches, with rings of small scale-like leaves at the joints. It is found on the Atlas range, and its wood has been always highly prized. It was known to the ancient Romans under the name of citron-wood, and brought a fabulous price in the market. Pliny records that a table made of this wood was sold for 1,400,000 sesterces, equal to about £13,750 of our money!

THE CEDARS OF LEBANON. (*From a Photograph.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE DOUAI AND RHEMISH VERSIONS.

BY THE REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A. LOND., D.D. EDIN., MASTER OF THE WESLEYAN HIGH SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE.

HITHERTO our history has mainly recorded the efforts made by earnest reformers of the Church to diffuse throughout England the knowledge of the Scriptures. The opposition to these endeavours has proceeded from the Church of Rome, and has at times been as successful as it was intense. Less than fifty years have elapsed from the time when Tyndale's Testaments were burned at St. Paul's Cross, and now an English version of the New Testament is offered to the Romanists themselves, with the sanction of an authority which none could dispute. This version bears the following title: "The New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfvlly into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages: with argvments of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the Corrvptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the Controversies in religion of these daies. In the English College of Rhemes. Psalm 118.[1] . . . That is, Giue me vnderstanding and I will searche thy law, and will keepe it with my whole hart. S. Aug. tract 2, in Epist. Ioan . . . . that is, Al things that are readde in holy Scriptures, we must heare with great attention, to our instruction and saluation: but those things specially must be commended to memorie, which make most against Heretikes: whose deceites cease not to circumuent and beguile al the weaker sort and the more negligent persons. Printed at Rhemes by Iohn Fogny. 1582. Cum privilegio."

The translation of the Old Testament was not published until 1609, 1610, though finished long before. The title is similar to that of the New Testament, "Doway," however, being substituted for Rheims; the text on the title-page is Isaiah xii. 3, "You shall draw waters in joy out of the Saviour's fountains." The work was printed at Doway by Lawrence Kellam at the "sign of the Holy Lamb."

The Romish College at Douai was one of the "English Colleges beyond the seas," founded with the object of organising missionary work in England. William Allen, through whose efforts the college was founded, was a man of learning and of untiring energy. In Mary's reign he was Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and Canon of York; soon after the accession of Elizabeth he left England, and for a quarter of a century was the mainspring of the movement for the restoration of England to communion with Rome. He was made Cardinal by Sixtus V., in 1587. In consequence of the disturbed condition of the country the college was (in 1578) removed to Rheims for a time. One of the early students at Douai was Gregory Martin, formerly fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, who afterwards became teacher of Hebrew and reader of divinity in the College at Rheims. It is probable that the "Rhemish Testament" and the "Douay Bible" owe their origin to Allen, but that the translation was mainly executed by Martin. Besides Allen, three other English scholars, graduates of Oxford, are said to have been associated with Martin in the work—Dr. J. Reynolds, Dr. Briston, or Bristol, and Dr. Worthington. The last two are supposed to have contributed the notes, which are an essential part of this version.

The preface to the Rhemish Testament is an elaborate and ingenious document. The translators are at no pains to conceal that their motive in undertaking the work was the extensive circulation of other versions of the Scriptures. Not content with translating truly, they "have also set forth large Annotations" to help the studious reader embarrassed by the controversies of the times. The text which they follow is not the Greek, but the "old vulgar Latin" used in the Church for 1,300 years, corrected by St. Jerome according to the Greek, commended by St. Augustine, declared by the holy Council of Trent to be of all versions the only "authentical," preferred even by adversaries such as Beza, so exact in representing the Greek that "delicate heretics" have pronounced it rude, shown to be impartial by the fact that even the versions of Erasmus and others are more to the advantage of the Catholic cause than this ancient Bible of the Church. The Latin (they say) is found to agree either with other manuscripts of the Greek or with the reading of ancient Fathers of the Church. Whilst, however, the translation is from the Latin, the Greek text is not to be disregarded: the reader will often find the Greek word (also the Latin word) placed in the margin when the sense is hard or the reading ambiguous. The peculiarities of this version, therefore, result partly from the use of the Vulgate as a basis, and partly from the principles by which the translators were guided in their work.

The Bible called the Vulgate is, strictly speaking, not one book, but a combination of several. The Old Testament, with the exception of the Psalter, is a translation from the Hebrew, executed by Jerome about the end of the fourth century. The Psalter is a revision (by Jerome) of a much older translation, made not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint. The Apocryphal Books also belong to the same early version, revised and corrected in part. The Old Latin version of the New

[1] This verse and the quotation from Augustine which follows are given in both Latin and English.

Testament probably dates from the beginning of the second century; the New Testament of the Vulgate consists of this older translation, revised with care in the Gospels, but imperfectly in the Epistles. In the Psalms, therefore, a translation from the Vulgate presents the original at fourth hand, so to speak, the Hebrew having passed into a Greek version (often of very inferior quality), the Greek into a Latin, before the translation into English commenced. On the other hand, Jerome's own work is of great excellence. We may expect, therefore, that any correct reproduction of the Vulgate in English will be very faulty and imperfect in the Book of Psalms, but usually good and true in the greater part of the Old Testament. In the New Testament the case is more complicated. The Latin translation, being derived from manuscripts more ancient than any we now possess, is frequently a witness of the highest value in regard to the Greek text which was current in the earliest times, and (as was remarked in an earlier chapter) its testimony is in many cases confirmed by Greek manuscripts which have been discovered or examined since the sixteenth century. Hence we may expect to find that the Rhemish New Testament frequently anticipates the judgment of later scholars as to the presence or absence of certain words, clauses, or even verses. Thus in Acts xvi. 7, there is now overwhelming evidence for reading "the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not;" in Matt. v. 44, the words "bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you," and the words "which despitefully use you and," should be omitted from the text, having found their way into later manuscripts from St. Luke's Gospel; and in 1 Peter iii. 15 we must read "Lord Christ" instead of "Lord God." In these and many other instances the Rhemish Testament agrees with the best critical editions of the present day. There are, no doubt, many examples of a different kind, such as the reading "*by good works* make your calling and election sure" (2 Peter i. 10); but, on the whole, the influence of the use of the Vulgate would in the New Testament be more frequently for good than for harm in respect of *text*. As a translation the Vulgate is, as a rule, literal and faithful, but often obscure: a correct reproduction of the Vulgate will reflect these qualities, and this the Rhemish Testament certainly does. If, however, we allow that this version faithfully represents the Latin, it must be understood that it is the Latin as current in the time of the translators. Even then it was acknowledged that the common copies of the Vulgate differed widely from Jerome's text, and the need of a new examination of manuscripts was felt as early as the Council of Trent. It was not until 1587 and 1592 that the authorised editions of the Vulgate appeared, and these were very far from supplying the want.

We come now to the consideration of the principles of action adopted by the translators. Having the Latin text before them, how did they deal with it? The answer may be given in few words: the translation is literal and (as a rule, if not always) scrupulously faithful and exact, but disfigured by a profusion of unfamiliar and Latinised words, which convey no meaning whatever to the ordinary English reader. The last peculiarity strikes the eye at the first opening of the volume. The translators argue skilfully in defence of their practice. If (they ask) such words as Raca, Hosanna, and Belial be retained, why not Corbana (for treasury, Matt. xxvii. 6)? If Sabbath is kept for the seventh day, why not Parasceue for the Sabbath-eve? If Pentecost is a proper word, what objection is there to Pascha for Passover, Azymes for sweet (*i.e.*, unleavened) bread, bread of proposition for shew-bread? If proselyte and phylacteries be allowed, why not neophyte and didragmes? It is not possible, they maintain, to avoid the word *evangelise*, for no word can convey its meaning; and for the same reason they use "depositum" in 1 Tim. vi. 20; "He exinanited himself" in Phil. ii. 7; "to exhaust the sins of many" in Heb. ix. 28. A table containing the explanation of fifty-eight words is given at the end of the book. Some of these words are now familiar to all: as *acquisition, victim, prescience, gratis, allegory, adulterate, advent, resuscitate, co-operate;* others, as *commessation, contristate, prefinition*, are strangers still. Others are still in use, but not in the sense here assigned. Thus *calumniate* does not now denote "violent oppression by word or deed," nor is *prevarication* equivalent to "transgression," nor is *issue* limited to a "good event." But this list does not by any means do justice to the peculiar vocabulary of the Rhemish translators, as the following quotations will prove: "He will shew you a great refectory adorned" (Luke xxii. 12); "I will not drink of the generation of the vine" (ver. 18); "sleeping for pensiveness" (ver. 45); "transfer this chalice" (ver. 42); "averting the people" (xxiii. 14); "adjudged their petition to be done" (ver. 24); "wrapped it in sindon" (ver. 53); "society of his passions" (Phil. iii. 10). To say nothing of words now well known (as *altercation, fallacy, primacy, demureness, contumelious*), we find many other Latin words disguised, or hardly disguised, such as *odible, coinquination, acception, correption, exprobrate, potestates, longanimity, obsecration, scenopegia.* The translation of some verses in the Epistle to the Ephesians will illustrate at once the Latinised diction and the excessive literalness of this version: "To me the least of al the sainctes is giuen this grace, among the Gentils to euangelize the vnsearcheable riches of Christ, and to illuminate al men what is the dispensation of the sacrament hidden from worlds in God, who created al things: that the manifold wisedom of God may be notified to the Princes and Potestats in the celestials by the Church, according to the prefinition of worlds, which he made in Christ Jesus our Lord;" "Our wrestling is not against flesh and bloud: but against Princes and Potestats, against the rectors of the world of this darkenes, against the spirituals of wickednes in the celestials." On the other hand, the translator's care strictly to follow the text before him often led to happy results, the preservation of a significant phrase of the original or of an impressive arrangement of

words. Thus every translator would now agree with this version in the words, "liberty of the glory of the children of God" (Rom. viii. 21); "holiness of the truth" (Eph. iv. 24); "by their fruits you shall know them" (Matt. vii. 16). If we turn to any chapter of the Gospels we shall find examples of excellent translation, which in some cases have been followed by our Authorised Version. In Matt. xxv., for example, the translation in verse 8, "our lamps are going out," is unquestionably correct; in verses 17, 18, 20, 22, the article should certainly be inserted, *the five, the two;* in verse 21, "place thee" is much better than "make thee ruler;" and in verse 27, "bankers," if a somewhat bold rendering, is more intelligible than "exchangers." It is from the Rhemish Testament that the Authorised Version obtains "blessed" in Matt. xxvi. 26 (for "gave thanks"); "hymn" in verse 30; "adjure" in verse 63; and it would have been well if our translators had also adopted "court" in verse 3, and "Rabbi" in verses 25 and 49. In the first chapter of St. James we owe to the Rhemish version "upbraideth not" (verse 5), "nothing doubting" (verse 6), "the engrafted word" (verse 21), "bridleth not" (verse 26). If three chapters, taken by accident, yield such results, the reader will not doubt that very many examples of the same description might be produced. Nothing is easier than to accumulate instances of the eccentricity of this version, of its obscure and inflated renderings; but only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work. Every other English version is to be preferred to this, if it must be taken as a whole; no other English version will prove more instructive to the student who will take the pains to separate what is good and useful from what is ill-advised and wrong. The marginal notes which are added by the translators from time to time prove that they kept the Greek text before them, though translating from the Latin. Sometimes this saves them from mistake, as in Phil. iv. 6, where the Latin might mean "in all prayer," but the Greek must signify "in everything by prayer." The most remarkable proof of their use of the Greek is their treatment of the Greek article. As the Latin language has no definite article, it might well be supposed that of all English versions the Rhemish would be least accurate in this point of translation. The very reverse is actually the case. I have noticed as many as forty instances in which, of all versions, from Tyndale's to the Authorised inclusive, this alone is correct in regard to the article. This is the more remarkable, as the older versions were certainly known and used by the translators of the Rhemish Testament. They make no allusion in their preface to any indebtedness to preceding translators, but of the fact there can be no doubt. The comparison of any chapter with the translations in the Genevan and Bishops' Bibles will be sufficient to convince the most incredulous.

It is not necessary to say much on those peculiarities of this Testament which stand connected with the faith professed by the translators. In a Roman Catholic version we expect such renderings as *do penance, priest* (for *elder*), *sacrament* (for *mystery* or *secret*); "Catholic usage" has also led to the substitution of "our Lord" for "the Lord." There is but little, however, in the text to favour Romish doctrine: it is in the notes that this is strenuously and perseveringly taught. With these, differing widely from the translation in their spirit and characteristics, we are happily not concerned in this place. Elaborate confutations of the teaching of these notes were published within a few years, by W. Fulke in 1589, and by T. Cartwright in 1618. In the former work the Rhemish version and that of the Bishops' Bible are given in parallel columns. Neither of these writers appears to criticise the translation to any large extent.

On the Douai version of the Old Testament it will not be necessary to dwell. As it was not published until 1610, it does not belong (so to speak) to the line of ancestry of our Authorised Version.

Editions of the New Testament appeared in 1600, 1621, 1633, and of the whole Bible in 1635. In 1749, 1750, the work was revised by Dr. Challoner; another revised edition, by Dr. Troy, bears date 1791. The later editions differ widely from the original version; an interesting paper on the variations will be found among the collected Essays of the late Cardinal Wiseman.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.

EGYPT.

BY MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

THE name by which Egypt is usually known in the Bible is Mizraim, a word in the dual form, which may perhaps indicate the natural division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt; that is, the Nile Valley and the Delta. Egypt is also called "the land of Mizraim;" the "land of Ham" (Ps. cv. 23, 27), and Rahab ("the proud one") (Isa. li. 9). According to Ezekiel (xxix. 10), the country extended from Migdol to Syene, and these limits might well be used to define its extent at the present day, for the northern point, Migdol—the Magdolum of Antoninus, which was twelve miles from Pelusium—has been identified with Tell es-Semut, east of the Suez Canal; and the southern one, Syene, with Assouan, on the borders of Nubia, a little below the first cataract of the Nile. The districts

of Caphtor and Pathros, which are named in the Bible, appear to have formed part of Upper Egypt.

There has probably been little change in the physical aspect of Egypt since the days when Joseph was made "ruler over all the land of Egypt," or since those in which Moses led the Israelites from the land of their bondage. The Valley of the Nile, or Upper Egypt, must always have presented the same general appearance; the mysterious river rolling silently northward between two, almost unbroken, table-topped walls of limestone, which here approach the water, there retire from it, leaving large plains of the richest soil, to which new life is given each year by the fertilising waters of the great river. Over these flats is spread a carpet of luxuriant vegetation of the brightest green, which is in striking and not unpleasing contrast to the yellow hills of the barren desert on either side. So, too, the Delta must always have been a great plain, intersected by the many arms of the river and by innumerable canals, which irrigated the country and spread the life-giving waters over an area far greater than that which is now cultivated. The sands of the desert have been allowed to encroach and swallow up large tracts, such as the "land of Goshen," which was formerly the "best of the land" (Gen. xlvii. 6), but is now little better than the surrounding desert; the diminution of the population has also had its effect, and many of the canals and lakes, once well stocked with fish, have dried up, and no longer fertilise the land; such is especially the case with the great canal that connected the Nile with the Gulf of Suez, and gave life to the Wady Tumeilat, which is now covered with sand. The Delta is triangular in form, its eastern and western faces being bounded by branches of the river, and its base by the sea; its fertility was surprising, and is alluded to in several passages of the Bible, as for instance in Gen. xiii. 10, where the Jordan valley is said to have been "like a garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt." The rainfall is so slight that it has no influence on the cultivation, a peculiarity noticed by Zechariah (xiv. 18); and the necessity for irrigation is mentioned in Deut. xi. 10, 11, where a contrast is drawn between the land of bondage and the Promised Land, which was to be "a land of hills and valleys," that "drinketh water of the rain of heaven." At one point of Lower Egypt a remarkable change in the features of the country has taken place in consequence of the gradual elevation of the ground in the vicinity of Suez; the effect of this has been to cut off all connection between the Bitter Lakes and the sea, and to cause the head of the Gulf of Suez to retire southwards, an interesting illustration of the prophecy of Isaiah, that the Lord should "utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea" (xi. 15).

The Nile is called in the Bible "Shihor," or "Ior," and the "river of Egypt;" its annual inundation is the great blessing of Egypt, and during its progress the rise and fall of the river is the one subject of conversation, for a failure brings want, perhaps famine, whilst an excessive inundation spreads over the country, carrying destruction in its train. It was perhaps one of these latter that Amos had in his mind's eye when he wrote (ix. 5), "And it shall rise up wholly like a flood, and shall be drowned, as by the flood of Egypt." The Nile commences to rise at various dates between the second week in June and the first week in July, and by about the 24th of July a very good estimate can be formed of the sort of inundation which may be expected; the river attains its maximum height in September or October, and a rise of from twenty-three to twenty-five feet is considered "a good Nile." In 1873 the rise was only nineteen feet nine inches, whilst in 1874 it was as much as twenty-nine feet, and caused considerable damage to some of the crops in Upper Egypt. The Suez Canal, which connects the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and the Sweet Water Canal from the Nile to Suez, are effecting great changes in modern Egypt, but as they have no Biblical interest we need only allude to them here.

Egypt was essentially an agricultural country, the granary of the surrounding nations, who all turned to it in time of famine. It owed its fertility to the annual inundation of the Nile and to artificial irrigation throughout the year, which was carried on by the same means as that now employed, the *shadoof*, a long pole attached to an upright with a bucket at one end and a counter-weight at the other. The whole system of agriculture, from the time when the ground was ploughed up after the subsidence of the inundation, to the time when the grain was harvested, threshed, or trodden out by unmuzzled oxen, and stored in granaries, is clearly depicted on the monuments, and from the same source we gather that most of the products correspond with those of modern Egypt. Vines producing wine of excellent flavour were extensively cultivated; the date-palm grew in large numbers, and so did the fig, olive, orange, lemon, pomegranate, and banana; vegetables, such as the "cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick," for which the Israelites hungered in the dreary desert (Numb. xi. 5), flourished luxuriantly; and the great open fields were covered with wheat, barley, flax, rye, peas, beans, lentils, &c., which brought forth fruit abundantly. In comparatively modern times, rice, sugar-cane, the tobacco plant, and cotton have been introduced into the country; but on the other hand, the papyrus, the most important of all Egyptian plants, and the lotus, the favourite flower of the ancient Egyptians, have almost disappeared; and that taste for horticulture, which is recognisable in the well-stocked gardens of the monuments, appears to have been almost lost. Paper was manufactured from the papyrus, and boats were made from its stalks, sometimes of considerable size, sometimes small, like the tiny ark of bulrush (papyrus) into which Moses was placed by his mother. The sycamore and acacia, the wood of which was largely used by the Egyptians, are common at the present day. The disappearance of the papyrus and lotus appears to have been foreseen by Isaiah (xix. 7): "The paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the

brooks, and everything sown by the brooks, shall wither, be driven away, and be no more." We may here briefly notice the change made by Joseph in the tenure of land in Egypt, the effect of which was to transfer all property in the land to the crown, excepting that vested in the priests, who were left in full possession of their lands and revenues. The original proprietors thus became, after the famine, crown tenants, holding their lands by payment of an annual rent, amounting to one-fifth of the produce. The statements of Gen. xlvii. with regard to the condition of land tenure and its origin in an exercise of the king's authority, are confirmed by the old historians, Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, and also by the monuments; but there is still some uncertainty as to the particular Pharaoh to whom the change is to be attributed, some writers believing him to have been Amenemha III., others Apophis, the last of the shepherd kings. The history of Joseph as well as that of Abraham is curiously illustrated in a papyrus, translated by Mr. Goodwin. The story records that one Saneha, an *amu* (a foreigner or nomad of Arabia or Palestine), was received into the service of Pharaoh, and rose to high rank, becoming a "counsellor among the officers, set among the chosen ones;" this shows that there is nothing improbable in the rise of Joseph to power, or in the reception which Abraham received from Pharaoh.

Cattle, sheep, goats, asses, and dogs were plentiful in ancient Egypt, and its horses were in great request; to these latter there are many allusions in the Bible. In Deut. xvii. 16 the Israelites are forbidden to traffic in horses with Egypt, possibly on account of the close intercourse which it would necessitate: and the prophets frequently reprove the people for trusting in the chariots and horses of that country. Solomon, however, "had horses brought out of Egypt," and his merchants would appear to have supplied horses and chariots to the Hittites and Syrians (1 Kings x. 28, 29). The camel, now the principal beast of burden in Egypt, is, curiously enough, not noticed on the monuments, but it is mentioned (Gen. xii. 16) in connection with Abraham's sojourn in the country; it appears amongst the animals upon which a murrain would be sent (Exod. ix. 3); and it is represented on one of the Assyrian monuments as forming part of the tribute paid by Egypt. The crocodile, the "dragon" of the striking passage in Ezek. xxix. 4, 5, is now rarely found in Lower Egypt, but frogs abound in the rivers and ponds; and lice, flies, and occasionally locusts, are still amongst the plagues of Egypt. The Nile and the lakes are abundantly stocked with fish, and there are large fisheries on Lake Menzaleh, but the more celebrated Lake Mœris is dried up.

Without attempting to enter into any discussion on the language of the Egyptians, we may draw attention to the large number of Egyptian words found in those passages of Genesis and Exodus which relate to Egypt; and to the fact that the author of those books, who must have possessed a good knowledge of the language, uses the words without any indication of their meaning, as if he supposed they would be quite familiar to his readers. With reference to this it has been well observed that "it is highly improbable that any Hebrew, born and brought up in Palestine within the period extending from the Exodus to the accession of Solomon, would have had the knowledge of the Egyptian language" which must have been possessed by the writer.

The relations of Egypt to the early history of the chosen people have been dwelt upon sufficiently in the biographies of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses (Vol. I.), and in the Dean of Canterbury's paper on the Pentateuch (Vol. I., pp. 1—5).

We may now turn to an examination of the several districts and towns of Egypt mentioned in the Bible, and of these the first in interest are Goshen and the cities immediately connected with it. We gather from the Bible that the "land of Goshen," or, as it is sometimes called, "the land of Rameses," was in the eastern portion of the Delta, as it is nowhere stated that the Israelites crossed the Nile at the time of the exodus; that it was a frontier province not far from the residence of the Pharaoh of Joseph, either Memphis or Zoan; that it was between that place and Palestine; and that it was a pastoral country, in which Pharaoh's own cattle were pastured, in "the best of the land." The Septuagint and Coptic translators, whose testimony in all Egyptian matters is of great value, call Goshen *Gesem Arabias* and *Tarabia*, which indicate that it should be looked for in the district east of the Delta, called by Ptolemy the "Arabian nome." The chief town of this nome is called, on the Egyptian lists, *Kesemet*, which is a close transcription of the Greek *Gesem*, *et* being the usual feminine termination; the name Goshen still lingers in the modern Facus, which is derived from the Greek Phakusa, or, as it would be in Egyptian, Pa or Pha-Kosen, "the Goshen." Tell Facus is situated on a canal, which runs from Zagazig to San (Tanis or Zoan); and the district of which it was the chief town adjoined the nomes of Tanis and Tuku, or Tukut. There is abundant evidence to show that these three districts contained a large Semitic population, and we may suppose that Jacob's family, originally settled in Goshen, spread into the other two nomes.

The identification of *Rameses*, the first station of the Israelites, is of the greatest importance, but there is considerable difficulty in fixing its position. Without entering into the discussion of this question, we may state that until recently critics have placed Rameses on the canal made in the Wady Tumeilat by Osirtasen of the twelfth dynasty, either at Tell Abbasiyeh or at Abu Kesheb, the one at the western, the other at the eastern end of the valley. Brugsch Bey, the well-known Egyptologist, has, on the other hand, found that San (Zoan) was at one time called Rameses, and he proposes to identify this with the Rameses of the Exodus. The direction in which the Israelites marched from Rameses is also the subject of much controversy: those who place Rameses near the western end of Wady Tumeilat hold that the march was down that valley, and that the Red Sea was crossed between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, to which point the sea once extended; whilst those who identify Rameses with Abu Kesheb, at the eastern end of the valley, think that the Israelites marched southwards and crossed the Red Sea near Suez; Pi-hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon being placed near that town. The views of Brugsch Bey are of special interest, as he states that he has found the names of all the places mentioned in the narrative of the Exodus on the Egyptian monuments. They are to the effect:—1. That the town of Rameses differs in no way from the town of Zoan, or Tanis, the chief town of the district of Tanis. 2. That the adjoining district was called Tukut, which is easily identified with Succoth, the second station of the Israelites. 3. That the third station, called in the Bible (Numb. xxxiii. 6) Etham, bears the name of Hetham, "the fortified," in the Egyptian texts, and was to the west of El Kantarah, on the confines of the desert. 4. That from Etham they turned northwards by Migdol, the Magdolon of the Greeks, now Tell es-Semut, and encamped before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea (Mediterranean), in face of Baal-zephon. The latter name, in Egyptian, Baal-Zipuna, was that of a sanctuary situated on Mount Casius, whilst Pi-hahiroth, "the Hiroth," was the Egyptian name of

> "That Serbonian bog,
> Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
> Where armies whole have sunk."

And it is in this locality that he places the destruction of Pharaoh and his army. 5. That after the great deliverance the Israelites journeyed southwards to Marah, the Bitter Lakes, and thence to Elim, the Egyptian Alim, "town of fishes," north of the Red Sea.[1] The inscriptions give the name Yam Suph—translated in our version, "Red Sea"—to the Lake Sirbonis, and all the lakes, as well as to the Red Sea, the meaning being "sea of flags or weeds." Until the documentary evidence is fully laid before Egyptologists, we must reserve our judgment, remarking that there would appear to be nothing contradictory to the Bible narrative in the supposed route of the Israelites, and that it reconciles some difficulties in the older views.

Pithom, the city mentioned with Rameses as having been built by the Israelites, is identified by some critics with the Patoumos of Herodotus, and the Thoum of the Antonine Itinerary, between Heliopolis and Pelusium, whilst Brugsch has found on the hieroglyphic lists the name of Pithom as chief town of the district of Tukut (Succoth). *Zoan* has been satisfactorily identified with Tanis, the modern San, where Brugsch Bey has made his most interesting discoveries; amongst them is an inscription with the expression "*sechet Tauet*," which exactly corresponds to the "field of Zoan" in the passage, "Marvellous things did He in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan." The Egyptian papyri and monuments also teach us, according to Brugsch, that the title of Joseph, "Zaphnath-paaneah" or Zaphanet-phankh, means in Egyptian the governor of the district Sethroites; that the Abreeh of Gen. xli. 43—translated in our version, "bow the knee"—is Egyptian, and means the Ab or first officer of Pharaoh's house; that the town Pithom worshipped God under the name, "the living God," which corresponds to Jehovah; that a serpent of brass

[1] We may remark that the theory of Brugsch Bey relating to the Exodus, should it ever be adopted, will not be opposed to the view that the Mountain of the Law was in the Peninsula of Sinai, and that the Israelites followed from Ayun Musa to Jebel Musa-Sufsafeh, the route we have indicated in the article on "Sinai." The positions assigned to some of the stations would, however, have to be altered.

was regarded as the symbol of the living God; and that the *chartummim*, or "magicians" of Egypt, who attempted to perform the miracles of Moses, were the "high priests" of the town of Rameses. Zoan became a city of great importance at a very early period, and when Isaiah wrote it would appear to have been one of the chief cities in Egypt, as he speaks of "the princes of Zoan" (Isa. xix. 11; xxx. 4). The mounds that mark the site of the town in which Moses had his memorable interviews with Pharaoh before the Exodus, are remarkable for their height and extent; a good general view is obtained from the highest mound, which is thus described by Mr. Macgregor: "The horizon is nearly a straight line on every side; and looking west the tract before us is a black rich loam, without fences or towns, and with only a dozen trees in sight. This is the 'field of Zoan.' Behind is a glimmer of silver light on the far-away shore of Lake Menzaleh; across the level foreground winds most gracefully the Mushra; but between that winding river and the mound we look from, there is, lying bare and gaunt, in stark and silent devastation, one of the grandest and oldest ruins in the world. It is deep in the middle of an enclosing amphitheatre of mounds, all of them absolutely bare, and all dark-red, from the millions of potsherds that defy the winds of time, and the dew and the sun alike, to stir them, or even to melt away their sharp-edged fragments." Ezek. xxx. 14 foretells the fate of the city in the words, "I will set fire in Zoan."

Sin is identified with Pelusium, but the site of this latter place is not quite certain; the most probable identification would appear to be Tineh, near the seashore, to the east of Port Said. Sin is called by Ezekiel "the strength of Egypt" (xxx. 15), and such Pelusium was, the key of Egypt on the east, strongly protected by the mud and swamp which surrounded it. Situated thus, on the eastern frontier, Pelusium was one of the first towns attacked by invaders from the east, and its exposed position may explain the special threat of the prophet, "I will pour my fury upon Sin," and "Sin shall have great pain" (ver. 16). *Tahpanhes*, a frontier town about sixteen miles from Pelusium, was the place to which Johanan and "all the captains of the forces" brought "all the remnant of Judah," including Jeremiah; and it was here that the prophet foretold the conquest of the country by Nebuchadnezzar, who was to set his throne "at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes" (Jer. xliii. 5—10). The town was called Daphnæ by the Greeks, and has been identified with the modern Tell Defenneh; it seems also not improbable that the *Hanes* of Isa. xxx. 4 was the same place. *Alexandria*, the birth-place of Apollos (Acts xviii. 24), was founded by Alexander the Great, B.C. 332, and soon became a place of great importance. Alexander himself assigned to the Jews a quarter in the new city, giving them all the rights of citizenship, and here they settled in such numbers that in after years, as Philo informs us, two out of the five districts were called Jewish districts. According to tradition, the first church in Alexandria was founded by St. Mark, and the number of Christians, even at the end of the first century, was very large. Hardly a vestige remains of the once magnificent city. The Pharos, one of the seven wonders of the world; the Museum, with its famous library; the Serapeum, with its colossal statue of Serapis; the Cesarium; the gymnasium, have long since disappeared; but a new town has sprung up, which promises to be of importance in the future. The *Pi-beseth* of Ezek. xxx. 17, whose young men were to fall by the sword, has been identified with Bubastis (Tell Basta), a town on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile at which Shishak, after his conquest of Thebes, fixed the seat of his government. There are many remains of the ancient town and of the Temple of Pasht, which excited the admiration of Herodotus. *On*, the "Aven" of Ezek. xxx. 17, the "Beth-shemesh" of Jer. xliii. 13, and "Heliopolis" of the Septuagint, was a place of great celebrity, and the principal seat of learning in Egypt before the accession of the Ptolemies, when the schools were transferred to Alexandria; the ruins are not far from Cairo, and are marked by an obelisk sixty-eight feet high, which is considered one of the oldest monuments of its kind in Egypt. Mounds and crude brick walls are all that remain of Beth-shemesh; for its "images" have been broken, and "the houses of the gods of the Egyptians" have been burned with fire (Jer. xliii. 13). At On Moses is said to have studied, and to have become "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and Joseph's wife, Asenath, was a daughter of one of the priests of the renowned temple; here, too, is now shown a venerable sycamore, beneath whose branches the Holy Family are said to have rested when they came into Egypt. To the north-west of Heliopolis some mounds, called Tell el-Yahudeh, are supposed to mark the site of the town in which Onias built his temple for the use of the Jews in Egypt. *Noph* or *Memphis*, which is specially threatened by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Hosea, was on the western bank of the Nile, some distance higher up than Cairo; it was one of the oldest, and at the same time the largest and most magnificent city in Egypt. Its ruins for a long time were the wonder and admiration of travellers, but they gradually disappeared under an ever-increasing layer of sand and mud, and the very site appears to have been lost during the fifteenth and following centuries, until it was re-discovered at the commencement of the present century; a remarkable fulfilment of the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel: "Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant" (Jer. xlvi. 19); "I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph" (Ezek. xxx. 13). Most important excavations have been made at Memphis by Monsieur Mariette, resulting, among other things, in the discovery of the Apis Mausoleum or Serapeum. The Serapeum resembled in appearance an ordinary Egyptian temple; an avenue of sphinxes led up to it, and two pylons stood before it; but it differed from all others in having beneath it a series of rock-hewn vaults, in which were placed the mummied representatives of the god Apis. "Living, the sacred bull was worshipped in a magni-

ficent temple at Memphis, and lodged in a palace adjoining—the Apieum; dead, he was buried in excavated vaults at Sukkarah, and worshipped in a temple built over them—the Serapeum." The necropolis of Memphis is of vast extent, and to this there may be an allusion in Hosea ix. 6: "Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them." *No* or *No-Amon*, "that was situate among the rivers" (Nahum iii. 8), has been identified with Thebes, the ancient capital of Upper Egypt; and *Syene*, mentioned by Ezekiel (xxix. 10) as the southern limit of Egypt on the border of Cush or Ethiopia, is without doubt the modern Assouan, celebrated for its great granite quarries whence most of the Egyptian monuments were hewn.

We have on several occasions alluded to the distinct manner in which the fate of some of the cities of Egypt was foretold by the Hebrew prophets, and may in conclusion draw attention to the remarkable fulfilment of the prophecy of Ezek. xxx. 13, that "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt," in the fact that no native ruler has occupied the throne for more than two thousand years.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE MINOR PROPHETS:—ZECHARIAH.

BY THE VERY REVEREND R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE prophet Zechariah was not merely a priest, but the head of one of the priestly families, as we learn from Neh. xii. 16, where, in the catalogue of these high functionaries, he is called the son of Iddo, though really he was the son of Berechiah. His father, however, appears to have died in early life, and thus, in the records of the return from exile, the grandfather takes his place (Ezra v. 1; vi. 14). As Zechariah was not called to be a prophet till the second year of Darius (chap. i. 1), which was the eighteenth year after the return, and as he is still styled a "young man" in chap. ii. 4, it is plain that he must have been very young when he left Babylon. The word is, in fact, that translated "child" in Jer. i. 7, and certainly could not be applied to one more than twenty or twenty-one years of age; and thus we have the affecting picture of the aged Iddo bringing with him the infant child of his dead son to the dear land of their forefathers; and that child destined to be the companion and partner of another aged man, Haggai, in the good work of guiding and encouraging the feeble remnant who had returned to their homes under the many difficulties which beset them in founding once again the nation which, for seventy years, had been without a territory and without a government of its own.

The eighteen years which had passed since Cyrus permitted the exiles to leave Babylon had been years of great trial. They were but a small community, and probably, when in captivity, had accustomed themselves to trade rather than agriculture; and so, when they found themselves once again in possession of their wasted country, it was no slight task to rebuild their city and temple, as well as reclaim the land, overgrown, as it must have been, with briars and thorns (Isa. vii. 23—25), and with all the buildings upon it utterly gone to decay. And besides their poverty and internal difficulties, their settlement was viewed with great dissatisfaction by the motley tribes which had been planted as colonists in Palestine (Ezra iv. 9), by whose influence, at length, their work was stopped by Artaxerxes, king of Persia.

This monarch was probably the successor of Cambyses, known in history as the pseudo-Smerdis. He was a Magian, and, as such, a worshipper simply of the elements, fire, air, &c., and opposed to temples and the belief in any personal and national God. But no sooner was he slain, and Darius Hystaspes settled upon the throne, than Haggai and Zechariah encouraged the people to resume the building of the Temple; and an appeal to Darius having been made by their enemies, search was instituted in the royal archives, and the original letter of Cyrus the Persian discovered. In consequence of this, Darius not only authorised the Jews to continue their works, but gave them large aid from the king's own revenue.

But the prophecies of Zechariah are by no means confined to this simple subject, but set before us the whole destiny of the Jews, and the purpose of their existence as God's people. They consist of three entirely separate portions: (1) a series of visions revealed to the prophet on the night of the twenty-fourth day of the month Sebat, in the second year of Darius, being the third month after Zechariah's first call. They are not written in poetry, but in prose, with a rich colouring, nevertheless, which in places reminds us of Ezekiel. As Zechariah was an infant when he left Chaldæa, this cannot be the effect of his education there, but must be caused partly by his study of Ezekiel, and partly by the effect of their residence in Chaldæa upon the whole body of the exiles. These visions occupy the first six chapters, excepting chap. i. 1—6, which is an introduction or preface to the whole. Upon them follows (2) a consolatory discourse (chaps. vii., viii.), written two years later, occasioned by a difficulty which had arisen as to keeping of certain fast days instituted during the exile. While finally we have (3) a description of the fortunes of the Church (chaps. ix.—xiv.), divided by the superscription at chap. xii. 1 into two parts, in the first of which, chaps. ix.—xi., Zechariah describes the fall of the heathen world, the founding of Christianity, and Israel's rejection of the Messiah; while in the second part, also consisting of three chapters, we have the spiritual Israel's struggle and victory, its

purification by trial, and the glory and perfectness of the new Jerusalem.

The visions set before us the hopes connected in the minds of the people with the building of the Temple. In the first, chap. i. 7—17, Zechariah sees a rider upon a roan horse, followed by others on horses roan, speckled and white, in a myrtle "bottom," an old English word for a low valley. The myrtle was not a native of Palestine, but was introduced probably from Persia, and is not mentioned in the Bible till Isa. xli. 19; lv. 13. In Chaldæa it was common enough. These mounted horsemen bringing tidings from all the earth represent God's providence; and as they report that all nations are at peace, the angel who accompanies Zechariah prays for Jerusalem, and receives a promise that the Temple shall be rebuilt: "For the Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem."

Next (chap. i. 18—ii. 13) we have a vision of four horns, the usual symbol in the Scriptures for strength, and representing in this place the four great monarchies, which one after another were to oppress the Jews. But upon these follow four carpenters, or rather smiths, who with their hammers are to fray and crush these Gentile powers. And after their destruction Jerusalem is to attain to great wealth and happiness, figured by her being of such vast extent that no wall can encircle her, but she is "to be inhabited as towns without walls for the multitude of men and cattle therein;" and for her protection Jehovah is to be "a wall of fire round about her." This vision ends with a hymn of joy, in which it is also shown that the Gentiles are to share in her spiritual blessings.

In the third vision (chap. iii.) we find Joshua, the high priest, put upon his trial. Very probably accusations had been sent against him to the Persian king when the Jews began to rebuild their Temple. Here he is tried in a higher court, before Jehovah, with Satan as his accuser. According to the custom of Eastern trials he is dressed in "filthy garments," but upon his acquittal he is clothed in a dress of honour, and a tiara, indicative of his restoration to the high priesthood, is placed upon his head. As high priest he is to judge the people wisely, and thereby prepare for the coming of Christ, who is called the Branch or Sprout. Moreover, to encourage him, the foundation-stone of the Temple is laid before him, and he is assured that the seven eyes of God, the symbol of His ever watchful providence, shall perpetually rest upon it.

As the third vision was to encourage the spiritual, so the fourth (chap. iv.) is to encourage the temporal ruler, Zerubbabel. Difficulties huge as mountains are to become a level plain before him. As his hands laid the foundation of the Temple, so shall they also finish it; and the candlestick with its seven lights is set up in proof that it shall be complete. The meaning of these lights is probably the same as that of the seven eyes in the preceding vision, while the oil flowing through the seven pipes denotes the presence and activity of the Holy Ghost. Lastly, the two olive-trees, explained as "the two anointed ones who stand by the Lord of the whole earth," are Joshua and Zerubbabel, the representatives of the rulers in Church and State.

In the fifth vision (chap. v. 1—4) we see the land of Judah purified from the curse. For seventy years it had been desolate because of the wrath of God; but the curse, written upon a mighty roll, twenty cubits long and ten broad, is seen flying rapidly away. In our version the sense is obscured by the rendering in verse 3, "This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of *the whole earth.*" The words mean *the whole land,* i.e., Judæa.

In the next vision (chap. v. 5—11) Zechariah shows them that the cause of the curse is also removed. Wickedness, such as in the form partly of idolatry and partly of immorality had defiled their land, is now taken away. Seized in the form of a woman, it is thrust into an ephah or bushel, as into a cage, a mass of lead is thrust down upon it to keep it from escaping, and two winged figures carry it to the land of Shinar, *i.e.,* to Babylon, where the exiles had lately dwelt in captivity, and where, with all other evil things, it is to be permitted to have its abode.

In the seventh and last vision (chap. vi. 1—8), four chariots, representing the four winds, are seen issuing forth from between two mountains of brass, to carry the commands of God to the four quarters of the earth. But besides the general representation that God's empire is universal, two of these chariots go to the north country "to cause God's spirit to rest upon the north country" (ver. 8). The north is ever, in the language of prophecy, the home of the enemies of God, and so the black horses go there first, carrying judgment and tribulation with them, while the white horses follow to bear Jehovah there as a victor in triumphal progress. By "the spirit of God resting upon the north" we thus understand his spirit going forth to execute judgment. Probably the reference is to the numerous revolts against Darius at the commencement of his reign, which brought much misery especially upon the northern portions of his dominions, while the grizzled chariot going forth towards the south suggests that Egypt also was unquiet under the new rule. And thus then these visions set before the Jews in magnificent succession the pictures of Jerusalem once again the chosen seat of Jehovah, its enemies beaten small as with hammers, the city spreading far and wide, with God as a wall of fire to guard it round, its high priest and civil ruler the especial objects of the Divine favour and protection, the Temple rebuilt, the curse removed, wickedness carried far away, and the might of Jehovah's empire going out far and wide. We can well understand how thoroughly these visions would have encouraged the people, and filled their minds with hope; and upon them follows an interesting symbolical action (chap. vi. 9—15).

From the time of the return of the exiles under Ezra the wealthy Jews, who preferred remaining among the Gentiles, quieted their consciences by sending rich presents to Jerusalem. Three men from Babylon had just arrived as bearers of such gifts, and were lodged at

the house of Josiah, the son of Zephaniah. Thither Zechariah was to go, and with the silver and gold which they had brought was to make crowns, and set one upon the head of Joshua, the high priest, as a symbol that in their promised deliverer, the Branch, the kingly should be united with the priestly office, and that he should "sit and rule upon his throne, and be a priest upon his throne," the throne being the symbol of the royal authority. Crowns were also to be given to the bearers of these gifts, which were, however, finally to be laid up in the Temple before the Lord as a memorial.

The second portion of the Book of Zechariah consists of a discourse (chaps. vii., viii.) occasioned by a question put to the priests and prophets in the Temple. It was spoken two years subsequently to the previous vision, and the question which it answered was, Were they, now that they had returned to Jerusalem, to keep the solemn days of fasting and humiliation, which had been instituted during the exile at Babylon?

This question he answered in the same spirit as Isaiah of old (chap. lviii. 3—7). They were not so to fast; for true fasting consists in doing justice and mercy; and it was because they had neglected these "weightier matters of the law" that they had been driven from their land. Let them keep justice and mercy, and then aged men and women supporting their steps with their staves shall once again dwell in their city, their streets shall be full of boys and girls at play, their temple shall be built, their land bear them bounteous crops, and they themselves, instead of being a curse, shall be a blessing to all people. If only they speak the truth, and execute judgment, and think no evil, and take no false oath, then their fasting days, "the fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth," may all be kept as cheerful feasts. They may eat and drink, if they will; only they must love truth and peace (chap. viii. 16—19).

The third portion of the book is of far wider significancy. It begins (chap. ix.) with the denunciation of God's anger upon Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia. These probably are named as representing the enemies of the theocracy, and their fall is to be followed by the restoration of the monarchy at Jerusalem. But its king is not to come in royal fashion as Jeremiah foretold, "riding in chariots and on horses, he and his servants and his people" (Jer. xxii. 4), but lowly, and sitting upon an ass; and he is to speak not war but peace to the heathen, and as the king of peace "his dominion is to reach from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth." The Jews in captivity, now "prisoners of hope," are to return, and Ephraim and Judah, once again united, together are to form an empire more powerful than that of Greece; while their own land is to be so fruitful that the abundance of corn and wine shall lead to happy marriages, and fill their dwellings with young men and maids.

In the next chapter (chap. x.) the same line of thought is continued, but with the warning that they are to seek their blessing from Jehovah, and not from idols or diviners. And as in old time their shepherds, *i.e.*, their kings, had been their ruin, Jehovah will now be himself their shepherd, and under his rule they shall become like a glorious war-horse; and out of Judah shall proceed the corner, *i.e.*, the corner-stone, upon which the whole building of the state depends, the nail or bracket which supports the most precious articles for use and adornment, the weapons of war for defence, and (not the *oppressor*, as the A. V. renders the word, but) the captain or ruler, who shall win for the Jews dominion (ver. 4). In the rest of the chapter the happy effects of the union of Ephraim with Judah are described; and whereas in old time they had been scattered among the heathen in punishment, they are now to be sown among them as a blessing, and also because their own land can no longer contain their increasing numbers, though they are to recover their former boundaries, and possess Gilead and Lebanon as in David's days.

But now (chap. xi.) the scene changes. Through the defiles of Lebanon an army is approaching, spreading devastation all around. Israel is now a "flock for the slaughter," which the prophet is himself to feed. He makes, therefore, two staves, of which he calls one Beauty, the other Bands, *i.e.*, Union, the use of bands being to fasten things together. With these he smites three evil shepherds, or kings, but his flock rejects him, and so he cuts the staff of beauty in sunder to show that the covenant between Israel and Jehovah is at an end. He then throws up his office, and demands his price or wages, and they weigh unto him thirty pieces of silver, which in angry irony as the goodly—*i.e.*, the pitiful—price at which they had valued him, he throws to the potter in the house of the Lord. Finally he cuts asunder the other staff, to show that there was union no more between Judah and Israel. And as they had thus rejected the good shepherd, they must now have in his place one who shall seek only their evil, and do them hurt; and who shall at length himself meet with such a fate as he deserves.

Mysterious as are the terms of this chapter, there can be little doubt that it prefigures the rejection of Christ by the Jews, and the destruction of Jerusalem as its consequence by the armies of Rome. But the exact interpretation of the several portions are so open to controversy that an elaborate commentary would be required fully to explain their meaning. Very probably, however, the three evil shepherds represent monarchs who, like Antiochus Epiphanes, grievously oppressed the Jews in the period preceding the Advent of our Lord.

The second portion (chaps. xii., xiii., xiv.) is termed "the burden of the word of Jehovah for Israel;" the word "Israel" being here, as is so commonly the case in the later prophets, the symbol for mercies larger than those which belonged to the lineal descendants of Jacob. It commences with the description of a fearful struggle between the heathen powers and God's people, in which the latter is to have the victory, but not by might of war, but because Jehovah pours out upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem

the spirit of grace and of supplication; so that they look on Him whom they have pierced, and mourn with sorrow as deep as that for an only son, and as the people mourned for Josiah in the valley of Megiddo. And because of this earnest repentance a fountain is to be opened in Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness; idolatry is to be banished completely from the land, and false prophecy to cease, so that if any one profess to have the gift, his own father and mother in utter abhorrence shall thrust him through. Finally, upon the repentance and reformation of the people follows their purification by terrible trial. The sword wakes against God's fellow; the shepherd is smitten, the sheep scattered (chap. xiii. 7). The fires of the refining furnace blaze, the day of Jehovah comes, all nations are gathered against Jerusalem, already it is captured, and is suffering the last horrors of war, when Jehovah goes forth to battle for his people. All nature trembles as He marches along, Mount Olivet is cleft asunder, the people flee, the light of nature is shrouded, but living waters go forth from Jerusalem, and Jehovah's kingdom is established over all the earth. Henceforward Jerusalem is safely inhabited, and from year to year all nations go up thither to worship, for she is now the holy city, and upon all that she has is inscribed "Holiness unto the Lord."

Undeniably these last six chapters are very unlike to the first eight, and from early times their genuineness has been called in question. But the dispute is very different from most of those raised about the integrity of portions of Holy Scripture; for generally the object is to bring them down to a later date. Here it is said that these six chapters are so entirely unlike anything written after the exile, and are so completely after the manner of the old prophets, that they must be of great antiquity, and possibly were written by Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah (called Berechiah in the Septuagint), mentioned in Isa. viii. 2. Mede argued that Jeremiah was their author, saying that they were quoted as his in Matt. xxvii. 9, and that it did not follow that because they were appended to Zechariah's prophecies, they must, therefore, also belong to him. Archbishop Newcome went farther, and said that these chapters are among the oldest prophetical writings in the Bible, and must have been composed before Israel went into captivity, of whom he explains them literally; and to this view men like Pye Smith have given their adhesion. The main argument for two authors has been well put by Eichhorn, who says:—"As the reader passes from the first half of the prophet to the second, he cannot fail to perceive how strikingly different are the impressions which are made upon him by the two. The manner of writing in the second portion is far loftier and more mysterious; the images employed grander and more magnificent; the point of view and the horizon are changed. The Temple is no longer the central object of thought, and expressions often repeated in the first part no longer occur."

But though there is much at first sight plausible in this argument, yet German critics have now for some time held that it is untenable. De Wette, in the first three editions of his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, accepted the theory of two authors, but has since affirmed that the quotations or allusions in these six chapters not merely to Isaiah, Joel, Micah, and Amos, but even to Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel, are so many, that the author must have lived after the exile. So also a closer examination of the historical allusions has shown that they all agree with the political state of things in Zechariah's days; and to this we must add what after all is the great argument, that the canon of Old Testament Scripture was settled scarcely a life-time after Zechariah's death, and was in course of preparation long before, so that it is hard to conceive that so great a mistake could possibly have been made as to ascribe to one of the prophets who flourished in post-exilian days the writings of one of the older seers. The very fact that there is a dissimilarity of style would have prevented the mistake; nor can we imagine that any one would have attributed these chapters to the same author as the first eight unless they had really been his.

It is interesting to add that to the two prophets by whose instrumentality the Temple was built several of the finest choral psalms are attributed, with considerable probability. Thus, according to the LXX., Haggai and Zechariah wrote Ps. cxxxvii., cxlv.—cxlviii.; according to the Syriac, Ps. cxxv., cxxvi.; and according to the Vulgate, Ps. cxi. If, therefore, the Septuagint is right, these prophets would have been the first from whose lips the triumphant cry of "Hallelujah," "Praise ye Jehovah," first proceeded; and we owe to the joyful exclamation with which they celebrated the building of the Temple, that which has become the settled formula of praise in all languages in which the word of God is proclaimed to men.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

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THE ORDERS OF MONOCOTYLEDONOUS PLANTS.

THE most remarkable plant found in Palestine belonging to this great division of the vegetable kingdom is the palm-tree (*Phœnix dactylifera*, Linn.), the *tamar* (תָּמָר) of the Old, and the φοῖνιξ of the New Testament. The palm has been closely associated with the Holy Land from the earliest times. The Greek name for the coast region was Phœnicia, and this was derived from the Greek designation for the date-palm, and was applied, no doubt, because the abundance of the tree was a characteristic of the country. Some of the coins struck at the Phœnician towns of Tyre and Sidon have on them the emblematic figure of the palm. The earliest known Jewish coins, believed to have been struck by Judas Maccabæus, contain a fair representation of the date-tree, showing its large pinnated leaves and bunches of fruits. This same figure is reproduced in the coins struck by Eleazar and Simon during the short period of their successful revolt against the Romans which was put down by Titus when he defeated the rebels and destroyed Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The well-known coin struck by Vespasian to celebrate this event represents captive Judæa as a weeping woman seated on the ground under the shade of a palm-tree. To the Jew as well as to the foreigner the palm was a fitting emblem of Palestine, and though it is now almost unknown on the hills and in the valleys of the land, there are many indications of its former abundance. Jericho is again and again called the city of palm-trees, and Josephus tells us there was in his time a grove beside the town seven miles long. This has gradually disappeared, and now not a tree remains. Canon Tristram describes the last relic of Jericho's famous grove, which he saw some years ago, then wild and neglected, now dead and gone. The whole valley of the Jordan was probably stocked with the palm in New Testament times. That it grew around the Sea of Galilee is recorded by Josephus, and its existence at no very distant period in the valley is proved by the occasional occurrence of dead stems, which are especially abundant on the shores of the Dead Sea. Some of these have, no doubt, come from the narrow valley of En gedi, where, apart from the recorded testimony, the ancient name of the valley itself—Hazazon-tamar, the "valley of the palm"—establishes that the date once flourished there. But not only in the depressed and sub-tropical region of the Jordan and Dead Sea were palms abundantly met with; they were scattered in more or less abundance throughout the whole country. Near Gibeah of Benjamin was a place called Baal-tamar, "the sanctuary of the palm" (Judg. xx. 33), which was near to, if it was not the same, as the palm-tree under which Deborah dwelt when she judged Israel (Judg. iv. 5). In Nehemiah's days the inhabitants of Jerusalem were able to supply themselves with palm-leaves from the Mount of Olives for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 15). The name of Bethany, "house of dates," indicates the presence there of groves of palms, and from them, no doubt, were obtained the leaves ("branches") of palm-trees which the multitude carried when they conducted the Saviour in triumph over Olivet to Jerusalem (John xii. 13). Not a palm is now to be found on Olivet, though both the olive which gave its name to the mount, and the fig from which Bethphage was named, still grow together there. A few palms are to be found within the walls of Jerusalem, and groups are met with at Nablous, Nazareth, and other places, but they are most abundant on the maritime plains. Palm-leaves are among the relics brought from the Holy Land in the Middle Ages; hence a pilgrim safely returned from Palestine came to be called a "palmer."

The date has a tall slender stem, uniformly thick throughout, and unbroken by branches. It grows to a height of eighty feet, but has an average of thirty feet. The stem is somewhat smooth below, but rough above, from the remains of the bases of the former leaves still adhering to it. The erect habit of the tree is referred to by the prophet when, speaking of the dead idols, he says, "They are upright as the palm-tree, but speak not" (Jer. x. 5). The grace and beauty of the stately stem crowned with its feathery foliage suggested the fitness of employing its name for women; thus Absalom had a "fair sister" whose name was Tamar, and a daughter "of a fair countenance" to whom he gave the same name (2 Sam. xiii. 1; xiv. 27).

The palm-tree was well adapted for architectural purposes, and was employed by Solomon in the Temple (1 Kings vi. 29—35). The pillars and arches of the Temple shown to Ezekiel in a vision, as well as its walls, were ornamented with palm-trees (Ezek. xl. and xli.).

Some have thought that the sweet flag (*Acorus Calamus*, Linn.), found in damp places in the north of Palestine, is the "sweet cane" (Jer. vi. 20) and the "sweet calamus" (Exod. xxx. 23) of our version. But in Jeremiah it is called "sweet cane from a far country," and consequently was not, like the sweet flag, a native product of Palestine. (See Vol. I., p. 244.)

Several species of *Aroideæ* are common in Palestine. They are more obvious than the cuckoo-pint of our hedges, because of the bright colour of their flowering leaves and the intolerable stench given out by them. This property induced Canon Tristram to suggest that some of the species found in the corn-producing plains might be the "cockle" or noisome weed, *baoshah* (בָּאֹשָׁה), alluded to by Job (xxxi. 40), seeing this word is derived from a root signifying "to stink like carrion."

The brilliant covering of flowers which in spring

surprises and delights every traveller in Palestine is largely due to the numerous and varied forms of liliaceous plants which abound on hill and plain. Tulips and lilies, squills and hyacinths, with fritillaries and asphodels, combine to deck the fields with a wondrous glow of colour. To these, and the plants belonging to other orders associated with them, the Saviour referred when, teaching trust in God, He bade His hearers "Consider the lilies of the field" (Matt. vi. 28). A very common Palestine plant, the star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum umbellatum*, Linn.), whose white and green flowers adorn every hill in spring, has been supposed to be referred to under the name "dove's dung" in the narrative of the siege of Samaria by Benhadad, when the inhabitants were reduced to so great extremities that the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung was sold for five pieces of silver (2 Kings vi. 25). Some imagine this to be the small bulbous root of the star of Bethlehem, which is sometimes used as food; but no reason has been adduced sufficient for rejecting the literal reading of the passage. A somewhat conventional treatment of a squill or a hyacinth is shown on the shekel of Judas Maccabæus and on other Jewish coins. Their obverse contains the representation of a spike composed of three flowers.

The prickly butcher's broom, which bears its small green flower on the centre of its leaf-like branches, so common in the woods of the south of England, is not unfrequent in Palestine, along with a larger species, *Ruscus hypoglossum*, Linn. Tristram suggests that the *sillon* of Ezek. ii. 6; xxviii. 24, translated "briar" in our version, is the butcher's broom.

The varieties of onion in Palestine are numerous and often beautiful, though not always agreeable to the smell. The wild species adorn the pastures with their white, pink, and purple flowers, while those used as vegetables are cultivated everywhere, and one or other of them forms an ingredient in most Oriental dishes. Three kinds are included in the list of the good things which the Israelites had enjoyed in Egypt, and which they lusted after in the wilderness. "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick; but now our soul is dried up" (Numb. xi. 5, 6). These are known from profane records to have been favourite vegetables in Egypt. It has been questioned whether the Hebrew *hatzeer* (חָצִיר) is correctly identified with the leek. The word means *green*, and is elsewhere translated "herbs" or "grass," but in the passage now quoted it means an edible plant, like the leek.

Our common sea-side rush (*Juncus maritimus*, Sm.) grows in clumps along the shores of the Dead Sea, and other British species occur in damp localities in the north of Palestine.

No remarkable species of orchids are met with in Palestine. The plants of this order are terrestrial forms similar to those found in England and the south of Europe.

Several beautiful species of *Amaryllidaceæ* are natives of the Holy Land. Deserving special notices are the white pancratiums and the yellow *Operanthus*. The hilly pastures abound with patches of violet ixiolirions, and plains and hills alike are adorned with the bright flowers of the polyanthus narcissus (*N. Tazetta*, Linn.). This plant has been very generally accepted as the "rose" of our Bibles. The etymology of the Hebrew word *chabatztzeleth* (חֲבַצֶּלֶת) implies that the "rose of Sharon" was a plant with a bulbous root, and thus necessarily excludes the rose (see page 245). But in a country where bulbous-rooted plants form so large a proportion of its floral vegetation, it is difficult to decide upon a single plant. Lindley thought it was an *Ixiolirion*, Sir J. E. Smith the *Operanthus*, and Rosenmüller the meadow saffron. The majority of critics, however, accept this beautiful narcissus, which is not unfrequent on the plain of Sharon.

Many forms of *Iridaceæ* are found in the plains of Palestine, including species of *Iris*, *Gladiolus*, and *Crocus*. The colouring material saffron is collected in the Holy Land from *Crocus sativus*, Scop., and other species. It consists of the yellow style and stigma of the flower dried in the sun, and pounded to make powdered saffron, or pressed into small tablets to form cake saffron. It is chiefly used for colouring confectionery and giving a tint to liqueurs. A recent traveller says "he found saffron a very useful condiment in travelling cookery, a very small pinch of it giving out not only a rich yellow colour, but an agreeable flavour to a dish of rice or to an insipid stew" (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 480). In the well-stocked garden to which the bride is compared, saffron is mentioned as having a place (Cant. iv. 14). There is little doubt that the Hebrew *karkom* (כַּרְכֹּם) is here correctly translated "saffron," for the Arabic name for the plant is almost the same; and indeed the Greek κρόκος and the Latin *crocus* are derived from the same root as the Hebrew.

The *Cyperaceæ* are not numerous in Palestine, and with one exception none of them are remarkable. A *Cyperus* with an edible tuber (*C. esculentus*, Linn.) is found in the Jordan and other streams. It may be the *achu* (אָחוּ), translated "flag" in the passage, "Can the rush grow up without mire? can the flag grow without water?" (Job viii. 11); and twice rendered "meadow" in Genesis. "Behold, there came out of the river seven well-favoured kine and fat-fleshed, and they fed in a meadow" (Gen. xli. 2, 18). These passages imply that the *achu* was a water plant suitable for pasture, and in no plants of Palestine are these qualities more strikingly present than in the edible cyperus. The most remarkable plant of Palestine belonging to this order is the famous *Papyrus antiquorum*, Linn., which, though no longer found in its ancient habitat, the lower Nile, still grows in abundance in Lake Merom and the swamps of the Upper Jordan. It has been seen on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and luxurious specimens were observed by Canon Tristram growing to a height of sixteen feet with stems three inches in diameter, in a marsh at the fountain of Ain et

Tin, a little to the north of the Sea of Galilee. Lake Huleh, the ancient "Waters of Merom," appears to be the present head-quarters of the papyrus north of tropical Africa. Tristram thus describes this locality: "The whole marsh is marked in the maps as impassable, and most truly it is so. I never anywhere else have met with a swamp so vast and so utterly impenetrable. First there is an ordinary bog, which takes one up to the knees in water; then, after half a mile, a belt of deeper water where the yellow water-lily flourishes. Then a belt of tall reeds, the open water covered with white water-lily, and beyond again an impenetrable wilderness of papyrus, extending right across to the east side. A false step off its roots will take the intruder overhead in suffocating peat mud. In fact, the whole is simply a floating bog of several miles square—a very thin crust of vegetation over an unknown depth of water, and if the weight of the explorer breaks through this, suffocation is imminent. Some Arabs who were tilling the plain for cotton assured us that even a wild boar never got through it. We shot two bitterns, but, in endeavouring to retrieve them, I slipped from the root on which I was standing, and was drawn down in a minute, only saving myself from drowning by my gun, which had providentially caught across a papyrus stem" (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 587).

The papyrus has fleshy underground root-stocks, which creep to a great length below the mud, and throw up their tall three-cornered stems, which usually rise to a height of ten or twelve feet. The root-stocks contain a large amount of starch, and were used as an article of food by the ancient Egyptians. Theophrastus says those who wish to eat the byblus dressed in the most delicate way, stew it in a hot pan and then eat it. The long slender bare columns are furnished with a few short leaves near the base, and bear also at the top a few leaves from the centre of which the great tuft of fruit-bearing leaves spring, giving the whole plant the appearance of a huge long-shanked broom. Internally the stems are composed of a loose cellular tissue, from which was manufactured the ancient paper. The green rind or skin of the stem was removed, and the interior divided longitudinally into long thin slices. A number of these slices were placed on a flat board alongside of each other; a second series was laid over the first at right angles, and they were then beaten carefully with a flat wooden mallet, until by the help of the mucilage in the tissues, and some starch, paste, or glue which was added, they were connected together. This pulpy layer was then exposed to the sun, and as soon as it was dried it was ready for use.

The *gome* (גֹּמֶא), translated in our version "reed" and "bulrush," is, no doubt, the papyrus. This word occurs four times in the Bible. The mother of Moses "took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink" (Exod. ii. 3). Ethiopia is said to send "ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters" (Isa. xviii. 2). One element in the prophetic illustration of the joyous changes brought about in the Saviour's kingdom is that "in the habitation of dragons shall be grass with reeds and rushes" (Isa. xxxv. 7). And, lastly, Bildad, to enforce his position that destruction must overtake the man that forgets God, asks, "Can the rush grow up without mire? can the flag grow without water? Whilst it is yet in its greenness, and not cut down, it withereth before any other herb" (Job viii. 11, 12). The allusions in the context all accord with what is known of the paper reed. The Egyptians made various articles besides paper from the papyrus. We have the testimony of several ancient writers that boats or canoes were made from it; Bruce found such boats in use among the Abyssinians when he visited them.

The translators of our Authorised Version have introduced "paper-reed" as the rendering of *'aroth* (עָרוֹת), "the paper-reeds by the brooks . . . . . shall wither" (Isa. xix. 7), but this is doubtless a mistake. The word is derived from a root meaning to make bare or naked, and it is probably a descriptive term for the meadow pastures by the side of a river.

There are many species of grasses in Palestine, but, unless in exceptional spots, they never form a permanent pasture like what we have in Britain. The herbivorous animals obtain, all the year round, more of their fruit from the young shoots of shrubby plants than from the *Gramineæ*; consequently, in its Bible meaning, "grass of the field" includes a larger variety of plants than the same phrase as we popularly employ it, though with us it covers many fodder plants that are not in the strict sense grasses. Among the grasses of the Holy Land are some of our well-known British forms. Our common species, the annual meadow grass (*Poa annua*, Linn.), a useful plant in pastures, but a troublesome pest in gravel walks and roads, occurs in similar situations in Palestine. Species of *Poa*, *Festuca*, *Agrostis*, *Panicum*, *Bromus*, *Phalaris*, and other British grasses, are met with associated with forms found only in warmer regions. Some are remarkable for their great size, like the *Arundo Donax*, Linn., and a species of *Saccharum*. The Arundo is abundant all along the banks of the Jordan, and forms immense brakes on the shores of the lakes through which the river runs, as well as at different places around the Dead Sea. It grows to a height of twelve feet, and supports a magnificent and graceful plume of flowers, easily moved by a slight breath of wind. This plant is the reed of Palestine, and is without doubt the *agmon* (אַגְמוֹן) and the *kaneh* (קָנֶה) of the Old, and the κάλαμος of the New Testament.

Wheat, barley, millet, and spelt were cultivated by the Jews, and they are still grown in Palestine, with the addition of maize and rice. The great extent to which the whole land was cultivated in former days is seen in the artificial terraces which are everywhere met with. From the insecurity of property in the East, regular farming has been for ages carried on only in the vicinity of towns. The whole of Olivet is cultivated in terraced fields of wheat and barley; scattered trees of olives

occur throughout the fields, and here and there a solitary fig-tree.

Cryptogamic Plants.—Excepting in regard to a few species of ferns growing in the cracks of the rocks, almost nothing is known of the cryptogamous plants of Palestine. Future travellers must remedy this defect in our knowledge. However, to the Bible student this is of less importance, as no references are made to any of these plants in the Scriptures, unless we hold that the manna was a lichen (Bible Educator, Vol. II., p. 176), or the hyssop was a moss (*l. c.* Vol. I., p. 227).

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

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When James I. succeeded to the throne in March, 1603, he found the southern part of his dominions in a state of great uneasiness and disquiet in consequence of the differences between the Puritan party and their opponents in the Church of England. One of the first events in his reign was the presentation of the celebrated "Millenary Petition," subscribed by some hundreds of Puritans, praying for alterations in the Church service, and for greater strictness of ecclesiastical discipline. The king, by no means unwilling to play the part of moderator, resolved to convoke an assembly, in which the discordant opinions of the rival parties might be stated, and be submitted to free discussion. Thus originated the famous Hampton Court Conference, held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of January, 1604. We are not here concerned with the petitions and arguments which mainly occupied the hours of debate; our present interest is in a question which was altogether subordinate at the time, but which the event proved to be the most important and the most fruitful of all the questions raised. At this conference the Puritans were represented by Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Dr. Sparke, Mr. Knewstubbs, and Mr. Chaderton; the opposite party by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, Bishop of London, seven other bishops, and five deans. An account of the sum and substance of the conference, written by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, is our chief authority for the proceedings of this assembly.

In the course of the second day, Dr. Reynolds "moved his Majesty that there might be a new translation of the Bible, because those which were allowed in the reign of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the original. For example, first, Gal. iv. 25, the Greek word συστοιχεῖ is not well translated, as now it is; *bordereth* neither expressing the force of the word, nor the apostle's sense, nor the situation of the place. Secondly, Ps. cv. 28, 'They were not obedient,' the original being, 'They were not disobedient.' Thirdly, Ps. cvi. 30, 'Then stood up Phinees and prayed;' the Hebrew hath 'executed judgment.' To which motion there was, at the present, no gainsaying, the objections being trivial and old, and already in print, often answered; only my lord of London well added, that if every man's humour should be followed, there would be no end of translating. Whereupon his Highness wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be), and this to be done by the best learned in both the universities; after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the church; from them to be presented to the privy council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority. And so this whole church to be bound unto it and none other. Marry, withal, he gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my lord of London), that no marginal notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation (which he saw in a book given him by an English lady) some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits. As, for example, the first chapter of Exodus, and the nineteenth verse, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience unto kings; and 2 Chron. xv. 16, the note taxeth Asa for deposing his mother only, and not killing her."

It is not necessary to defend the Genevan Bible against the royal critic. On the real excellence of the translation enough has been said already, and the two notes quoted as dangerous do not need any apology. The narrative well illustrates the conflicting views of two parties, for the quotations given by Dr. Reynolds are from the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible, and in each case the rendering is corrected in the Genevan version. On the one side, therefore, the Genevan Bible is the standard by which the translations are tried; on the other, the faults and the dangerous teaching of this same version are taken as the ground for a new translation. It is not improbable that the scheme would have fallen to the ground, had it not harmonised so completely with the king's turn of mind and favourite pursuits. When Convocation met, shortly after the conference, not a word appears to have been said on the subject. A letter from the king to Bancroft, dated July 22nd, 1604, gives us our earliest information, but by this time the plans for the execution of the work seem to have been completely arranged. The king announces that he has chosen (chiefly, we may suppose, on the nomination of the universities) fifty-four translators, to meet in various companies at Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge, under the presidency of the Dean of Westminster and the two Hebrew Professors.

Bancroft is required to take steps, in conjunction with the other bishops, for providing the translators with church preferment in recompense for their labours, and also for procuring from learned men throughout the kingdom criticisms on the earlier translations, and suggestions on difficult passages. Other letters like this bear testimony to the king's earnestness in the prosecution of the work. It is therefore not a little surprising to find that three years passed away before the companies entered on their labours. The difficulty in providing funds to meet necessary expenses, the death of Lively, the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and probably of others who had been selected as translators, were, no doubt, amongst the obstacles which retarded the work.

The letter in which the king refers to the fifty-four translators contains no list of names, and no information from other sources enables us to ascertain with exactness on whom the choice had fallen. The lists we possess specify no more than forty-seven. Whether the discrepancy arises from the changes in the composition of the companies which took place (through death or other causes) between 1604 and the completion of the work in 1611, or whether the list of fifty-four included bishops or other scholars, intrusted, not with translation, but with the revision of the work of the six companies, it is impossible to say.

The following statement shows how the work was divided, and gives the names of the chief persons connected with each portion:—(1) Genesis—2 Kings: Bishop Andrews, Dean Overall, Dr. Saravia (the friend of Hooker), Bedwell, the best Arabic scholar of his time, and six others. (2) 2 Chronicles—Ecclesiastes: Lively, Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, Dr. Chaderton, who had taken a prominent part in the Hampton Court Conference, and seven others. (3) Isaiah—Malachi: Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, the leading representative of the Puritans at the Conference, Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and five others. (4) The Apocrypha: A. Downes, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and six others. (5) The Gospels, Acts, and Revelation: Dr. Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Savile (afterwards Sir Henry), the editor of Chrysostom, and six or seven others. (6) The Epistles. Dr. Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and six others of comparatively little fame.

The duties of the revisers, and the plan of the new work, were defined in the following body of instructions supplied to each company:—

"1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will admit.

"2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

"3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz., the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c.

"4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith.

"5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

"6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

"7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

"8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

"9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his Majesty is very careful in this point.

"10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof, note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

"11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgment of such a place.

"12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

"13. The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

"14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible; Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

"15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor upon conference with the rest of the Heads to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified."

When each company had completed the allotted task, the several parts were collected for revision. The ninth rule prescribed that every book should be submitted to the judgment of all the companies; but, even had it been possible to carry such a rule into effect, yet much would afterwards remain to be done in the way of arrangement and the harmonising of details. Six of the translators—twelve, according to another account—

one (or two) out of each company, met together at the close to review the work. Boys and Downs, of the Cambridge company, "were sent for up to London, where, meeting their four fellow-labourers, they went daily to Stationers' Hall, and in three-quarters of a year fulfilled their task. All which time they received duly thirty shillings each of them, by the week, from the Company of Stationers;[1] though before they had nothing." Who the "four fellow-labourers" were, we have no means of ascertaining. Bishop Bilson, though not one of the translators, is said to have been connected with the final revision, and the account which is given us of Bancroft's influence on the translation has led some to add his name also. The reader may be surprised to find that so much of the history is involved in obscurity. "Never," says a writer who is our highest authority on the translation of 1611,[2] "was a great enterprise like the production of our Authorised Version carried out with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the labourers, their method and order of working." The only account which we possess of the procedure of the translators is to be found in Selden's *Table Talk:* it appears to relate to the last revision. "The translation in King James' time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs), and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c.: if they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on."

In 1611, seven years after the Hampton Court Conference, the new translation was given to the world. The title-page of the volume (a folio printed in black-letter by R. Barker), contains the statements with which we are all familiar, and the Dedication which follows is equally well known. It is otherwise with the Translators' Preface, which is not to be found in modern Bibles. This is a document of considerable length (equal to about nine pages of the BIBLE EDUCATOR), written by Dr. Miles Smith, in which the translators justify the demand for a new translation of the Scriptures, and explain the principles which have guided their own action. We have not space for quotations, but must content ourselves with urging our readers to make themselves acquainted with this learned and very interesting document.[3] Besides a Calendar, Table of Lessons, and other matter, belonging rather to the Prayer-book than to the Bible, there are given elaborate Tables of Genealogies, drawn up by John Speed, the celebrated historian. The Table of the Books of Scripture agrees in almost all respects with that contained in our present Bibles.

The statements on the title-page are of importance. What we are to understand by the notice that the version is "appointed to be read in churches," it is hard to say. "No evidence has yet been produced to show that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king. It gained its currency, partly, it may have been, by the weight of the king's name, partly by the personal authority of the prelates and scholars who had been engaged upon it, but still more by its own intrinsic superiority over its rivals. Copies of the 'whole Bible of the largest volume and latest edition' are required to be in churches by the Visitation Articles of Laud, 1622 (St. Davids), 1628 (London). In the Scotch Canons of 1636 it is said still more distinctly that 'the Bible shall be of the translation of King James' (cap. 16, § 1). . . . The printing of the Bishops' Bible was at once stayed when the new version was definitely undertaken. No edition is given in the lists later than 1606, though the New Testament from it was reprinted as late as 1618 (or 1619). So far ecclesiastical influence naturally reached. But it was otherwise with the Genevan Version, which was chiefly confined to private use. This competed with the King's Bible for many years, and it was not till about the middle of the century that it was finally displaced."[4]

On the other question, the relation between the Authorised Version (so called) and earlier translations, the reader shall judge for himself. On the following pages are given two passages, from the Old Testament and the New, respectively, as they appear in the most important of our English versions. An examination of these specimens will show how far the translators of 1611 were indebted to their predecessors. In that part of the Old Testament from which our specimen is taken the true line of succession begins with Coverdale's Bible. The three versions which precede (those of Wycliffe, Purvey, and the Douai Bible), all derived from the Latin Vulgate, can have exercised but little influence on our present translation. The Douai Old Testament, it will be remembered, was not published until 1610. In the New Testament, on the other hand, the eight versions are connected together by strict relationship. It will be observed that Tyndale's work really occupies two columns, the first of these containing his earliest translation (1526), the third his last revision, which was incorporated in the Bible of "Thomas Matthew." The quotations are made from the earliest editions of Coverdale's Bible, the Rhemish Testament, and the Authorised Version; from the second edition of Matthew's Bible, and of the Douai Version; from the Great Bible of May, 1541, the Genevan Bible of 1578, and the Bishops' Bible of 1575. The versions not given are of secondary importance. Taverner does not materially differ from Tyndale and Coverdale; the Genevan Bible usually contains the improvements introduced into the Testament of 1557; and Tomson's revision can hardly be regarded as a distinct work.

[1] Mr. Anderson makes it very probable that the money was furnished by the printer, R. Barker.

[2] Dr. Scrivener, *Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, p. 12.

[3] The reprint of this Preface (issued by Macintosh) can be procured for sixpence.

[4] Westcott, *History of English Bible*, p. 123.

WYCLIFFE.

Isaiah liv. 11—17.

11 Thou porelet, with tempest al to-pullid, with oute any coumfort, lo! I shal arnie by order thi stones and founde thee in safires;

12 And I shal sette jasp thy pynacles and thi gates in to grauen stones, and alle thi termes in to desirable stones.

13 Alle thi sones tagt of the Lord, and multitude of pes to thi sones,

14 And in rigtwisnesse thou shalt be foundid. Go awei aferr fro chalenge, for thou shalt not drede, and fro inward ferd, for it shal not neghe to thee.

15 Lo! an earth tiliere shal come, that was not with me; thi comeling sumtyme apassid shal be ioyned to thee.

16 Lo! I shop a smyth blowende in the fyr coles, and bringende forth a vessel in to his werk; and I shop the sleere to destroyen.

17 Eche vessel that is mad agen thee, shal not be rigt reulid; and eche tunge withstondende to thee, in dom thou shalt deme. This is the eritage of the seruauns of the Lord, and the rigtwisnesse of hem anent me, seith the Lord.

PURVEY.

Isaiah liv. 11—17.

11 Thou litle and pore, drawun out bi tempest, with outen ony coumfort, lo! Y schal strewe thi stoonys bi ordre, and Y schal founde thee in safiris;

12 And Y schal sette jaspis thi touris and thi gatis in to grauun stoonys and alle thin eendis in to desirable stoonys.

13 Y schal make alle thi sones taught of the Lord; and the multitude of pees to thi sones,

14 And thou schalt be foundid in rigtfulnesse. Go thou awei fer fro fals caleng, for thou schalt not drede; and fro drede, for it schal not neige to thee.

15 Lo, a straunger schal come, that was not with me; he that was sum tyme thi comelyng schal be ioyned to thee.

16 Lo! Y made a smyth blowynge coolis in fier, and bringynge forth a vessel in to his werk; and Y haue maad a sleere, for to leese.

17 Ech vessel which is maad agens thee, schal not be dressid; and in the doom thou schalt deme ech tunge agenstondynge thee. This is the eritage of the seruauntis of the Lord, and the rightfulnesse of hem at me, seith the Lord.

DOUAI BIBLE.

Isaiah liv. 11—17.

11 Poore litle one shaken with tempest without al comfort, behold I will lay thy stones in order and wil found thee in sapphires.

12 And I wil put the jasper stone for thy munitions, and thy gates into grauen stones, al thy borders into stones worthie to be desired.

13 Al thy children taught of our Lord; and a multitude of peace to thy children.

14 And in justice thou shalt be founded, depart far from calumnie, because thou shalt not feare: and from dread, because it shal not approch to thee.

15 Behold, the borderer shal come, which was not with me, thy stranger sometime shal be ioyned to thee.

16 Behold I have created the smith that bloweth the coles in the fire, and bringeth forth a vessel for his worke and I created the killer to destroy.

17 Euerie vessel that is made agaynst thee shal not prosper and euerie tongue resisting thee in judgement thou shalt judge. This is the inheritance of the seruants of our Lord, and their justice with me sayth our Lord.

COVERDALE. (MATTHEW.)

Isaiah liv. 11—17.

11 Beholde, thou poore, vexed and despised, I wil make thy walles of precious stones and thy foundacion of Saphires,

12 Thy windowes off Cristall, thi gates of fyne cleare stones and thy borders of pleasaunt stones.

13 Thy children shal all be taught of God, and I will geue them plenteousnes of peace.

14 In rightuousness shalt thou be grounded, and be farre from oppression: for the which thou nedest not be afrayed nether for hynderaunce, for it shal not come nye the.

15 Beholde the aleaunt that was farre from the shal dwell with the, and he that was sometyme a straunger vnto the shalbe ioyned with the.

16 Beholde I make the smyth that bloweth the coles in the fyre & he maketh a weapon after his hondy worke. I make also the waister to destroye:

17 But all the weapens that are made agaynst the shal not prospere. And as for all tunges that shal resiste the in iudgment thou shalt ouercome them & condemne them. This is the heretage of the Lordes seruauntes and the rightuousnes that they shal haue of me saieth the Lorde.

TYNDALE.

Romans xii. 6—15.

6 Seyinge that we have divers gyftes accordynge to the grace that is geven vnto vs, yf eny man have the gyft off prophesy lett hym have it that itt be agreynge vnto the fayth.

7 Let hym that hath an office, wayte on his office. Let hym that teacheth take hede to his doctryne.

8 Let hym that exhorteth geve attendaunce to his exhortacion. Yf eny man geve, lett hym do it with singlenes. Let hym that rueleth do it with diligence. Yf eny man shewe mercy lett hym do itt with cherfulnes.

9 Let love be without dissimulacion. Hate that which is evyll and cleave vnto that which is good.

10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly love. In geyynge honoure goo one before another.

11 Let not that busynes which ye have in honde be tedious to you. Be fervent in the sprete. Apply yourselves to the tyme.

12 Reioyce in hope. Be pacient in tribulacion, continue in prayer.

13 Distribute vnto the necesiite off the saynetes.

14 Blesse them which persecute you, blesse but course nott.

15 Be mery with them that are mery, wepe with them that wepe.

COVERDALE.

Romans xii. 6—15.

6 And (we) haue dyuers giftes accordinge to the grace that is geuen vnto vs. Yf eny man haue the gifte of prophecienge let it be acordinge to the faith.

7 Let him that hath an office wayte vpon the office, let him that teacheth take hede to the doctryne.

8 Let him that exhorteth geue attendaunce to the exhortacion. Yf eny man geueth let him geue with synglenesse. Let him that ruleth be diligent. Yf eny man shewe mercy let him do it with chearfulnesse.

9 Let loue be without dissimulacion. Hate that which is euell. Cleue vnto that which is good.

10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly loue. In geuynge honoure go one before another.

11 Be not slouthfull in the busynesse that ye haue in hande. Be feruent in the sprete. Applye yourselues vnto the tyme.

12 Reioyse in hope, be pacient in trouble. Continue in prayer.

13 Distribute vnto the necessities of the sayntes. Be glad to harbarow.

14 Blesse them that persecute you. Blesse and curse not.

15 Be mery with them that are mery and wepe with them that wepe.

MATTHEW'S BIBLE.

Romans xii. 6—15.

6 Seynge that we haue diuers gyftes, accordynge to the grace that is geuen vnto vs. Yf anye man haue the gyfte of prophesye, let hym haue it that it be agreynge vnto faythe.

7 Let hym that hathe an offyce, wayte on hys office. Let hym that teacheth take hede to hys doctryne.

8 Let hym that exhorteth geue attendaunce to hys exhortacion. Yf any man geue let him do it with singlenes. Let hym that rueleth do it with diligence. Yf any man shew mercy, let him do it with cherfulnes.

9 Let loue be wythout dissimulacion. Hate that whiche is euel and cleaue vnto that whych is good.

10 Be kynd one to another with brotherlye loue. In geuynge honoure go one before another.

11 Let not the busynes whiche ye haue in hande be tedious vnto you. Be feruent in the spirite. Apply yourselves to the tyme.

12 Reioyse in hope. Be pacyent in trybulacion. Continue in prayer.

13 Distribute vnto the necessite of the Saynetes, be diligent to harboure.

14 Blesse them whiche persecute you: blesse but curse not.

15 Be mery with them that are merye. Wepe wyth them that wepe.

GREAT BIBLE.

Romans xii. 6—15.

6 Seynge that we haue dyuers gyftes accordynge to the grace that is geuen vnto vs: yf any man haue the gyfte of prophecy let him haue it that it be agreing vnto ye fayth.

7 Let hym that hath an office wayte on hys office. Let hym that teacheth take hede to hys doctrine.

8 Let hym that exhorteth geue attendaunce to his exhortacion. If any man geue, let hym do it wyth synglenes. Let hym that ruleth do it with diligence. If any man shewe mercy, let him do it with cherfulnes.

9 Let loue be wythout dissimulation. Hate yt whych is euyll and cleaue vnto yt which is good.

10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly loue. In geuynge honoure go one before another.

11 Be not slouthful in the busines whych ye haue in hande. Be feruent in the sprete. Applye yourselues to the tyme.

12 Reioyse in hope. Be pacient in tribulacyon. Continue in prayer.

13 Distribute vnto the necessitie of the sayntes: be ready to harbour.

14 Blesse them which persecute you: blesse (I say) and curse not.

15 Be mery wyth them that are mery. Wepe also wyth them that wepe.

GREAT BIBLE.
ISAIAH liv. 11—17.

11 Beholde the poore ouerwhelmed with tempest and without conforte, I wyll make thy walles of precyous stones and thy foundacyon of Saphires.
12 Thy wyndowes of Chrystal, thy gates of fyne cleare stones and all thy borders of pleasaunt stones.

13 Thy chyldren shal all be taught of god, and I will geue them plenteousnes of peace.
14 In ryghteousnes shalt thou be grounded & be farre from oppressyon for the whiche thou nedest not be afrayde, nether for hynderaunce for it shall not come nye the.
15 Beholde, the aleaunt that was farre from me shal dwel with the, and he that ioyneth batayle agaynst the shal perysh.

16 Beholde, I make the smyth that bloweth the coles in the fyer, and he maketh a weapen after his handy worcke, I make also the waster to destroye:

17 But all the weapens that are made agaynst the shal not prospere. And as for all tonges that shal resyst the in iudgement thou shalt ouercome them & condempne them. This is the herytage of the Lordes seruauntes & theyre ryghteousnes cometh of me sayth the Lorde.

GENEVAN BIBLE.
ISAIAH liv. 11—17.

11 O thou afflicted and tossed with tempest that hast no comfort, beholde, I wil lay thy stones with the carbuncle and laye thy foundation with saphirs.
12 And I will make thy windowes of emeraudes, and thy gates shining stoues, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.

13 And all thy children shall be taught of the Lorde and much peace shalbe to thy children.
14 In righteousnesse shalt thou be established and be farre from oppression; for thou shalt not feare it: and from feare, for it shall not come neere thee.

15 Beholde the enemie shall gather himselfe but without me: whosoeuer shall gather himselfe in thee, against thee shall fall.

16 Behold, I haue created the smith that bloweth the coles in the fire, and him that bringeth forth an instrument for his worke: and I haue created the destroyer to destroy.
17 But all the weapons that are made against thee shall not prosper; and euery tongue that shall rise against thee in iudgement thou shalt condemne. This is the heritage of the Lords servants and their righteousnes is of me, saith the Lord.

BISHOPS' BIBLE.
ISAIAH liv. 11—17.

11 Beholde, thou poore vexed and despised, I will make thy walles of pretious stones and thy foundation of Saphires.

12 Thy windowes of Christall, thy gates of fyne cleare stone, and all thy borders of pleasaunt stones.

13 Thy children shal be all taught of God, and I will give thee plenteousnesse of peace.
14 In righteousnesse shalt thou be grounded and bee farre from oppression for the which thou needest not to be afrayde, neyther for hinderaunce, for it shall not come nigh thee.
15 Loe, who so gathereth together against thee doth it without me, and who so within me dothe ioyne together againste thee shall surely fall.
16 Beholde, I make the smyth that bloweth the coales in the fyre, and he maketh a weapon after his handie worke: I make also the waster to destroy.

17 But all the weapons that are made against thee shall not prosper: and as for all tongues that shall resist thee in judgemente, thou shalt ouercome them and condemne them: this is the heritage of the Lordes seruauntes and their righteousnesse commeth of me sayth the Lorde.

AUTHORISED VERSION.
ISAIAH liv. 11—17.

11 Oh thou afflicted, tossed with tempest and not comforted, behold I will lay thy stones with faire colours and lay thy foundations with Saphires.
12 And I will make thy windowes of Agates, and thy gates of Carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.

13 And all thy children shalbe taught of the Lord, and great shalbe the peace of thy children.
14 In righteousnesse shalt thou be established: thou shalt be farre from oppression, for thou shalt not feare; and from terrour, for it shall not come neere thee.
15 Behold, they shall surely gather but not by me, whosoeuer shal gather together against thee, shall fall for thy sake.

16 Behold I haue created the smith that bloweth the coales in the fire and that bringeth foorth an instrument for his worke, and I haue created the waster to destroy.
17 No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper, and euery tongue that shall rise against thee in iudgement thou shalt condemne. This is the heritage of the seruants of the Lord and their righteousnesse is of me, saith the Lord.

GENEVAN BIBLE.
ROMANS xii. 6—15.

6 Seeing then that we haue giftes that are diuers, according to the grace that is giuen vnto vs whether we haue prophesie, let us prophesie according to the proportion of faith:
7 Or an office let vs waite on the office: or hee that teacheth on teaching.

8 Or he that exhorteth on exhortation: hee that distributeth let him do it with simplicitie: he that ruleth with diligence: hee that sheweth mercie with chearefulnes.

9 Let loue be without dissimulation. Abhorre that which is euill, and cleaue vnto that which is good.
10 Be affectioned to loue one another with brotherly loue. In giving honour goe one before another,
11 Not slothful to doe seruice: feruent in spirit seruing the Lord.

12 Reioycing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing in prayer.
13 Distributing vnto the nesessities of the Saintes, giuing your selues to hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them which persecute you; blesse I say and curse not.
15 Reioyce with them that reioyce, and weepe with them weepe.

BISHOPS' BIBLE.
ROMANS xii. 6—15.

6 Seeing that wee haue diuers giftes according to the grace that is giuen vnto vs eyther prophecie, after the measure of fayth,

7 Eyther office, in administration: or he that teacheth, in teaching.

8 Or he that exhorteth, in exhorting: he that giueth in singlenesse, he that ruleth in diligence: hee that is mercyfull in chearefulnesse.

9 Loue, without dissimulation, hating euil, cleauing to good.

10 Affectioned one to an other with brotherly loue, in giuing honoure, goyng one before another.
11 Not lyther in businesse, feruent in spirite seruing the Lorde.

12 Reioycing in hope, patient in trouble, instant in prayer.

13 Distributing to the necessitie of saintes, giuen to hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them whiche persecute you, blesse, and cursse not.
15 Reioyce with them that doe reioyce, and wepe with them that weepe.

RHEIMS TESTAMENT.
ROMANS xii. 6—15.

6 And hauing giftes, according to the grace that is giuen vs, different, either prophecie according to the rule of faith,

7 Or ministerie in ministring, or he that teacheth in doctrine.

8 He that exhorteth in exhorting, he that giueth in simplicitie, he that ruleth in carefulnes, he that sheweth mercie in cheerefulnes.

9 Loue without simulation. Hating euil, cleauing to good.

10 Louing the charitie of the brotherhod one toward an other. With honour preuenting one an other.
11 In carefulnes not slouthful. In spirit feruent. Seruing our Lord.

12 Reioycing in hope. Patient in tribulation. Instant in praier.

13 Communicating to the necessities of the sainctes. Pursuing hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them that persecute you: blesse and curse not.
15 To reioyce with them that reioyce, to weepe with them that weepe.

AUTHORISED VERSION.
ROMANS xii. 6—15.

6 Hauing then gifts, differing according to the grace that is giuen to vs, whether prophecie, let vs prophecie according to the proportion of faith.

7 Or ministery, let vs wait, on our ministring: or hee that teacheth on teaching.

8 Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giueth let him doe it with simplicite: hee that ruleth, with diligence: hee that sheweth mercy with cheerefulnesse.

9 Let loue bee without dissimulation: abhorre that which is euill, cleaue to that which is good.
10 Bee kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly loue, in honour preferring one another.

11 Not slouthfull in busines; feruent in spirit, seruing the Lord.

12 Reioycing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing instant in prayer.
13 Distributing to the necessitie of Saints: giuen to hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them which persecute you, blesse and curse not.
15 Reioyce with them that doe reioyce, and weepe with them that weepe.

The passage from the Old Testament (Isa. liv. 11—17) is one which most will confess to be well translated in our ordinary Bibles. One or two points of interpretation are still undecided, but there are not a dozen words in the seven verses which an exact translator would now find it necessary to change. What light, then, does the comparison of versions cast upon this result? The passage contains 182 words, of which about 86 have remained unchanged during all the fluctuations represented by the five (or six) versions given above. If we set these aside, and consider only the variable element, consisting of 96 words, we shall find on comparison that in more than 60 of the 96 the Authorised Version agrees with the Genevan Bible, whereas its agreement with the Bishops' Bible does not extend to more than twelve out of the same number. Hence, though the Bishops' Bible nominally furnished the basis for the new translation, it is clear that the Genevan exercised a much more powerful influence. Indeed, a glance will show that the five translations divide themselves into two classes—the Bibles of Coverdale, Cranmer, and the Bishops standing on one side, the Genevan and Authorised Version on the other. In the few places in which the Authorised Version differs from the Genevan, the change (which is but rarely suggested by any other version) is usually for the better, the new rendering being more literal or idiomatic, better in style or rhythm.

It must not be supposed, however, that any one example will adequately illustrate the character of our translation of the Old Testament. Taking a chapter from the historical books (1 Kings xix.), we find that, whilst thirty or forty renderings from the Genevan Bible were preferred by the translators, this version was deserted by them twice as frequently; they depart from the Bishops' Bible on an average four times, and from the Genevan three times, in every verse, and many of the renderings do not appear to be suggested by any earlier version. On the other hand, a section to which we have often referred (Numb. xxiv. 15—24) contains very little that is not found either in Tyndale or in Coverdale, or in the Genevan Bible.

We have not room for detailed remarks on the New Testament passages, but the reader will find it an interesting and useful occupation to trace for himself the manner in which the structure now so familiar was gradually built up. In earlier chapters we have pointed out passages which have been retained with comparatively little change, in one version after another; this passage rather shows how far alteration may extend, not more than one-third of the words having remained untouched. It will be found that very little in the last translation of these verses is absolutely new. The translators show much tact and skill in selection, combination, and arrangement, but the number of words first introduced by them does not amount to four in a hundred. It is obvious that the Genevan and Rhemish versions have exercised much greater influence than the Great and Bishops' Bibles. The Rhemish Testament was not even named in the instructions furnished to the translators, but it has left its mark on every page of their work.

An inquiry into the exact relation in which the Authorised Version stands to earlier English translations, to the various foreign versions of Scripture, and to the chief critical authorities of the time, is of course impossible in these pages. For more detailed information the reader is referred to Professor Westcott's most valuable work,[1] so often quoted already. By an analysis of passages of the translation and of the alternative renderings offered in the margin, it is shown that the authorities most frequently followed by our translators were Beza in the New Testament (both for text and for interpretation), and in the Old the Latin versions of Junius and Tremellius, Münster, Leo Juda, and Pagninus. The influence of the Vulgate was exercised mainly through the Rhemish version.

When all critical helps and sources of influence have been taken into account, the student whose analysis has been most complete will find most to admire in the work of our translators. The praise he will award will not be indiscriminate eulogy. He will discover that much that they have transmitted to us was inherited by them from others; the execution of different parts of the work will prove to be unequal—the Epistles, for example, standing far below the Pentateuch in accuracy and felicity of rendering; many flaws and inconsistencies will reveal themselves; occasionally it will be found that better renderings have been deliberately laid aside and worse preferred; but, notwithstanding, every successive paragraph will bear new testimony to the tact, care, diligence, and faithfulness of the men to whom, in God's providence, we owe the version of the Scriptures which has come down to us consecrated by the associations of 250 years.

If we compare one of our modern Bibles with a copy of the first edition, we find that the differences are by no means few or slight. There is a history of the text which it is very interesting to trace. In Dr. Scrivener's Preface to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, which embodies the results of many years of labour, the reader will find this history carefully and fully narrated. We content ourselves with calling attention to the most important facts. The first issue of the present version was a folio volume (printed in black-letter), bearing date 1611. It has recently been discovered by Mr. Fry and Dr. Scrivener that two editions were issued in that year, and it is not yet decided to the satisfaction of all which edition can claim to be the first. In 1833 the delegates of the Oxford University Press published a reprint of the Bible of 1611, and it is by means of this volume that the peculiarities of the earliest editions can most conveniently be studied. Probably this reprint represents the second, not the first issue of the year. Both issues are incorrectly printed; the earlier, for example, reads in Matt. xxvi. 36, "Then cometh Judas;" whilst in the later, twenty words of Exod. xiv. 10 are given twice over. There are also

[1] *History of the English Bible* (2nd edit.), pp. 267—289.

differences of text which are not misprints. In Matt. xiii. 45, for example, the earlier edition reads "good," the later "goodly" (pearls); in Acts iv. 27 the two editions have "the" and "thy" (Holy Child); and in 1 Peter i. 22 they read "your souls" and "yourselves." Many copies of each issue are still preserved. In 1612 appeared an octavo edition, in Roman type; other editions quickly followed, in 1613, 1617 (black-letter), and 1616 (Roman). The earliest edition in which the Apocryphal books are omitted is that of 1629 (London). In the same year appeared the first Cambridge edition, a work of considerable importance. Some revision and correction had been attempted in 1616, but the two Cambridge books of 1629 and 1638 were the first in which the text was examined with care and accurately printed. In many instances the changes introduced in these two editions were clear improvements, and as such they have maintained their ground. Thus in 1 John v. 12 the words "of God" were omitted until 1629, and in 1 Tim. i. 4 the word "godly" until 1638; on the other hand, in Matt. xii. 23 the edition of 1638 led all subsequent editions into error by the insertion of "not" in the question, "Is this the son of David?" The amount of correction introduced was of course relatively very small (perhaps thirty changes in all being made in Genesis, for instance, and six in the Epistle to the Romans); but, to say nothing of the correction of misprints, the examples just quoted are sufficient to show the value of the revision.

The only other editions which we can mention particularly are three which have exerted great influence on all modern Bibles. Bishop Lloyd's Bible (London, 1701) is remarkable as being the first that contains the marginal dates, mostly derived from Archbishop Ussher. In the Cambridge Bible of 1762, edited by Dr. Paris, and the Oxford edition of 1769, edited by Dr. Blayney (afterwards Professor of Hebrew), considerable labour was expended in the effort to improve the ordinary editions. These editors sought to apply with greater consistency the principle of denoting additions to the original texts by italic type, substituted ordinary forms of words for such as had, in their opinion, become obsolete, and made very large additions to the number of marginal references, which in our present Bibles are said to be seven times as numerous as in the edition of 1611. The chief increase in the marginal notes also is due to Dr. Paris and Dr. Blayney. These notes are an essential characteristic of the Authorised Version, though by a wise rule restricted within very narrow limits, and therefore rendered wholly unlike the commentary with which Matthew's, the Genevan, and the Bishops' Bibles had been furnished. It has been computed that 8,418 marginal notes were inserted by the original translators, that 35 in all were added between 1611 and 1762, 383 more by Dr. Paris, 76 only by Dr. Blayney. Unhappily, each of these editions was disfigured by errors, which maintained their place in the text until a very recent period.

Some of the differences in text between various editions of the Authorised Version have excited so much attention as to call for special notice. In Acts vi. 3, "ye may appoint" (for "we") found its way into many editions between 1638 and 1682; in 1 Tim. iv. 16, "thy doctrine" took the place of "the doctrine" between 1629 and 1769; in 2 Cor. xii. 2, "about" was substituted for "above" by Dr. Blayney: "unto me" for "under me" in Ps. xviii. 47, and "abide" for "abide still" in Rom. xi. 23, are mistakes from the same source. Some editions have owed their celebrity to faults more or less serious, as the "Vinegar Bible," so called from a misprint of *vinegar* for *vineyard* in one of the Gospels. The "Pearl Bible" of 1653, and other editions of about the same date, some imported from abroad, some from the press of the privileged printers, are notorious for scandalous blunders, such as *righteousness* for *unrighteousness* (Rom. vi. 13). In 1632 Laud inflicted a fine of £300 on the king's printers for an edition of the Bible in which "not" was omitted in the Seventh Commandment. Negligence gross as this belonged to an unsettled age, but as late as 1830 Bibles were often printed with serious want of accuracy. The last forty years have witnessed a considerable improvement, and recent editions have left little to be desired. The Cambridge Paragraph Bible is the classic edition of the Authorised Version, and is a monument of minute accuracy and unsparing labour.

Such matters as the use of italics, punctuation, and the division of the text into paragraphs, cannot be considered here. With questions of English, peculiar forms of words, changes in orthography, &c., readers of the BIBLE EDUCATOR have already been made familiar in the papers on "Bible Words." The headings of chapters must not be passed over without a word, especially as they proceed from the hands of the original translators. There are, Dr. Scrivener informs us,[1] only twelve variations between our present headings and those of 1611, "the only one of importance being that prefixed to Psalm cxlix," where "that power which he hath given to the Church to rule the consciences of men" is discreetly curtailed in the edition of 1762 by the omission of the last six words, that of 1769 further amending by substituting "his saints" for "the church," which latter some modern Bibles still retain.

The revision of 1611 was not at once received with general favour. Romanists complained (as Romanists still complain) of unfairness in the translators' treatment of controverted passages; and Puritans clung tenaciously to the translation and commentary furnished in the Genevan Bible. On the whole, however, the opposition seems to have been but faint; and though for half a century the rival versions circulated side by side, the later steadily gained ground. It could not altogether escape the perils of those troublous times. In 1652 the Long Parliament made an order that a Bill should be brought in for a new translation of the Bible, and four years later the House directed "that it be referred to a committee to send for and advise with Dr.

[1] Preface to *Paragraph Bible*, p. lxv.

Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulk,[1] Dr. Cudworth, and such as they should think fit, and to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein."[2] The care of this business was especially commended to Whitelocke, and at his house in Chelsea the committee often met, "and had the most learned men in the Oriental tongues to consult with on this great business; and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English, which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world." "I took pains in it," adds Whitelocke, "but it became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution."

About the same time appeared the only work of that age in which any detailed criticism of the Authorised Version was attempted.[3] The author, Dr. Gell, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, complains that the last translation is wrested and partial, speaking the language of one sect or party (the Calvinistic), and that the better renderings have usually been relegated to the margin. Many of his criticisms are of little worth, but in some instances (as in Gal. v. 17) he exposes serious mistakes.

Shortly after the Restoration, the Book of Common Prayer once more underwent revision, and in 1662 was issued in its present form. The changes which were made at once declared and established the supremacy of the last translation of the Scriptures. As we have already seen, the Psalter of the Great Bible was left undisturbed, but in the Epistles and Gospels, and in all the longer portions of Scripture which are read in the occasional services (as 1 Cor. xv. 20—58; Acts vi. 2—7; xx. 17—35, &c.), the version of 1611 was uniformly adopted. The Psalms which are interspersed amongst the various services naturally agree in almost every point with the Prayer-book Psalter. Perhaps the only variations which exist are—xcviii. 9 (*is come*), lxvii. 5 (*yea*), xli. 1 (six words in the former part of the verse), cxxviii. 2 (*labour*), lxxi. 5 (*alway be*), xxxix. 11 (*by means*), xc. 12 (*O teach*), cxvi. 4 (*found, called*), li. 9 (*away*). The translations of the *Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat*, the Offertory sentences, and the "Comfortable Words" in the Communion Service, stand by themselves, agreeing in many renderings with some of the older versions (especially the Great Bible), but in many others with none. The *Benedicite*, for example, agrees almost verbally with the Great Bible in the first part of each verse; but where the Great Bible has *speak good of* and *set him up*, we find *bless ye* and *magnify him* in the Prayer-book. The verses from Job xiv. in the Burial Service and from Deut. xxvii. in the Commination Service come very near the Great Bible. The translation of Rev. xiv. 13 is peculiar to the Prayer-book, and the same may be said of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. Other passages agree with the Authorised Version, with a few slight variations, such as the insertion of *but* in 1 John i. 9, *to be* in Luke ii. 32, and the reading *acceptable unto* in 1 Tim. ii. 3. Now and then the language of a prayer or exhortation recalls an old or peculiar rendering of a passage of Scripture, as "not *considering* the Lord's body" (1 Cor. xi. 29), "pastors and doctors" (Eph. iv. 11), and the quotation from Matt. xxv. 35 in the Burial Service. These details will show that the Book of Common Prayer, whilst it enshrines fragments of our various English versions, has largely contributed to establish and render familiar the translation of 1611.

In 1856 the subject of revision was brought by Professor Selwyn before the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, but his proposals met with little favour. The desirableness of the appointment of a Royal Commission was urged upon the House of Commons, but without effect. Meanwhile the general interest in Biblical studies was continually advancing. The merits of our translation, on the one hand, and on the other the amount of improvement absolutely required, became more fully understood from year to year. Some specimens of a revised version by five clergymen (the present Bishops of Gloucester and Salisbury, the late Dean Alford, the Rev. W. G. Humphry, and Dr. Barrow), published about this time, showed that reverent regard for the Authorised Version might coexist with an earnest desire for its improvement, and helped to prepare the way for the remarkable change in public opinion which has recently taken place.

In February, 1870, both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury unanimously passed a resolution to the following effect:—"That a Committee of both Houses be appointed, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Northern Province, to report upon the desirableness of a revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Hebrew or Greek text originally adopted by the translators, or in the translation made from the same, shall, on due investigation, be found to exist." The mover and seconder of the resolution in the Upper House (the late Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol) had limited their proposal to the New Testament, but on the motion of the Bishop of Llandaff it was at once agreed to extend the inquiry so as to include the whole Bible. Eight members of the Upper and sixteen of the Lower House were appointed the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury. The Northern Province declined to co-operate with the Southern in this inquiry, on the ground that the time was not favourable for revision, and that the risk was greater than the probable gain. Early in May the Committee presented a report recommending that a revision of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures should be undertaken, on the principle of departing as little as possible from the general style and language of the existing version, and "that Convocation

[1] Probably Samuel Clark and Matthew Poole. See Westcott, *History*, p. 124.

[2] Lewis, *History of Translations*, p. 354.

[3] *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English Translation of the Bible*, by Robert Gell (London, 1659).

should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong." A Committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of eight members of each house, and the first meeting was held on the 25th of May. It was then resolved that two companies should be formed for the revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament and the New Testament respectively; that the company for the revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament should consist of the Bishops of St. David's, Llandaff, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells, Archdeacon Rose, Professor Selwyn, Canon Jebb, and Dr. Kay, together with eighteen scholars and divines, who should be invited to join in the work; and that the company for the revision of the Authorised Version of the New Testament should consist of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Salisbury, the Prolocutor, the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster, and Canon Blakesley, together with nineteen invited scholars and divines.

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

BY THE REV. S. G. GREEN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF RAWDON COLLEGE, LEEDS.

THE Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy purports to have been written from Rome very near the close of the Apostle's life. The evidence for his second imprisonment in the imperial city has been so fully given in our introduction to the two preceding "pastoral epistles," that little need be added here. The expositors who reject this hypothesis find themselves involved in the greatest difficulties, not only by the personal and local references, which have already been noted, but by the connection of this Second Epistle to Timothy with those to the Philippians and Colossians. The references to Mark (chap. iv. 11), to Timothy (chap. iv. 9), and to Demas, are absolutely inexplicable except on the hypothesis of a second imprisonment. Easier, on the whole, is it to declare the spuriousness of the pastoral epistles altogether; and this, as we have seen, is the alternative most recently adopted.

2. It is undoubtedly far from easy to trace the course of the Apostle Paul's last missionary journey. That it embraced Crete and Ephesus has already been shown, with the high probability that the last winter of St. Paul's freedom was spent at Nicopolis in Epirus. Here, as some think, he was arrested,[1] and again taken to Rome. The weight of evidence, however, seems to point to a subsequent circuit; and the conditions of the case are best satisfied by supposing that in the spring of the year A.D. 67 or 68 he quitted Nicopolis for Corinth and Ephesus, being apprehended in the latter city or its neighbourhood, and conveyed to Rome. It would further appear that when St. Paul visited Ephesus, Timothy was absent from that city. The route thus suggested harmonises the visit to Corinth implied in chap. iv. 20, the arrival in Asia, probably at Troas (iv. 13), the absence of Timothy from Ephesus, the Apostle's arrest, and other facts stated or implied, into a fully consistent whole.

St. Paul's Voyage to Rome.—At the very first stage of the journey, Trophimus, the long-tried companion of the Apostle, quite breaks down. He is "left behind at Miletus, sick." It is quite impossible, as was shown in the introduction to the First Epistle, to assign this fact to any period of the Apostle's earlier journeys. The suggestion that the verb ἀπέλιπον should be rendered "*they* left behind," referring not to the Apostle but to others; or that the "leaving behind" meant *sending forward* from Myra (Acts xxvii. 5), or some other point in St. Paul's earlier travels, scarcely deserves refutation.

Having traced the Apostle's course thus far, we have to think of his position at Rome during his second imprisonment, and of those who were his chief companions there. Titus had proceeded northward to Dalmatia. Luke is there still to strengthen and to cheer him; possibly, indeed, had attended him (with Tychicus also) all through those later journeys; but of this we know nothing. Concerning Crescens, we have no further information but that, having been with the Apostle for a while, he had departed "to Galatia," or Gaul. Demas had apostatised. Friends, indeed, there were—members of the Roman Church—but they could not be what St. Paul's older friends had been to him. His circumstances had changed. Instead of dwelling in "his own hired house"—a well-known spot, the resort of many—he is consigned to some obscure abode, probably to a prison, where the friend who has travelled from Ephesus has to "seek him out very diligently" before finding him. The last scene has nearly arrived. No longer does the Apostle doubt what the issue shall be, whether deliverance or death; the "time of" his "departure is at hand."

The Contemporary History.—A great change had meanwhile taken place in the relation of Christians to the Empire. When St. Paul was first sent to Rome it was simply as a disturber of the peace. The proconsul who sent him "had no certain thing to write" concerning him to the imperial tribunal. This may account both for the lenity of his treatment at the first, and for the fact that, even under the sway of the infamous Tigellinus, he was released. But in the Apostle's absence from Rome that great event

[1] Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii., p. 482.

had taken place which led to the first general persecution of the Church. The burning of the city, with the false accusation of the Christians, occurred A.D. 64, the year after the date we have assigned to the Epistle to the Philippians. St. Paul was then already on his way to Spain, or to the East, when the disciples of Christ were for the first time proscribed by Roman law as *malefici*; and on his return he would experience the full effect of the Emperor's malignant cruelty. Escape was hopeless; there remained for the servant of Christ only the martyr's crown.

3. Yet before he died the Apostle earnestly desires the presence and comfort of his former companion, Timothy. This, above all, was the object of the Epistle, which commences with the earnest longing, "greatly desiring to see thee," and closes with the request, repeated in its urgency, "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me," "Do thy diligence to come before winter."[1] That Timothy had returned to Ephesus is tolerably clear from several references. He was to "salute the household of Onesiphorus,"[2] who, we know, was an Ephesian; Priscilla and Aquila, mentioned in the same verse, appear to have settled in Ephesus, and to have had a church in their house. Alexander of Ephesus is pointed out to Timothy as a man to be guarded against; so with Hymenæus, the teacher of false doctrine in the same city. From the words, "Tychicus I have sent to Ephesus," it has, indeed, been concluded by some that Timothy could not have been in the city at the time, or would he have needed the information? But rightly interpreted, the words rather support our view. The form ἀπέστειλα, "I sent," is best explained as the epistolary aorist "I send him *with this letter*,"[3] so completing the Apostle's loneliness. Tychicus, in bearing the letter to Timothy, would doubtless undertake his charge so as to set the latter free to rejoin St. Paul in Rome.

After an earnest personal appeal, which occupies from chap. i. 1 to ii. 14, a special caution is added against one evil to which the Asiatic churches were most prone, the "striving about words;" "profane and vain babblings." Here the false doctrine of Hymenæus and Philetus[4] is selected for reprobation. There can be little doubt that the error was some early form of Antinomianism. Taking advantage of the Apostle's frequent representation of the Christian as possessor of a new life "risen with Christ," these men drew the inference that the resurrection was already past, and that the believer was no longer subject to the ordinary laws and restraints of earthly life. Already was he judged, saved, glorified; and therefore was free to live as he listed. Monstrous as the doctrine was, we know that it often disturbed the peace of the early Church, and that St. Paul's indignant protest against it was not out of place. Yet, while clear from complicity with these forms of evil, Timothy was meekly and wisely to instruct even the votaries of error, "that they might return to soberness out of the snare of the devil (by whom they are now held captive) to do the will of God" (chap. ii. 14—26).

In the names of Pudens, Linus, and Claudia it is interesting to be able, on not unreasonable grounds, to imagine some connection between the Apostle's labours and our own Britain. The point is one which we cannot discuss at length: only it is more than likely that Claudia was the daughter of a British king, married after the date of this Epistle to Pudens, who had served as a soldier in Britain. Linus appears to have afterwards become chief bishop of the church in Rome.[5]

[1] If this is to be taken as a note of time, we must place the winter at Nicopolis in the year 66—7; the Second Epistle to Timothy in 67; the winter in Rome, 67—8. Nero died in June, A.D. 68.

[2] It has been supposed, from chap. i. 16; iv. 19, that Onesiphorus himself was now deceased; and chap. i. 18 has been quoted as authorising prayer for the dead, a practice which, even granting the premises, it certainly does not sustain (see Hammond, *in loc.*).

[3] Chap. iv. 12. See BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. IV., p. 30, note 1.

[4] "Hymenæus and Alexander" are mentioned (1 Tim. i. 20) as excommunicated heretics. An argument has been founded upon the mention of Hymenæus in both Epistles for the priority of the Second. Otherwise his excommunication would be mentioned first (1 Timothy) and his heresy afterwards (2 Timothy). But the argument is altogether too slender for the conclusion. It is not certain that the Hymenæus was the same; and granting that he was, there are far stronger reasons for the accepted order of the two Epistles. It seems, indeed, impossible candidly to compare them as a whole, and to doubt which of the two preceded the other.

[5] See "Excursus on Pudens and Claudia," in Alford's *Greek Test.*, Introduction to 2 Timothy; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii., p. 500 (note on 2 Tim. iv. 21); BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. III., p. 245.

ERRATA.

Vol. I., p. 55, col. 1, line 25, for ὑπερφαίνει read ὑπεμφαίνει.
„ p. 55, col. 2, note, for "Heineke" read "Heinichen."
„ p. 110, col. 1, in table, "Sacrifice on Mount Moriah," for Abraham's age read "125," and insert a blank for Jacob's age. Under the head "Flight of Jacob," for = substitute a semicolon in each case.

Vol. II., p. 106, col. 1, for "Orders XII.—XIV." read "XII.—XV."
„ p. 125, inscription, for "octavo edition" read "quarto."

Vol. III., p. 364, col. 2, make the following corrections:—

For	4741	30	0	2	read	30	0	3	For	4773	30	4	6	read	30 4 7
„	4745	30	0	6	„	30	0	7	„	4775	30	5	1	„	30 5 2
„	4747	30	0	7	„	30	1	2	„	4779	30	5	5	„	30 5 6
„	4770	30	4	3	„	30	4	4	„	4823	31	4	6	„	31 5 1

Vol. III., p. 364, col. 2 (*continued*).
Under the Year 4899 omit "A.D."
Insert "A.D." before the year of banishment of Archelaus—6.
For A.D. 34 read 37; for A.D. 52 read 54; for A.D. 93 read 95.

Vol. IV., p. 92, col. 2, line 29 from the top, for "thoroughly" read "thoughtlessly."
„ p. 126, col. 1, lines 3 and 5 from the bottom, for τοίχος read τοῖχος.
„ p. 127, col. 1, line 8 from the top, for "probably" read "properly."
„ p. 127, col. 2, line 19 from the top, for "this part" read "sins past."

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